

Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time

Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture



Edited by
Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge

Volume 20

Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time



The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine,
Literature, Religion, and Astrology

Edited by
Albrecht Classen

DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-055607-0
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-055772-5
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-055652-0
ISSN 1864-3396

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2017 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck
♻️ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations — IX

Albrecht Classen

Magic in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age – Literature, Science, Religion, Philosophy, Music, and Art. An Introduction — 1

Warren Tormey

Magical (and Maligned) Metalworkers: Understanding Representations of Early and High Medieval Blacksmiths — 109

Chiara Benati

Painted Eyes, Magical Sieves and Carved Runes: Charms for Catching and Punishing Thieves in the Medieval and Early Modern Germanic Tradition — 149

Aideen M. O’Leary

Constructing the Magical Biography of the Irish Druid Mog Ruith — 219

Christoph Galle

Zum Umgang mit Zauberern im Rahmen frühmittelalterlicher Missionsanstrengungen (Dealing with Magicians Within the Framework of Early Medieval Missionizing Efforts) — 231

Nurit Golan

Magic and Science: The *Portail des libraires*, Rouen — 259

Christopher R. Clason

The Magic of Love: Queen Isolde, the Magician Clinschor, and “Seeing” in Gottfried’s *Tristan* and Wolfram’s *Parzival* — 291

Rosmarie Thee Morewedge

Magical Gifts in Gottfried von Strassburg’s *Tristan und Isolde* and the Rejection of Magic — 315

Cristina Azuela

Was Eustace Diabolical? Magic and Devilry in *Le roman de Wistasse le moine* — 337

Anne Berthelot

Merlin, or, a Prophet Turning Magician — 377

Christa Agnes Tuczey

The Book of Zabulon – A Quest for Hidden Secrets: Intertextuality and Magical Genealogy in Middle High German Literature, with an Emphasis on *Reinfried von Braunschweig* — 397

Veronica Menaldi

Miracles and Magic: Necromantic Practices Found in *Cantiga 125* — 423

Kathleen Jarchow

Magic at the Margins: The Mystification of Maugis d'Aigremont — 439

Claire Fanger

The Magician at Home with his Family: Comparative Historical Ethnographies of Two Pre- Modern Magicians from Autobiographical Sources: John of Morigny and the Tibetan Monk Milarepa — 475

Lisa M. C. Weston

Curious Clerks: Image Magic and Chaucerian Poetics — 489

Daniel F. Pigg

Representing Magic and Science in *The Franklin's Tale* and *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*: Chaucer's Exploration of Connected Topics — 507

Albrecht Classen

Magic in Late Medieval German Literature: The Case of the Good Magician Malagis — 523

Dalicia K. Raymond

Motives, Means, and a Malevolent Mantel: The Case of Morgan le Fay's Transgressions in Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* — 547

Amiri Ayanna

Witchcraft, Heinrich Kramer's *Nuremburg Handbook*, and *Ecclesiasticus*: The Construction of the Fifteenth-Century Civic Sorceress — 565

David Tomíček

Magic and Ritual in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Popular Medicine — 591

Elizabeth Chesney Zegura

Attempted Murder by Magic: The Sorcerer and His Apprentice in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* 1 — 609

Thomas Willard

How Magical Was Renaissance Magic? — 637

Martha Moffitt Peacock

Magic in Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen's *Saul and the Witch of Endor* — 657

Jiří Koten

Heterochronic Representation of Magic in Czech Chapbooks — 685

Allison P. Coudert

Rethinking Max Weber's Theory of Disenchantment — 705

Contributors — 741

Index — 749

List of Illustrations

Illustrations of Nurit Golan's article

- Fig. 1:** *Portail des libraires*, north portal of the transept, cathedral of Rouen (photo: author) — 279
- Fig. 2:** From top down: Creation of the plants, Genesis, 1:12–13; a man killing a basilisk, *Portail des libraires*, right flank (photo: author) — 280
- Fig. 3:** Hybrid monster, *Portail des libraires* (photo: author) — 281
- Fig. 4:** Hybrid monsters, *Portail des libraires* (photo: author) — 282
- Fig. 5:** Heracles killing the Nemean lion (photo: author) — 283
- Fig. 6:** The creation cycle on the top tier, right flank, *Portail de libraires* (photo: author). — 283
- Fig. 7:** Creation of Adam, Genesis, 1:26, the Creator unusually shown as a Trinity, *Portail des libraires* (photo: author) — 284
- Fig. 8:** A family of sirens: two adult sirens, one playing a violin, the other holding a baby siren, west portal, cathedral of Lyon (photo: author) — 284
- Fig. 9:** Hybrid monster, Grand chapel, Pope's palace at Avignon (photo: author) — 285
- Fig. 10:** A male siren combing his hair, *Portail des libraires* (photo: author) — 285
- Fig. 11:** Creation of the Heavens and Earth, Gen. 1:1 (photo: author). — 286
- Fig. 12:** Separation of the Waters and Creation of the Firmament, Gen. 1:6–7 (photo: author) — 286
- Fig. 13:** Creation of the Plants, Gen. 1:12–13 (photo: author) — 287
- Fig. 14:** Creation of the Luminaries, Gen. 1:16 (photo: author) — 287
- Fig. 15:** The Creator is resting on the seventh day, holding the cosmos depicted as an O-T map (photo: Stuart Whalting, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Rouen/Portals/Rouen_Portals_default.htm, last accessed on Oct. 24, 2016) — 288
- Fig. 16:** *Ovide moralisé*, Paris, 1325 ca. MS 04, fol 16, Collection de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen — 289
- Fig. 17:** Hybrid doctor with a urine flask, *Portail des libraires*, cathedral of Rouen — 290

Illustrations of Kathleen Jarchow's article:

- Fig. 1:** Stemma — 440
- Fig. 2:** Doon de Mayence cycle — 472

Illustrations of Thomas Willard's article:

- Fig. 1:** Frontispiece of Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609). From the Wellcome Library, London, wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0002754.html (last accessed on Jul. 25, 2016). — 654
- Fig. 2:** Title page of Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (1620). From Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Faustus-tragedy.gif?uselang=en-gb> (last accessed on Aug. 10, 2016). — 655

Illustrations of Martha Peacock's article (all public domain):

- Fig. 1:** Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, November 29, 1526, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam — 672
- Fig. 2:** Albrecht Dürer, *The Witch*, ca. 1500, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York — 673
- Fig. 3:** Hans Baldung Grien, *Witches' Sabbath*, 1510, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York — 674
- Fig. 4:** Detail from Hieronymus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, ca. 1500, Museo del Prado, Madrid — 675
- Fig. 5:** Detail from Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, November 29, 1526, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam — 676
- Fig. 6:** Anonymous, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, French Psalter fragment, ca. 1200, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague — 677
- Fig. 7:** Anonymous, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, German World Chronicle, ca. 1360, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York — 678
- Fig. 8:** Anonymous, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, Utrecht Bible, c. 1430, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague — 678
- Fig. 9:** Anonymous, *The Raising of Lazarus*, Tournai Book of Hours, ca. 1450, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague — 679
- Fig. 10:** Detail from Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, November 29, 1526, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam — 680
- Fig. 11:** Detail from *Clavicula Salomonis*, <http://www.esotericarchives.comsolomonksol2.htm#chap1> — 680
- Fig. 12:** Detail from Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, November 29, 1526, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam — 681
- Fig. 13:** Detail from *Clavicula Salomonis*, <http://www.esotericarchives.comsolomonksol2.htm#chap1> — 681
- Fig. 14:** Detail from copy of Maximilian I's 1504 grant of arms, late 16th century, Stadsarchief, Amsterdam — 682
- Fig. 15:** Dirck Jacobsz, *Portrait of Pompeius Occo*, ca. 1531, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam — 683

Albrecht Classen

Magic in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age – Literature, Science, Religion, Philosophy, Music, and Art. An Introduction

Magic in German-Speaking Lands

In his elaborate ruminations on human nature and the role of folly, in his *Praise of Folly*, from 1509, first printed in 1511 and quickly copied, translated, imitated, and praised everywhere, the famous humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam also adds a curious list of national characteristics, referring to the French, the Italians, the Greeks, the Turks, the Jews, the Spaniards, and then to the Germans: “Spaniards yield to no one in military glory. The Germans pride themselves on their tallness and their knowledge of magic.”¹ Undoubtedly, he had the two famous German necromancers in mind, Johann Trithemius (1462–1516) and Henricus Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486–1535), but perhaps also Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522) and others. They were, however, only avatars of a long tradition of similar occult scientists or practitioners, among whom we can count magicians, alchemists, sorcerers, druids, and, perhaps most significantly and most widely represented, astrologers, whether they practiced magic or not. Nevertheless, by the end of the fifteenth century, as a result of intensive debates among many Euro-

¹ The English translation from 1876 is freely available online at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/30201/30201-h/30201-h.htm> (last accessed on March 19, 2016); here I have drawn from Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, trans. with an intro. and commentary by Clarence H. Miller (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 70. For a little dated, but still solid introduction to Erasmus’s work and life, see Preserved Smith, *Erasmus: A Study of His Life, Ideals, and Place in History* (1923; New York: Frederick Ungar, 1962); see also the contributions to *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar, Proceedings of the Symposium Held at the Erasmus University, Rotterdam, 9–11 November 1986*, ed. Jan Sperna Weiland (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1988); Christine Christ-von Wedel, *Erasmus von Rotterdam: ein Porträt*. Schwabe Reflexe, 45 (Basel: Schwabe, 2016). For Pico especially, see now Giulio Busi and Raphael Ebgi, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: mito, magia, qabbalah*. I millenni (Turin: Einaudi, 2014).

Albrecht Classen, The University of Arizona

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-001>

pean intellectuals, including Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) and Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), natural or white magic had become a topic of great relevance and was highly regarded as a most serious research approach, irrespective of what the Church might have thought about it. They could defend it well even against sharp critics such as the Benedictine Abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) because they refused to associate this white magic with demons, or the devil.²

To gain a taste of what this Introduction will explore and what this book is all about, we ought to consider at first how hard the Christian Church battled throughout the entire Middle Ages against all the various pagan cultures, and so was constantly confronted by the cult of magical practices as its self-chosen enemy.³ I would dare say that this struggle has not been decided even now in complete favor of the principle of monotheistic religion, the sciences, or rationality, considering the huge, perhaps even growing interest in magic and count-

2 Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, CXXV (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 1–10, et passim. See also the contributions to *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus. Folger Institute Symposia (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988); John S. Mebane, *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition and Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Bernd-Christian Otto, *Magie: rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 57 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011). For a useful text anthology, see *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*. Textes réunis et éd. par Véronique Dasen et Jean-Michel Spieser. Micrologus' Library, 60 (Florence: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014). See also M. E. van Matuschka, "Magie," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. VI: *Lukasbilder bis Plantagenêt* (Munich and Zurich: Artemis & Winkler, 1993), 82–88.

3 *Astrologers and Their Clients in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wiebke Deimann and David Juste. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 73 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2015). For early medieval Irish druids, see, although written more for the general reader, Lewis Spence, *The Magic Arts in Celtic Britain* (London: Rider and Co., 1945); Paul R. Lonigan, *The Druids: Priests of the Ancient Celts*. Contributions to the Study of Religion, 45 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996); John Matthews, *The Druid Source Book* (London: Blandford Press, 1996); Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids: Story of an Ancient Priesthood* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); see also the very old, yet still valuable monograph by Godfrey Higgins, *The Celtic Druids* (1829; New York: Cosimo, 2007); see also the contribution to the present volume by Aídean M. O'Leary. For magic and superstition in Renaissance Spain, see Pedro Ciruelo, *Reprovação de las supersticiones y hechizerías (1538)*, ed., intro., and notes by José Luis Herrero Ingelmo. Serie humanidades, 22 (Salamanca: Diputación Provincial de Salamanca, 2003). For the efforts by the early medieval Christian Church on the European continent, see the contributions by Chiara Benati and Christoph Galle.

less ‘pagan’ practices and rituals, methods and concepts today.⁴ In essence, as we could confirm in light of a rich body of scholarship, the practice of magic in all of its manifestations has always been a significant factor in all cultures, whether legitimately or not, and this throughout history, irrespective of any kind of criticism or warning raised by a dominant church, worldly authority, or powerful individuals. World literature is filled with references to magicians, and also to the magician’s apprentice, to failed magic, and to astounding examples of magic. In other words, magic constitutes one of the central concerns of human imagination, but it was also a matter of very serious scientific investigations.⁵

What we cannot determine so easily is the true extent to which magic and all of its alternative manifestations were present or were operated by the secret or even publicly acknowledged practitioners. Moreover, what is the real difference between magic/superstition and religion?⁶ Here we could enter a long debate

4 Older research on this topic continues to exert considerable influence on modern culture; see, for instance, Siegmund von Schultze-Galléra, *Volkserotik und Pflanzenwelt: eine Darstellung alter wie moderner erotischer und sexueller Gebräuche, Vergleiche, Benennungen, Sprichwörter, Redewendungen, Rätsel, Volkslieder, erotischen Zaubers und Aberglaubens, sexueller Heilkunde, die sich auf Pflanzen beziehen* (1910; Darmstadt: Bläschke, 1979); Frater Widar, *Magie und Praxis des Hexentums: moderner Schamanismus in der westlichen Welt* (Benediktbeuern: Huter, 1992); Christopher Dell, *The Occult, Witchcraft & Magic: An Illustrated History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2016). See also the contributions to *Sabbat und Sabbatobservanz in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Anselm Schubert. Schriften des Vereins für Reformationgeschichte, 217 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016). As to the notion of disenchantment and then also the re-enchantment since the seventeenth century, see the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert.

5 Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era* (London: Macmillan, 1923). This seminal multi-volume study has been reprinted many times. Though written for a more general readership, Susan Greenwood’s and Raje Airey’s *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Witchcraft & Practical Magic* (2006; London: Lorenz Books, 2007) offers an impressively illustrated treatment of the wide-ranging kaleidoscope of aspects pertaining to all human efforts to reach out to other forces (the *numen*) and to utilize those for personal uses. One could criticize the authors for throwing everything together into one category, magic, even though they would represent many, vastly different strategies to achieve healing, to gain power, to fight against an enemy, or to divine the future. See now *The Sorcerer’s Apprentice: An Anthology of Magical Tales*, ed. Jack Zipes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017). Zipes skips, however, the entire Middle Ages and the early modern age, leaping from Lucian of Samosata (ca. 170 C.E.) to François Pétis de la Croix (1707).

6 See the contribution to this volume by Albrecht Classen. As to the ongoing struggle between Christianity and paganism, see now Nancy Mandeville Caciola, *Afterlives: The Return of the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2016), 14–16. This issue, what came first, magic or religion, or whether both phenomena have always existed side by side, has been debated for a very long time by scholars of religion, anthropology, and ethnology. See,

about prehistoric and ‘primitive’ cultures and their religious or animistic beliefs, but this would go far beyond the scope of the present volume, though in essence the same questions as to the principles underlying magic and religion continued to be of relevance throughout the Middle Ages and until today.

In learned circles already long before the time of Humanism, there appear to have been many more practitioners of the magical, and prophesying art, as we can learn in the long diatribe by Death against the Plowman in Johannes von Tepl’s famous debate poem *The Plowman* (ca. 1401), written by a German poet living in Bohemia. While the Plowman had vehemently riled against Death for having taking his innocent and beloved wife, mother of their children, Death simply dismisses all those complaints and at the end, in chapter twenty-four, even ridicules human life and the human body as worth nothing at all, claiming absolute power over all existence. Death is rasping with satire, if not even sarcasm, being entirely assured of his supremacy.⁷

However, the Plowman, by that time having calmed down in his emotions and having sharpened his rhetorical skills, responds with a glorious defense of the human body, describing it as God’s greatest creation, which many scholars have identified as the first major stirring of the Renaissance in German literature.⁸ Yet, Death then turns the debate upside down; he who had before insisted on logic, rationality, and reason as the basic principles of their exchange, now sees himself in the defense and rejects it all, full of wrath about his opponent’s

for instance, Karl Beth, *Religion und Magie bei den Naturvölkern: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Frage nach den Anfängen der Religion* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1914). He strongly argues in favor of distinguishing clearly between magic and religion: “In der Religion handelt es sich immer um Erhebung der Seele und zugleich um demütige Beugung unter den höheren Willen, in der Magie hingegen um Herabzerrung der Seele und zugleich um egoistische Arroganz” (64; In religion we observe the elevation of the soul and at the same time the humble submission under a higher will; in magic the soul is pulled own and there is an egoistical arrogance).

⁷ Ernst Schwarz, *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen des Johannes von Tepl und seine Zeit*. Wege der Forschung, 143 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968); Gerhard Hahn, *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen des Johannes von Tepl*. Erträge der Forschung, 215 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984); see now also Albrecht Dröse, *Die Poetik des Widerstreits: Konflikt und Transformation der Diskurse im ‘Ackermann’ des Johannes von Tepl*. Studien zur historischen Poetik, 10 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2013).

⁸ See, for instance, Hildegunde Gehrke, *Die Begriffe “Mittelalter”, “Humanismus” und “Renaissance” in den Interpretationen des “Ackermann aus Böhmen”*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 708 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2004); and the contributions to *Die Bedeutung der Rezeptionsliteratur für Bildung und Kultur der Frühen Neuzeit (1400–1750): Beiträge zur ersten Arbeitstagung in Eisenstadt (März 2011)*, ed. Hans-Gert Roloff and Alfred Noe. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik, 109 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012).

apparent triumph in their argument and thus being afraid of losing his authority over human life:

Grammar, the foundation of all eloquent speech, will not help him with her precise and finely-turned locutions. Rhetoric, the blossoming ground of honeyed words, will not help him with her ornate and richly-coloured expressions. Logic, the insightful demarcator of truth and untruth will not help him with her sly concealment, with the crooked ways that mislead truth. Geometry, the ascertainer, assessor, and measurer of the Earth, will not help him with her unerring measurement, or with her accurate weighing. Arithmetic, skilled marshal of numbers, will not help him with counting and calculations, or with her dexterous digits. Astronomy, Master of the Heavenly Bodies, will not help him with her astral power, the influence of the planets. Music, the organising handmaid of song, will not help him with her sweet melodies, with her harmonious voices. Philosophy, field of wisdom, tilled and sown, and grown to perfection, in knowledge of Nature and God and in the production of ethical living; Physic, with her draughts that help many; Geomancy, skilful respondent to all kinds of questions posed on Earth; Hydromancy, unveiler of the future by dint of the workings of water; Astrology, interpreter of sublunar events through the course of the Heavens; Chiromancy, smart soothsayer from the hand and the lines of the palm; Necromancy, mighty compeller of spirits through the sacrifice of dead men's fingers and secret signs; the musical art, with her select prayers and her strong incantations; the augur, versed in the language of birds and so the true prophet of future events; the haruspex, indicating the future in the smoke of the altar-victim; Paedomancy, conjuror with children's intestines, and ornithomancy, with grouse's guts; the jurist, the Christian without conscience: will not help him by twisting right and wrong and passing crooked judgements. These arts, and all those related, avail nought: every man must be felled by Us, scoured in Our fulling-tub and cleaned in Our rolling-press. Take my word, you riotous ploughhand!⁹

9 Johannes de Tepla, *Epistola cum Libello ackermann und Das büchlein ackermann: nach der Freiburger Hs. 163 und nach der Stuttgarter Hs. HB X 23*, ed. and trans. by Karl Bertau (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994). Here, however, quoted from the online English translation at <http://www.michaelhaldane.com/HusbandmanandDeath>; see also the older, yet still very useful edition Johannes von Tepl, *Der ackermann*, ed. Willy Krogmann. Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters. Neue Folge, 1 (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1964); for an alternative English translation, see *Death and the Ploughman: A Confrontation Between Man and Death, Resolved by the Judgement of God*, trans. Rosalind Hibbins (Oxford: Lindsay Ross, 2000). Cf. Albrecht Classen, "Der Ackermann aus Böhmen – ein literarisches Zeugnis aus einer Schwellenzeit: Mittelalterliches Streitgespräch oder Dokument des neuzeitlichen Bewußtseins?," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 110.3 (1991): 348–73; for a comprehensive approach, see Christian Kiening, *Schwierige Modernität: Der 'Ackermann' des Johannes von Tepl und die Ambiguität historischen Wandels*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 113 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1998); Classen, "Death Rituals and Manhood in the Middle High German Poems *The Lament*, Johannes von Tepl's *The Plowman*, and Heinrich Wittenwiler's *Ring*," *Grief and Gender: 700–1700*. Ed. by Jennifer C. Vaught (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 33–47; id., "Irony in Medieval and Early Modern German Literature (Nibelungenlied, Mauritius von Craün, Johannes von Tepl's Ackermann): The Encounter of the Menschlich-Allzumenschlich in a Medieval Context," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 113.2 (2014): 184–205.

Death is right, of course, nothing and no one can go by him unscathed, but for his argument he would not need to dismiss all those arts in order to confirm his supreme position. Nevertheless, listing them all, combining the standard seven liberal arts with the wide range of necromantic arts, clearly indicates Death's desperate attempt at that moment to maintain the upper hand and not to lose the debate. He does not really mean to reject all sciences, since he has no reason to malign necromancy and related divinatory arts specifically, but he wants to control the exchange with the Plowman and is suddenly afraid that the latter might have a better argument than Death.

Intriguingly, here we face a perfect example clearly illustrating the widespread knowledge and understanding of all kinds of magical arts, and probably also their acceptance under certain circumstance, both black magic and natural, or white magic during the Middle Ages and far beyond, as the contributions to the present volume will confirm from many different perspectives. Johannes's *Plowman* debate poem is only a very late example of a long-term discourse on the meaning of magic since antiquity. So, let us take a look backwards and try to grasp the true dimension of magic as a learned art and instrument in the hands of both the educated and highly respected and more marginal figures of society.

The subsequent reflections do not pretend to chart completely new territory, as the rich body of relevant research literature demonstrates. Instead, the purpose is to outline the major threads throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age demarcating the presence of, debate about, fear of, and interest in magic and the related occult arts as a basis for the individual contributions to this volume, where, as we hope, unique and innovative perspectives toward magic in the pre-modern world will come through. As we will recognize, the discourse on magic ranged far and wide from antiquity to the eighteenth century, if not until today, and can thus be identified as one of the fundamental aspects of medieval and early modern culture, even though, or perhaps just because the Catholic Church, later the Protestant Church battled so vehemently against magic wherever it raised its head.

After all, magic represents an alternative approach to scientific epistemology and claims a different perspective regarding the relationship between people and the world of spirits, non-material powers, and non-physical energy which the magical practitioner attempts to utilize in a productive or a deconstructive manner. Many times the difference between religion and magic seems to be only one in degree, since both the ultimate goal and the method to achieve it

often appear to be very parallel, if not competing with each other.¹⁰ But it seems to help, following Emile Durkheim, to identify a church with a close-knit community, whereas magic tends to be practiced and performed by an individual, even if s/he carries out the magical task for a community.¹¹ Finally, magic could be differentiated from ‘science’ in that it relies on ‘sympathetic relations’ versus a world view based on cause and effect (Lucien Lévy-Bruhl).¹² Wouter J. Hanegraaff now alerts us: “Although there is no such thing as a history of magic, then, it is possible to write a history of the discourse on magic. The only solid foundation for such a history is the detailed analysis of terms and concepts as used in their own context, and a precise investigation of their continuous transformations under the impact of changing historical circumstances.”¹³

Moreover, even though only an off-shoot, alchemy also has to be taken into consideration because the practitioner operated with the assumption that a charismatic, sympathetic relationship between the material and the spirit could trigger the desired transformation.¹⁴

The Phenomenology of Magic from Antiquity to the Early Modern Age

In essence, magic, as it was developed already in the earliest times and as it is still being practiced until today, is predicated on the notion of sympathetic relationships between macrocosm and microcosm, which derives its origin from

¹⁰ H. S. Versnel, “Some Reflections on the Relation Magic-Religion,” *Numen* 38.2 (1991): 177–97.

¹¹ Emile Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaire de la vie religieuse: Le système totémique en Australie*. 3rd ed. (1912; Paris: Quadrige/Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), 61. See also the reflections on these issues by Allison P. Coudert in her contribution to this volume.

¹² S. A. Mousalimas, “The Concept of Participatio in Lévy Bruhl’s ‘Primitive Mentality’,” *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 21.1 (1990): 33–46; Wouter J. Hanegraaff, “How Magic Survived the Disenchantment of the World” *Religion* 33.4 (2003): 357–80; here 371–74; id., “Magic,” *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge. The Routledge Worlds (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 393–404.

¹³ Hanegraaff, “How Magic Survived the Disenchantment of the World” (see note 12), 403.

¹⁴ Pearl Kibre, *Studies in Medieval Science: Alchemy, Astrology, Mathematics and Medicine*. History Series, 19 (London: Hambledon Press, 1984); *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton*, ed. Stanton J. Linden (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Lawrence M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Sébastien Moureau, *Le De anima alchimique du pseudo-Avicenne*. 2 vols. Micrologus’ Library, 76 (Florence: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016).

Stoic philosophy.¹⁵ With the help of magic, charms, or prayers, for instance, the human being has always tried to reach out to divine or infernal powers in order to create miracles, or magic, here on earth.¹⁶ In antiquity magic was regarded with a relative neutrality, as long as it was not targeting opponents with evil intent, which was, of course, a deep source of irritation for Christians from early on. Nevertheless, in the world of the Christian Church, at least since the twelfth century, magic was consistently divided into *magia daemoniaca* (*magia illicita*) and *magia naturalis* (*magia licita*). The latter form of magic aims for an empowerment by means of drawing from natural forces and, in the widest context, can be identified as the foundation of sciences, even in modern terms.

Karl Beth succinctly defines magic as “die einfache und unverhüllte Objektivierung des Wunsches in der menschlichen Vorstellung, und der faktische Erfolg oder die reale Objektivierung ist nichts anderes als die zufällige Bestätigung jener idealen Objektivierung” (the simple and unveiled objectification of the wish in human imagination, and the factual success or the real objectification is nothing other but the random confirmation of that ideal objectification).¹⁷ This finds its realization until today in the rich tradition of fairy tales, where impossible things happen, where individuals can move into other times and spaces without any effort, and where irrational powers come to play, both beneficial and evil ones. Little wonder that the famous series of novels for young readers, *Harry Potter*, has achieved such a global acclaim because it is simply predicated on those fundamental dichotomic elements.¹⁸

It would hence be erroneous, as Nurit Golan now illuminates, to divorce the medieval Church entirely from magic, or related fields, since it was fully ac-

15 John B. Robinson, *Macrocosm and Microcosm: An Exploration of the Perceived Alchemical Environment*. Environmental Perception Research, Working Paper, 1 (Toronto: Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Toronto, 1978); Evelyn Edson and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views of the Cosmos* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2004).

16 This is now comprehensively discussed by Chiara Benati in her contribution to this volume. See also the study by Christoph Galle, approaching this issue from the history of the early medieval Church.

17 Karl Beth, *Religion und Magie bei den Naturvölkern* (see note 6), 121. This seminal study was reprinted only recently (Graz: Edition Geheimes Wissen, 2014). We have to take this perspective with a grain of salt, of course, since he still viewed magic through a ‘colonialist’ lens, giving rationality and also the Christian religion absolute primacy. See now the contribution to the present volume by Thomas Willard.

18 See, for instance, *Reading Harry Potter: Critical Essays*, ed. Giselle Liza Anatol (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003); Marion Rana, *Creating Magical Worlds: Otherness and Othering in Harry Potter* (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2009); Tison Pugh and Angela Jane Weisl, *Medievalisms: Making the Past in the Present* (London: Routledge, 2013).

knowledgeed that God had every power to create whatever He wanted, which powerfully explains the presence of such a magnitude of gargoyles, corbels, and sculptures reflecting all kinds of hybrid creatures.¹⁹ According to Christa Tuczay, we can define magic, as understood in antiquity and the early Middle Ages, “as a system working purposefully and automatically, operating via charms and conjurations and affecting application of sympathetic relations between the mundane and the celestial worlds: gods, demons, stars, animals, plants, stones, limbs, etc.”²⁰ While in antiquity magic was regarded as a perhaps uncanny, but certainly powerful instrument to appeal to higher powers,²¹ the Christians quickly build a strong wall against anything that smacked like satanic and infernal, since they could not control magic at all, or basically failed in substituting their prayers for the heathen charms, irrespective of the strong similarities in wording and ritual. Their great concern was very understandable because they tried to establish their own church and faith within a world deeply determined by older, so-called pagan – certainly an imperialist term – religions and cultures, as the vast number of charms, amulets, and talismans from the early and high Middle Ages confirms and as the whole spectrum of theological writings since late antiquity underscores.²²

19 See Nurit Golan’s contribution to the present volume.

20 Christa Agnes Tuczay, “Magic and Divination,” *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Vol. 2 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 937–53; here 938.

21 See, for instance, Georg Luck, *Magie und andere Geheimlehren in der Antike: mit 112 neu übersetzten und einzeln kommentierten Quellentexten*. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 489 (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1990); Fritz Graf, *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber: die Magie in der griechisch-römischen Antike*. C. H. Beck Kulturwissenschaft (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1996); Daniel Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Brian P. Copenhaver, *Magic in Western Culture: From Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) – which is a rather popular anthology and often more confusing than illuminating; Bernd-Christian Otto, *Magie: Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016); Marco Frenschkowski, *Magie im antiken Christentum: eine Studie zur alten Kirche und ihrem Umfeld*. Standorte in Antike und Christentum, 7 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2016). See also the contributions to *Der antike Mensch im Spannungsfeld zwischen Ritual und Magie: 1. Grazer Symposium zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde Graz, 14.–15. November 2013*, ed. Christian Zinko and Michaela Zinko, together with Berenike Kainz. Grazer vergleichende Arbeiten, 28 (Graz: Leykam, 2015). For an excellent survey, see now Michael D. Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present*. Critical Issues in History (Lanham, Boulder, et al.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 9–42.

22 Albrecht Classen, “Old High German Missionary Activities by Means of *Zaubersprüche*—Charms: Anthropological-Religious Universals in the Early Middle Ages,” *Kościół w dobie chrystianizacji (Churches in the Era of Christianization)*, ed. Marian Rębkowski. Wolińskie Spotkania

Following Marcel Mauss, we might identify magic as opposed to religion as a ritual and spiritual practice carried out in secret, in far-away places: “Isolation and secrecy are two almost perfect signs of the intimate character of a magical rite. They are always features of a person or persons working in a private capacity; both the act and the actor are shrouded in mystery.”²³ Magic is carried out by an individual, not by representatives of an organization. Mauss attributes specific professional groups with magical powers, or at least with the potential to acquire those, that is, medical doctors, barbers, blacksmiths, shepherds, actors, and grave diggers (29). Individuals enjoying particular charisma and/or authority tend to be magicians or are recognized as such. While physicians and scientists have to labor long and hard to achieve their goals, if they ever achieve them, magicians are said to command miraculous powers to produce quick and totally surprising results: “He has the gift of conjuring up more things than any ordinary mortals can dream of. His words, his gestures, his glances, even his thoughts are forces in themselves. His own person emanates influences before which nature and men, spirits and gods must give way” (33).

Traditionally, many scholars identified magic with ‘primitive’ cultures, ancient cultures, barbarian cultures, that is, in short, with non-Christian cultures within the medieval European paradigm, and also elsewhere on the globe. What magic really means in sociological, religious, or philosophical terms, has been discussed for decades by major scholars such as James George Frazer, Nathan Söderblom, Sigmund Mowinckel, and Adolf Ellegard Jensen.²⁴ Even though all of them explored the differences between religion and magic, or their similarities, none of their positions have met full agreements across the wider field of scholarship, involving anthropology, religion, sociology, science, and literary scholarship. Carl Heinz Ratschow even goes so far as to claim that magic has nothing to do with religion in the narrow sense of the word and in-

Mediewistyczne III (Szczecin/Stettin: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Department of Archaeology, 2016), 77–88. See also the contribution by Chiara Benati to the present volume. For the history of paganism, see John Marenbom, *Pagans and Philosophers: The Problem of Paganism from Augustine to Leibniz* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015; paperback 2017).

23 Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. from the French by Robert Brain (1950; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 23. For an extensive discussion of Mauss, see Daniel Dubuisson, *Religion and Magic in Western Culture*. Supplements to Method & Theory in the Study of Religion, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 6–13.

24 Carl Heinz Ratschow, “Magie: Religionsgeschichtlich,” *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller. Vol XXI (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 686–91; here 687.

stead aims for a recreation of the individual with his/her own self within a holistic universe.²⁵

Magic creates a merging of self and world in a unique fashion, free from all rational operations, in the firm belief that there is another entity in this world: “... der Ritus gewährt Leben, indem er den Grund seiner Möglichkeiten im Fest – Opferfest oder Tanzfest – darstellt” (691; the rite grants life by way of representing its possibilities in the festival, either a sacrificial festival, or a dance festival). However, magic reaches out as much to other powers as do religious practices, and is as much determined by the firm conviction that the individual can, through proper rituals and use of charms, amulets, talismans, etc., achieve an effect by appealing to a *numen*, which amounts to a miracle. Practicing magic consists of the effort to transfer power (“Kraftübertragung”) in another dimension to this world and to make the impossible possible. In other words, we can claim that, anthropologically speaking, the differences between a magician and a saint are rather minor, even though the representatives of the Church would vehemently protest against such an assumption. The wealth of medieval relics indicates that even Christians embraced, in essence, a notion of magic since those lifeless, inanimate objects were supposed to connect the supplicant with the saint, who in turn was expected to intervene in human life according to the faithful’s wishes.²⁶

Magical figures or sculptures tend to share an intimate similarity with the *numen*, which makes the sympathetic relationship possible and thus can launch the magical process (imitative magic). The magician establishes an analogy between microcosm and macrocosm, as anthropologists have observed all over the world (shamans, healers, kahunas, etc.).²⁷ Little wonder that hence all establish-

25 Ratschow, “Magie” (see note 24), 690.

26 A. Bertholet and C.-M. Edsman, “Magie,” *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. 3rd, completely rev. ed. by Kurt Galling. Vol. 4 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1960), 595–601.

27 For a very useful survey article especially for covering the history of research, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shamanism> (last accessed on Feb. 3, 2017). See also Rebecca L. Stein and Philip L. Stein, *The Anthropology of Religion, Magic, and Witchcraft*. 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2011); *From Shaman to Scientist: Essays on Humanity’s Search for Spirits*, ed. James Houran (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004). For a study of medieval Irish shamanism, see Alexandra Bergholm, “Academic and Neopagan Interpretations of Shamanism in *Buile Suibhne*: A Comparative Approach,” *Essays in Honour of Anders Ahlqvist. Studia Celtica Fennica* 2 (2005): 30–46; see also Feargal Ó Béarra, “*Buile Shuibhne*: vox insanitae from Medieval Ireland,” *Mental Health, Spirituality, and Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 15 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 242–89.

ed and other religions have commonly adapted ancient cultural rituals, charms, and practices, resulting into a fascinating, today often (deliberately) ignored amalgamation process. After all, as A. Berthelet and C.-M. Edsman have observed already a long time ago,

Im Hintergrund aller M[agie] steht ein Irrationales, für das die Erklärung allein in menschlicher Erfahrung und in menschlichem Erlebnis zu suchen sein dürfte. Es ist das Erlebnis der geheimnisvollen Macht, das im Menschen, zunächst vielleicht mehr unbewußt als bewußt, entsprechende Reaktions- und Ausdrucksbewegungen auslöst, und je mehr Wille und Wunsch, mit der Zeit auch verständiges Überlegen, für diese Bewegungen richtungsgebend werden, desto mehr sieht man M[agie] wachsen und sich entwickeln.²⁸

[In the background of magic there is an irrational element, which can be explained only through human experience and what humans have witnessed. It is the realization of the mysterious power, which triggers, perhaps at first more unconsciously than consciously, corresponding reactions and expressions. The more there is a will and a desire, and in time also a rational reflection determining this process, the more one witnesses the growth and development of magic.]

We know of magic and magical practices already in ancient times, and then, of course, from throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. The magical tradition emerged in the Middle Ages at first in Spain, especially because there it was fostered and promoted by King Alfons of Castile when he commissioned the translation of the book *Picatrix* from Arabic to Latin (see also below) and thereby literally invited those scholars into his courtly world who were working in the field of necromancy.²⁹ Most magicians were employed to create divinations for their lords, who were apparently desperately concerned with the outcome of their lives and tried everything in their power to modify their destiny before their own death. Nevertheless, magic was also utilized in a wide range of other contexts and enjoyed high popularity both amongst the upper and the lower social classes, and this certainly already since the early Middle Ages and before that time, if we think, for instance, of Pliny's (23–79) *Natural History* (*Historia naturale*).

The negative opinion about magic, as formulated by St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (354–430), deeply influenced the entire Middle Ages, especially because magic could be characterized as almost polytheistic, in contrast to the Christian

²⁸ A. Berthelet and C.-M. Edsman, "Magie" (see note 26), 599.

²⁹ Dieter Harmening, "Magie: Historisch," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller, vol. XXI (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 695–701; Ana González Sánchez, *Alfonso X el mago*. Colección de estudios, 167 (Madrid: UAM Ed., 2015). See also the contribution to this volume by Veronica Menaldi.

concept of monotheism. But the debate about the true meaning of magic, about the difference between ‘white’ and ‘black’ magic, raged throughout the entire pre-modern world and continued also far into the Renaissance, if we think of such intellectuals as John of Salisbury, Nicole d’Oresme, Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Johannes Trithemius, and Marsilio Ficino.³⁰ Dante Alighieri, for instance, located the famous scholar and magician Michael Scot or Scotus (1175–ca. 1232), who was closely associated with the court of Emperor Frederick II in Palermo, in the fourth bolgia in the Eighth Circle of Hell, or *Inferno*, casting him as a liar who knew “[t]he magic game and its false signs to limn” (Canto XX).³¹

Even though the early medieval Christian missionaries tried hard to eliminate those vestiges of the popular and oral cultures, condemning them regularly as magic and necromantic, the stupendous presence of charms in Old English, Old High German, in a variety of Scandinavian languages, but also in some Romance languages, recorded, surprisingly, in liturgical texts, theological works, but then also on a variety of other media (e.g., carvings), clearly demonstrate that there was not such an impenetrable wall between both worlds. People commonly sought out magicians or sorcerers/sorceresses for medical help, especially in desperate cases, and the Christian priests and missionaries could hardly afford to fight against them with their minimal means and particularly their own lack of medical knowledge.³²

30 Karen Louise Jolly, “Magic,” *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, ed. Carl Lindahl, John McNamara, and John Lindow (Santa Barbara, CA, Denver, CO, and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2000), vol. 2, 611–16.

31 *The Portable Dante*, ed. and with an intro. by Paolo Milano (1947; Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1985), 109; Canto XX, 117. The English trans. is by Laurence Binyon. Giuliano Bonfante, “Dante e la magia,” *Aevum: Rassegna di Scienze Storiche, Linguistiche, Filologiche (Aevum)* 65.2 (1991): 313. As to Scotus, see Lucy Pick, “Michael Scot in Toledo: Natura Naturans and the Hierarchy of Being,” *Traditio* 53 (1998): 93–116; Silke Ackermann, *Sternstunden am Kaiserhof: Michael Scotus und sein Buch von den Bildern und Zeichen des Himmels* (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2009). *Kulturtransfer und Hofgesellschaft im Mittelalter: Wissenskultur am sizilianischen und kastilischen Hof im 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Johannes Fried and Gundula Grebner (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2008). Scotus was, however, mostly a translator, an astrologer, alchemist, and divinator, and yet he quickly gained the reputation of a magician and occultist, especially because he had worked in Toledo, Spain. There he translated the famous Arabic treatise on astronomy, *Kitab fi l-hai’a* by Alpetragius, later works by Aristotle, also from Arabic to Latin, and Avicenna’s commentary on Aristotle. Scotus thus gained a universal reputation, which associated him with the occult sciences. See, for a useful overview, <http://www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Biographies/Scot.html> (last accessed on April 4, 2017).

32 The entire issue is well investigated by Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), especially, 68–84. See now also Al-

In the famous letter by Gregory the Great (540–604) to Abbott Mellitus, who was by then on his way to England, he urged him not to destroy the old shrines, but to remove the old idols. Even the sacrificial slaughter of animal was not to be banned; instead, “let them slaughter animals for their own food to the praise of God, and let them give thanks to the Giver of all things for His bountiful provision.”³³ Similarly, the old religions, decried as magic or necromancy, promised venues to higher powers, that is, forms of divination desired by many people. After all, just as today, people become often desperate in time of crises, such as illness, epidemics, war, famine, etc. As human creatures, we then try to find help wherever it might rest, which explains why the Christian Church could not gain the upper hand so easily and had to struggle for centuries to repress, or even to eliminate, the old popular cultures which were deeply determined by the presence of magicians, healers, necromancers, etc.³⁴

Yet, despite the clear direction in this struggle, Christian clerics had a hard time amidst the sea of pagan culture, especially if the local magicians seemed effective and hence superior to all efforts by the clergy. Many authors hence describe, for instance, how deceiving magicians were exposed by Christian clerics, although they had to struggle long and hard to detect the demons or devils supporting the opponents, as we often hear in the tales contained in Caesarius of Heisterbach’s *Dialogus miraculorum*.³⁵ Unintentionally, this promoted the presentation of magicians or their demons in medieval manuscripts, and their elaborate treatment in religious narratives.³⁶

brecht Classen, “Old High German Missionary Activities by Means of *Zaubersprüche*—Charms” (see note 22); cf. also the contribution to this volume by Chiara Benati.

33 Quoted from Flint, *The Rise of Magic* (see note 32), 77.

34 See the contribution to this volume by Christoph Galle. See also Flint, *The Rise of Magic* (see note 32), 88–92.

35 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum/Dialog über die Wunder*, intro. by H. Schneider, trans. and commentary by N. Nösges and H. Schneider. 5 vols. Fontes Christiani, 86.1–5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). For an English trans., see *The Dialogue on miracles [by] Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, with an introduction by G. G. Coulton. 2 vols. Broadway Medieval Library (London: Routledge, 1929). See now Albrecht Classen, “Madness in the Middle Ages – an Epistemological Catalyst? Literary, Religious, and Theological Perspectives in Caesarius of Heisterbach’s *Dialogus Miraculorum*,” *Hermeneutics of Textual Madness: Re-Readings/Herméneutique de la folie textuelle: Re-lectures*, ed. M. J. Muratore. Biblioteca della Ricerca, 38 (Fasano, Italy: Schena Editore, 2016), vol. I, 339–68.

36 Sophie Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 8–9. She emphasizes how much the artists of manuscript illustrations and authors endeavored to present the dramatic development in the competition between a priest, for instance, and the magician/s and their supporters, the demons.

In many ways we might be able to call the countless efforts by the Church to combat magic and all forms of necromancy a targeted and multiple propaganda war by means of texts, images, and oral presentations in the form of sermons. Curiously and almost ironically, both the specific kinds of words and images often paralleled exactly the way how magicians operated on their own, drawing their power from verbal rituals and visual processes.³⁷ In this regard we might conclude that the discourse on magic reflected a universal debate about the authority to reach out to the *numinosum* (God, the saints, etc.) and to draw from their power for human beings in their misery and helplessness, which the exorcists and their many colleagues did mostly in a very similar fashion.

But insofar as spirits or angels cannot be verified, and insofar as the power addressed through prayer or a charm cannot be identified or characterized clearly, the entire conflict between the Church and the world of magic proved to be one concerning influence, and claim to truth, a highly contested field already then and certainly until today. This finds its vivid expression in a highly popular textual genre, the *Ars Notoria*, which originated in the twelfth century and survives in over fifty manuscripts. “The art consisted of a programme of prayers, inspection of ritual diagrams called *notae* and ascetic practices to be undertaken over several months, during which the practitioner would be miraculously endowed with faculties . . . and the scholastic arts.”³⁸ In other words, though certainly veiled, magic was also of great significance within the Church, as numerous monastic libraries demonstrate, especially in Canterbury, England.³⁹ At first sight, of course, the *Ars* served a religious, Christian purpose, but the parallels with magical practices are rather stunning.

³⁷ Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts* (see note 36), 36.

³⁸ Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts* (see note 36), 39. See also Michael Camille, “Visual Art in Two Manuscripts of the *Ars Notoria*,” *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger. *Magic in History* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 110–39.

³⁹ L’“*Ars Notoria*” au Moyen Âge: introduction et édition critique by Julien Véronèse. *Micrologus’ Library*, 21 (Florence: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007); id., “Magic, Theurgy, and Spirituality in the Medieval Ritual of the *Ars Notoria*,” *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Claire Fanger. *The Magic in History Series* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 37–78; Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*. *The Magic in History Series* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); eadem, “Uplifting Souls: The *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis*,” *Invoking Angels*, 79–112; Claire Fanger, *Rewriting Magic: An Exegesis of the Visionary Autobiography of a Fourteenth-Century French Monk*. *Magic in History Series* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

A scholar called Honorius of Thebes is said to have written another influential text, the *Liber iuratus* sometime in the early fourteenth century, more or less in direct response to the *Ars*, now defending magic and accusing the persecuting bishops and prelates of being inspired by demons and misunderstanding the entire field of magic arts. It was first mentioned in the 1347 trial record of Olivier Pépin from Mende, France, and Johannes Hartlieb (1456) (see below) cited it as one of his important sources. The *Liber* has been called a “Solomonic Grimoire” because of its heavy use of angelic powers and seals like those found in *The Key of Solomon*, referring to a host of ancient sages and necromancers who had charged the author to compile the collective wisdom about magic and to teach the new generation about its usefulness and authority.⁴⁰ It remains unclear how serious we have to take this work, since it represents a major collage of ritualistic prayers, magical texts, seals, invocations, etc., but it intriguingly reflects the powerful discourse on magic as it raged through the entire period and actually grew despite the best efforts by the Church, as numerous manuscripts from throughout Europe indicate, containing diagrams of magic circles and other magical images and objects, that is, richly illuminated and serving a representative purpose.⁴¹

The production of medieval manuscripts was an expensive operation, and it was regularly subject to critical examination by the superiors in monastic or lay scriptoria.⁴² It would have been virtually impossible for the scribes and artists to

40 Joseph H. Peterson, *The Sworn Book of Honorius: Liber Iuratus Honorii* (Berwick: Nicolas-Hays, 2016).

41 For a most intriguing example from early modern Dutch art history, see the contribution to this volume by Martha Moffitt Peacock. See also Matilde Battistini, *Astrology, Magic, and Alchemy in Art*, trans. Rosanna M. Frongia Giammanco (2004; Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007); see also the contributions to *L'art de la Renaissance entre science et magie*, ed. Philippe Morel. Collection d'histoire de l'art de l'Académie de France à Rome, 5 (Paris: Somogy, Ed. d'Art, 2006). Cf. also Stephan Müller, “Magie und mise en page: Über die Schrift als Vollzugsform in mittelalterlichen Zauberspraktiken und die Deutung eines Nachtrags in der Heidelberger Handschrift des ‘König Rother’,” *Akten des X. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Wien 2000: Zeitenwende – Die Germanistik auf dem Weg vom 20. ins 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Wiesinger. Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik: Reihe A. Kongressberichte, 57 (Bern, Berlin, et. al.: Peter Lang, 2002), vol. 5, 333–34; Christa M. Haeseli, *Magische Performativität: Althochdeutsche Zaubersprüche in ihrem Überlieferungskontext*. Philologie der Kultur, 4 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 2011).

42 Frank Fürbeth, “Texte der Magie – Magie der Texte: zum Lebensraum magischer Texte in mittelalterlichen Handschriften am Beispiel der Chiromantie,” *Text als Realie: internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 3. bis 6. Oktober 2000*, ed. Karl Brunner. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 18 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 97–13. More generally, see, for instance,

sneak magical images or designs into the manuscripts without some kind of approval by the authorities within the Church, later by university professors, private patrons of high standing, and other individuals with power and wealth. Even if some renegade monks, scribes, or clerics might have tried to make some money on the margin by copying magical texts or creating art work serving magical procedures, we are still faced with the paradoxical phenomenon of a Christian world where magic – both white and black, both officially accepted as scientific and radically rejected as the devil’s work – certainly surfaced and found its own place. All endeavors by the Church to excoriate and eliminate all form of magic, regarding it as evil necromancy, led to a number of book burnings, executions of perpetrators, often also burned at the stake, but the presence of magic could not be repressed entirely, if at all.⁴³ The phenomenon of magic in all of its manifestations (grimoires, rituals, charmes, etc.) at the end of the Middle Ages thus indicates quite shockingly the considerable crisis the Catholic Church was in, “une chrétienté en crise,” as Florence Chave-Mahir and Julien Véronèse now formulate.⁴⁴

As we have learned, in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, interest in magic and necromancy, in astrology and divination grew considerably again because, as Frank Klaassen has noted, “medieval ritual magic and Renaissance magic held similar assumptions, sought similar goals, and often employed nearly identical techniques. Moreover, in both cases, astrological image magic was understood as only one element in a much more expansive system.”⁴⁵ Major intellectuals such as Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), and Henricus Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) drew extensively from medi-

the contributions to *Le livre au moyen âge*, ed. Jean Glenisson ([Paris:] Presses du CNRS/Brepols, 1988); Claudia Brinker-von der Heyde, *Die literarische Welt des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007); *L’univers du livre médiéval: substance, lettre, signe*, ed. Karin Ueltschi. Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Âge, 17 (Paris: Champion, 2014); *The Materiality of Magic*, ed. Dietrich Boschung and Jan N. Bremmer. Internationales Kolleg Morphomata, 20 (Paderborn: Fink, 2015).

⁴³ Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts* (see note 36), 56–61. She refers, for instance, to the burning of the *Liber visionum*, a revision of the *Ars Notoria*, from ca. 1307 by the monk John of Morigny; Fanger, *Rewriting Magic* (see note 39). See also the contributions to this volume by Veronica Menaldi and Claire Fanger.

⁴⁴ Florence Chave-Mahir and Julien Véronèse, *Rituel d’exorcism ou manuel de magie? Le manuscrit Clm 10085 de la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich (début du XVe siècle)*. Micrologus’ Library, 75 (Florence: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 3.

⁴⁵ Frank Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance*. The Magic in History Series (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 215.

eval magical sources, as much as they might have tried to distance themselves from their predecessors and claim a new intellectual position. Especially Agrippa “gathered materials from the texts of medieval ritual magic He harvested a dizzying range of magical and divinatory practices, all of which he subsumed in a single ordered package” (216). Ficino identified love as a form of magic through which an individual tries to influence another person’s spirit, which would all depend on the star constellations. Nevertheless, the end of the Middle Ages witnessed a growing number of juridical trials and court proceedings against accused magicians and the subsequent burning of books, and of the alleged perpetrators, which was to become the antecedent of the imminent witch craze, resulting from a mass hysteria affecting all of Europe throughout the following centuries.⁴⁶

Famously, Richard Kieckhefer has called the presence of magic within the medieval Church the product of a “clerical underworld,” that is, a world where many different clerics, including monks, abbots, priests, bishops, were aware of or practiced magic themselves, whether with good or evil intentions:

What is most important for our purposes is that they all would have had at least a little learning, and for them this learning was a dangerous thing. Basic knowledge of the rites of exorcism, and perhaps an acquaintance with astrological images and other kinds of magic, might well lead them to experiment with conjuration. If they had access to the infamous books of necromancy, and if they were curious enough to try them out, that was all they needed for membership in this clerical underworld.⁴⁷

While a student of the Middle Ages at large might at first be overwhelmed by the presence of Christian texts, immediately identifying that world as entirely dominated by the Christian Church, a closer examination quickly leads to the realization of how many magical works actually existed, whether they focused on necromancy, basic magic (white or black), divination, prophecy, medical processes, or astrology. The hegemony of the Christian Church was clearly present, here disregarding the presence of the Jewish population dispersed all over Europe, and leaving aside various heretical groups, such as the Cathars, the Waldensians, and the Hussites, but it was based on a rather shaky foundation where numerous

⁴⁶ See the contribution to this volume by Thomas Willard, who provides an excellent historical overview of how magic developed from antiquity through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Consult also the useful study by Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural in Medieval English Romance*. Studies in Medieval Romance (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 71–77.

⁴⁷ Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (1989; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 155.

alternative voices, learning, skills, belief systems, and intellectual power rested, which we now simply place under the umbrella term ‘magic.’⁴⁸

Magic in Theological and Historical Terms

From early on, both in Europe and in other continents, magic was a form of ritualistic performance, by means of words (charms) or objects (amulets, talisman), which highlights the very close relationship between magic and religion. This still holds true until today, since all prayers of all religions rely on words and rituals, reaching out to a higher being and requesting help in human affairs since medical sciences, feats of engineering, or mathematical calculations do not achieve the desired end.⁴⁹ However, the Romans already specified illicit forms of magic predicated on a contract with demons, which was severely condemned and forbidden (*crimen magiae*). The Church Father St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (354–430) intensively engaged with the phenomenon of magic throughout his life and struggled hard to find a solid position to distance himself and good Christians from the danger of this uncanny force, such as in his *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII* (ca. 396), in his *De doctrina Christiana* (late 390s), in his *De divinatione daemonum* (between 406 and 411), and, most comprehensively, in his *De civitate dei* (between 413 and 426). He vehemently rejected all beliefs in the effectiveness of demons, describing all forms of magic as superstition, and he insisted that only Christian rites and rituals were valid. The famous Spanish encyclopedist Isidore of Seville (560–636) outlined specifically how to recognize

48 Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*. Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1996); Helmut Birkhan, *Magie im Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 2010); Patrick Hersperger, *Kirche, Magie und “Aberglaube”: Superstitio in der Kanonistik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht, 31 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2010). See now the contributions to *Magia daemoniaca, magia naturalis, zauber: Schreibweisen von Magie und Alchemie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Peter-André Alt, Jutta Eming, Tilo Renz, and Volkhard Wels. Episteme in Bewegung, 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015); cf. also my review in *Mediaevistik* 29 (2016): 351–53.

49 Monika Schulz, *Beschwörungen im Mittelalter: Einführung und Überblick*. Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003); *Heilkunde im Mittelalter*, ed. Ortrun Riha. *Das Mittelalter* 10. 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005); Denis Bruna, *Enseignes de plomb et autres menues choses du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éd. du Léopard d’Or, 2006); Simone Miche, *Die Magischen Gemmen: Zu Bildern und Zauberformeln auf geschnittenen Steinen der Antike und Neuzeit*. Akademie Mittelalter, 6 (Munich: Oldenbourg Akademieverlag, 2010); Wolfgang Ernst, *Beschwörung und Segen: Angewandte Psychotherapie im Mittelalter* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2011); Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural* (see note 46), 87–99.

and determine nefarious forms of magic, which also implied the presence of good and evil magic. At the same time, the influence of Neoplatonism and Gnosticism was considerable with respect to the development of magic that found much scientific support and many types of practical applications throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.⁵⁰

The large movement of the Cathars (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and similar groups was closely associated with this form of magic, by which the individual allegedly tried to reach out to divine forces and powers – certainly a rhetorical claim by the members of the Catholic Church trying to malign these so-called heretics,⁵¹ which finds its parallel a few hundreds of years later in the witch craze.⁵² What people cannot or do not want to understand they stereotype as evil, devil worship, or magic, relying on an age-old strategy of casting a Manichean world-view. However, such opinion fused already then many different components, leveled all differences, and lumped together, as modern readers tend to do, vastly contrasting aspects into one category for the sake of simplification. If we comb through various theological treatises from the late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, we easily come across a wide range of opinions about magic, witchcraft, astrology, necromancy, and related arts, reflecting a considerable degree of uncertainty and worry about one's own religious position. Was God the only creator, or were there also other powers beside Him?

The theological discussion about the human free will (St. Augustine, 354–430), however, opened the floodgates for theoretical concepts about demons that influenced people and made them believe that they could use magic for their personal use and material enrichment, for instance. As Christa Tuczay informs us, “[a]fter Augustine’s fundamental exegesis, Christian authorities generally agreed that no magical performance occurred by magicians’ own skills, but rather with the aid of demons and their illusory arts. Augustine’s contrasting of demonic and angelic powers was consequently followed by the contrasting of magic and miracle.”⁵³ Both Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280) and Bonaventure (1221–1274) embraced this concept and developed their own theories regarding magic as an evil form of epistemology. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) went so far as to place the vice of superstition above the sin of tempting God. However,

50 Michael Bailey, *Magic and Superstition* (see note 21), 53–59.

51 Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, *God’s Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*. Studies in Church History, 46 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Ecclesiastical History Society; Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2010).

52 See the contribution to this volume by Amiri Ayanna.

53 Tuczay, “Magic and Divination” (see note 20), 941.

he granted astrology its own legitimacy, which had huge consequences for late medieval sciences based on the observation of the star constellations.⁵⁴

One can certainly debate whether magic falls under the category of astrology, but the differences would not be very large since both practitioners were trying to solve the riddles of this world through esoteric ‘sciences’ predicated on profound knowledge, though we tend to disagree strongly with the definition of ‘knowledge’ as it was used then. Magic and modern sciences differ in the way in which understanding and insights are established, insofar as the former relies on spiritual forces, whereas the latter are predicated on the principles of experimentation, verification, and falsification. Nevertheless, the dichotomy between science and magic has never been as much apart as the representatives of the former have claimed, especially because the goals of both have been fairly similar, and at times even identical. As Jens Braarvig has noted, “Magic then, and I would like to include myth, are rhetorical and polemical concepts in common and even scientific language. . . . Like myth, however, magic has in periods also had very positive connotations.”⁵⁵

Astrology was always treated with great respect, despite its intimate connection with magic, because it pursued sympathetic influences from the stars on people’s individual lives. Both philosophers and scientists in antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages, and then even far beyond embraced astrology as a crucial instrument for divination and hence also for medical purposes, especially when thirteenth-century scholars began to rediscover the teachings of Ptolemy through new translations from the Arabic into Latin, and so also the famous texts by Aristotle.⁵⁶

Similarly, the difference between magic and religion could easily be regarded, with many good reasons, as rather minimal and even arbitrary, especially if we consider Christianity also as an institution bent on gaining hegemony over other religions in political and economic terms. Finally, again in Braarvig’s

54 M. E. von Matuschka, “Magie” (see note 2), 82–88. There is, of course, much research on this global topic; and it would be hard to identify any medieval and early modern philosopher or theologian who would not have embarked on some form of critical exchange regarding the meaning of magic or necromancy. See now the contribution to this volume by Thomas Willard.

55 Jens Braarvig, “Magic: Reconsidering the Grand Dichotomy,” *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens*, 4–8 May 1997, ed. David R. Jordan, Hugo Montgomery, and Einar Thomassen. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4 (Bergen: The Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999), 21–54; here 28.

56 Bernhard Dietrich Haage, “Artes magicae: Die magischen und mantischen Künste,” id. and Wolfgang Wegner, together with Gundolf Keil and Helga Haage-Naber, *Deutsche Fachliteratur der Artes in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Grundlagen der Germanistik, 43 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2007), 266–82.

words, “Magic is usually the activity of the Others, and whoever practices it is not prone to admit it, since it in fact concerns a private, not easily acknowledged or even recognized, darker side of the personality.”⁵⁷ Religion and magic are defined by power structures within society, and representing competing sides of the same coin: “. . . religion is *morally and collectively accepted* by society as a common expression of all, while magic is not prone to be admitted by even the ones practicing it, being strongly condemned as *immoral, subversive and destructive* by society at large, being socially marginal and as such often ascribed to strangers and despised groups.”⁵⁸

However, and quite remarkably, he then also points out, in a comment which can be regarded as a critical perspective for the present volume, that the very marginality and obscurity of magic might result in it being admired and worshipped as a true alternative and epistemologically innovative instrument for the deciphering of this world.⁵⁹

The Arab ‘Ali Ibn al-Rijāl (tenth-eleventh century), the famous Italian astrologer Guido Bonatti (1210–1296), and, much later, the Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Morin de Villefranche (1591–1659) enjoyed tremendous popularity and fame during their time and left behind monumental works on astrology, an intriguing offshoot of medieval magic. Divination and prophesying have always been methods to reach out to the *numen* and to learn from insights into the spiritual otherworld gained through rituals, magical performances, reading of celestial signs, and the like.

Despite many changes in the following centuries, astrology continued to be regarded with considerable respect and attracted the most intellectual minds, and even the Church could not fend off the influence of astrology. It was more successful regarding magic, whereas the study of the stars in their constellations, having, allegedly, a direct influence on human destiny, appeared as more in line with God’s own teachings and ancient philosophy.

Guido Bonatti was born around 1207 and died before 1296, and Dante apparently rejected him as a most condemnable fortune-teller, placing him in the eighth circle, in the fourth ring, of his *Inferno* (ca. 1320). Nevertheless, despite some detractors among ecclesiastics, Bonatti was strongly supported by counts, tyrants, and probably also the Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250), and his *Book of Astrology*, which was truly encyclopedic in its compilation of scientific material,

57 Braarvig, “Magic” (see note 55), 51. He particularly references here the famous study by Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 12 vols. (1911–1915).

58 Braarvig, “Magic” (see note 55), 52.

59 Braarvig, “Magic” (see note 55), 52.

was published many times after his death, first printed in 1491, then in 1506, 1550, and in an abbreviated German version in 1572 and 1581.⁶⁰

Defending his own art, Bonatti refers first to the human soul, arguing that there is nothing in which it “gains so much wealth as in astronomy and astrology. For through it, we know and understand impassible and unalterable creatures, and those not changing into another essence, as are the supercelestial bodies.”⁶¹ Insofar as the stars, the planets, and the sun are perfect bodies, the astrologer is privileged to work with perfection in a material sense, drawing insights on human corruption as an effect of those bodies. All material beings consist of the four elements (air, fire, water, and soil), while the celestial bodies consist of the quintessential element which is “incorruptible and impassible” (2). He explains the workings of the stars on human lives as follows:

Philosophically it is said that the terrestrial motion is joined to the celestial world; but this must be understood metaphorically, not unconditionally; and therefore changes and alterations and corruptions in this corruptible world come to be. Wherefore the solidity of the celestial world comes to the elements, and surrounds them (namely fire, and fire the air, and air the water and the earth which appears, and water the earth); and thence come to be the corruptions of the elements and of individuals of the elements. (2)

Identifying astrology as a mathematical science, but more noble than mathematics, Bonatti comments,

Therefore, all things which come to be in the present, and which have been hitherto, and which come to pass in the future, can be known by the astrologer, if he knows the qualities of the motions which there were, which there are, and which will be afterwards, in what times they will be, and what will fall together from them or because of them. (4)

Simply put, and correlating astrology with magic, Bonatti, like many of his contemporary scientists, endeavored to learn the deeper truths as reflected in the constellations and to gain insights into the workings of all matter, both materially and spiritually.

However, the following centuries, especially the sixteenth century, saw a dramatic increase in public hysteria over the alleged danger resulting from magicians, witches, sorceresses (and their male counterparts), and astrologers,

⁶⁰ Benjamin N. Dykes, “Practice and Counsel in Guido Bonatti,” *Astrologers and Their Clients in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wiebke Deimann and David Juste. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 73 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2015), 29–41.

⁶¹ Guido Bonatti, *The Book of Astronomy*, trans. Benjamin N. Dykes. Vol. 1 (Golden Valley, MN: The Cazimi Press, 2007), 1.

among other necromancers, probably out of hyped-up fear about knowledge and power that could not be controlled by the authorities. The infamous witch craze was the probably most extensive manifestation of this phenomenon, adding a religious component to the discourse on magic, but there were numerous other cases discussed and dealt with well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶²

The Protestant Reformation, led by Martin Luther, viewed all those aspects with greatest suspicion, and Luther himself voiced harshest criticism of the entire world of magic, since he considered all those dealing with the black arts as thieves, murderers, liars, deceivers, and hence as the greatest threat to the Christian faith. The public discourse no longer discriminated among the various representative of the 'science' of magic and lumped everyone together who did not operate obediently according to religious rules. The Protestant Church might even have been worse in that regard than the Catholic Church.⁶³ We observe, in other words, the critical function of magic since it regularly served as a linchpin concerning a society's world view insofar as it was treated as a general threat to the dominant church, religion, or political structure. Magicians can apparently

62 Roswitha Rogge, "Von Zauberinnen, Hexen und anderen berüchtigten Frauen im frühneuzeitlichen Hamburg," *Hexenwelten. Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg*, Neue Folge, 31 (2001), 27–43; Christoph Daxelmüller, "Magie im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Alltag," *Hexen: Mythos und Wirklichkeit*, ed. Lars Börner (Munich: Ed. Minerva, 2009), 53–59; see also Christopher H. Partridge, *The Occult World*. Routledge Worlds (New York: Routledge, 2015). Still valuable proves to be Julio Caro Baroja, *The World of the Witches*. The Nature of Human Society Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

63 Allison P. Coudert, "The Myth of the Improved Status of Protestant Women: The Case of the Witchcraze," *The Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jean R. Brink, Allison P. Coudert, and Maryanne C. Horowitz (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989), 61–90; see also chapter three in Coudert's book *Religion, Magic, and Science in Early Modern Europe and America*. Praeger Series on the Early Modern World (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011); cf. also the contributions to *Ketzer, Zauberer, Hexen: Die Anfänge der europäischen Hexenverfolgungen*, ed. Andreas Blauert (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1990); see now the contributions to *Mit dem Schwert oder festem Glauben: Luther und die Hexen*, ed. Markus Hirte (Darmstadt: Theiss Verlag – Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2017). The topic of the witch craze in the early modern age has been discussed already from many different perspectives and does not fully fall into the scope of the present book; but see Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Defining Dominion: The Discourses of Magic and Witchcraft in Early Modern France and Germany*. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1995); Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2004); see also her earlier study, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Religion and Sexuality in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1994). See also the contribution to this volume by Amiri Ayanna.

do what no one else can control, so they have always emerged as uncanny figures and representatives of dark forces from another dimension.

All the Church Fathers, and countless subsequent theologians struggled hard against magic in its myriad of manifestations, such as St. Augustine (354–430), Isidore of Seville (560–636), Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Albertus Magnus (1200–1280), but then also the worldly rulers, beginning with Charlemagne (d. 814). Both canon law and secular law were instituted to decry specifically the use of magic, witchcraft, sorcery, etc. throughout the entire Middle Ages and beyond.⁶⁴ It is also important to distinguish between magic based on demonic power (the devil, evil spirits) and magic based on the natural forces harnessed by the magician, though the latter was normally predicated on creating illusions, as we will later hear often enough from various literary sources. But maybe we should not be overly critical and skeptical and reject any possibility that medieval magicians indeed might have had some peculiar powers that allowed them to transform material existence.

Virgil and Magic in Clerical Literature

Popular opinion, often fed by clerical authors, commonly assumed the presence of magic in all kinds of contexts. In the famous *Gesta Romanorum* (early fourteenth century), for instance, Emperor Titus orders the magician Virgil to erect a statue that would tell him who among the people had broken the law that he promulgated forbidding everyone to work on the day of his son's birthday. Virgil's skill proves to be paramount, and the statue soon reveals the names of many 'criminals' who are then executed.⁶⁵ Although Virgil applies all his skills,

⁶⁴ Michael D. Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 110; Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 19–56. See also Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural* (see note 46), 82–87.

⁶⁵ *Gesta Romanorum: A New Translation* by Christopher Stace, with an introduction by Nigel Harris. Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), no. 57. The best succinct discussion of the *Gesta* is provided by Udo Wawrzyniak, "Gesta Romanorum," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, vol. 5 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 1201–1212. Insofar as the *Gesta* represent virtually a medieval 'bestseller,' reaching audiences all over Europe both in Latin and in many different vernaculars, we can be certain that many of the stories contained in this collection proved to be highly popular and might well have influenced public opinion about many different aspects. Walter Röll, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Gesta Romanorum*," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986): 208–29; id., "Nachlese zur Überlieferung der *Gesta Romanorum*," *Beiträge zur Ge-*

his entire scheme is later undermined when the wise artisan Focus appears, threatens the statue, and can subsequently convince the emperor that he had been right in challenging that magic because he could not observe the law out of economic necessity. The subsequent moralization explains that the emperor symbolized God the Father, Virgil stood for the Holy Spirit, and Focus for any good Christian (143). Nevertheless, the brief reference to the magician Virgil in this context underscores how well the myth of the ancient Virgil was known throughout the Middle Ages, commonly associated with having learned the magical arts.⁶⁶

Magic and Magicians in Medieval Literature

Magicians were a household item in medieval literature, so to speak, and we could list many different texts – romances, verse narratives, prose short stories, etc. – where through the intervention of a magic the account takes a decisive turn. As much as we are dealing here with poetic license, it still deserves to be mentioned that medieval thinking did not shy away from magic at all and accepted the possibility that a magician could bring about the impossible, both in negative and in positive terms. The fictional texts do not necessarily have a direct bearing on the history of mentality regarding the phenomenon of magic, but the common appearance of the theme itself underscores the wide-spread acceptance of magic as a tool, if not science, that could be employed for a variety of purposes.

schichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 121 (1999): 103–08; Brigitte Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum*. 2 vols. Fortuna vitrea, 3–4 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992). See also the extensive investigation by Gabriela Kompatscher, *Die Gesta-Romanorum-Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck Cod. 667, Cod. 509 und Cod. 433: ihre Beziehungen zueinander und zu den anderen Gesta-Romanorum-Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck*. Commentationes Aenipontanae / Tirolensia Latina, 1–2 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1997). See now Albrecht Classen, “The *Gesta Romanorum* in Light of Hartmann von Aue’s *Gregorius* and Heinrich Kaufringer’s Verse Narratives: Transcultural and Translinguistic Exchanges from the Early Middle Ages and to the Early Modern Ages,” to appear in *The Comparatist*; and id., “The *Gesta Romanorum* – A *Sammelbecken* of Ancient Wisdom and Didactic Literature and a Foundation for Late Medieval Narrative Art. A Medieval ‘Bestseller’ Revisited,” to appear in *Literature & Aesthetics* (Open Access).

66 Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. Edward Felix Mendelssohn Benecke (1895; London: Allen, 1966); Fabio Stok, “Virgil between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,” *International Journal of the Classic Tradition* 1.2 (1994): 15–22; Antonie Wlosok, “Rollen Vergils im Mittelalter,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 42 (2008): 253–69; Sebastiano Italia, *Il Virgilio medievale: tra filologia, filosofia e leggenda, tre saggi*. Mvlt a Pavis, 12 (Acireale-Rome: Bonanno Ed., 2012).

es in very practical terms. In many courtly romances, for instance, magical forces come to play when a magician or sorcerer intervenes, whereas we hardly ever hear of demons or the devil. Poets seem to be much more interested in white magic or natural magic than necromancy, an issue which was much more pursued by scholars, scientists, and theologians. As Corinne Saunters notes, “Perhaps surprisingly, romance does not in general depict a fearful world of humans conjuring demons, though demons may themselves practise supernatural arts. Rather, magic is practical, material, tangible, its efforts most often related to knowledge and the power of divination, or, more disturbingly, to power over the body, especially through the arts of illusion and shape-shifting, but also through medical magic.”⁶⁷

In a number of Old Norse sagas, for instance, the narrator mentions, almost just in passing, that some women possessed magical skills and could perform the process of shape-shifting. We also learn at times of powerful men who command magic and as such enjoy major authority.⁶⁸ In *Egil's Saga*, for instance, written in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, already the first character introduced, Ulf, the son of Bjalfi and Hallbera, is said to be such a shape-shifter, apart from being a very hard working farmer who keeps a close watch over his workers and craftsmen.⁶⁹ Beyond that the narrator has nothing to say. When he turns to the character Skallagrim, who is preparing a journey across the sea, we are informed that some of the best men whom he invites to join him are the sons of a mysterious woman, Thorarna, who “was a sorceress,” while other men are shape-shifters as well (42). The meaning of this miracle is that they take on “the character of animals, or went berserk, [and] became so strong in this state that no one was a match for them, but also that just after it wore off they were left weaker than usual” (48).

In the section dealing with Erik Blood-axe the narrator mentions that he gained a major victory in a battle by the river Dvina in Permia. During that journey he also married Gunnhild, daughter of Ozur Snout, and this woman attracts

⁶⁷ Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural* (see note 46), 7.

⁶⁸ In this regard I would have to disagree with Tuczay, “Magic and Divination” (see note 20), 940, who claims that in Old Norse Sagas those practicing magic are considered sinister characters.

⁶⁹ *Egil's Saga*, trans. Bernard Scudder. Ed. with an Intro. and Notes by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (1997; London: Penguin, 2004), 3. *Egils saga*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University of London, 2003); cf. now the contributions to *Egil, the Viking Poet: New Approaches to Egil's Saga*, ed. Laurence de Looze, Jón Karl Helgason, Russell Poole, and Torfi H. Tulinius. Toronto Old Norse and Icelandic Series, 9 (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, [2015]).

particular attention not only because of her physical beauty, but also because she was “well versed in the magic arts” (64). But magic is not limited to women; instead, within the same context we are told about a man called Thorgeir Thorn-foot who “was very wealthy, made many sacrifices to the gods and was well versed in the magic arts” (64). Details escape us entirely, maybe because the poet did not consider it important enough to explain further what kinds of magic he performed. For him it suffices that Thorgeir belongs to the group of people who command this kind of necromancy, without abusing it, as it appears, to the detriment of his neighbors or foes.

Similarly, Egil’s foster-nurse Thorgerd Brak gains the narrator’s great respect insofar as he describes her “as strong as a man and well versed in the magic arts” (69). This appears to have been enough for him to explain why this was such an outstanding woman. The Queen of Norway, Gunnhild, opposed Egil Skallagrimsson and “had a magic rite performed to curse [him] . . . from ever finding peace in Iceland until she had seen him” (122). Considering that Egil grows very restless in Iceland and then in summer departs on a journey, we would be justified to assume that for the author this magical rite might have achieved the desired goal. But the narrator refrains from offering any specifics about it and simply takes those comments, as he must have read them in his sources or heard them from oral accounts, at face value. So it becomes a common feature in this *saga*, whenever the poet wants to highlight an individual, male or female, to emphasize, for instance, referring to Atli the Short. He was strong and courageous, an experienced dueller, and skilled in the magic arts” (143).

At other times we hear of a magical ritual to heal a sick person, so when Egil is asked to heal Thorfinn’s daughter Helga, who had been sick for a long time, obviously as the result of a charm caused by some carved runes:

He ordered them to lift her out of her bed and place clean sheets underneath her, and this was done. Then he examined the bed she had been lying in, and found a whalebone with runes carved on it. After reading the runes, Egil shaved them off and scraped them into the fire. He burned the whalebone and had her bedclothes aired. (158–59)

Subsequently he spoke a ritual prayer, a counter-charm, as we might say, and then created his own, healing runes: “Egil cut some runes and placed them under the pillow of the bed where she was lying. She felt as if she were waking from a deep sleep, and she said she was well again, but still very weak” (159). Carving runes represented, as we realize subsequently, a delicate process requiring thorough understanding and great skill. The woman had fallen sick because her lover had failed to carve the correct runes with which he had tried to seduce

her, “but [he] did not know how to, and what he carved had caused sickness instead” (165).⁷⁰

Sometimes magic occurs without us learning who might have created it. Both in Chrétien de Troyes’s Old French version of *Yvain* (ca. 1177) and in Hartmann von Aue’s Middle High German ‘translation’ under the title *Iwein* (ca. 1203), the knight Kalogrenant reports about a mysterious experience which has never found a full explanation. While on the search for adventure, he had come across a secret place in the middle of the forest as directed by a wild man to whom he had to explain what knighthood was all about and who hence had instructed him to visit that spot with a marvelously arranged spring and water basin underneath a linden tree. Kalogrenant poured water on the stone and then had to witness a most terrifying and incredible thunderstorm:

Very soon I saw, around me in every direction, a good thousand lightning flashes. Afterward and just as often, such a mighty thunderclap resounded that I fell to the ground. A rain- and hailstorm arose. Had not God’s blessing spared me from the storm’s affliction, I would have been very quickly dead. The storm grew so violent that it leveled the forest. If there was anywhere a tree so big that it remained standing, it was bare, as stripped of foliage as if it had gone up in flames. Whatever dwelt in the forest perished immediately if it did not make a quick escape. (244)⁷¹

But soon enough the forest recovers, “[t]he birds came back, the linden tree was again covered with their feathers” (244), and everything seems to have returned to order. However, thereupon the guardian of the spring arrived, challenged his opponent, defeated him, and took his horse, forcing him to walk back to the cas-

70 François-Xavier Dillmann, *Les magiciens dans l’Islande ancienne: études sur la représentation de la magie islandaise et de ses agents dans les sources littéraires norroises*. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 92 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akad. för Svensk Folkkultur, 2006); Stephen A. Mitchell, *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Nicolas Meylan, “Magic and Discourses of Magic in the Old Norse Sagas of the Apostles,” *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 7 (2011): 107–24; see also the contributions to *Religione e magia nelle saghe nordiche: atti della Giornata di Studio Religione e Magia nelle Saghe Nordiche*. Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni, 78.2 (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2012).

71 *The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue*, trans. with commentary by Frank Tobin, Kim Vivian, and Richard H. Lawson. Arthurian Romances, Tales, and Lyric Poetry (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 244. See also Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*. 4th, rev. ed. Text of the 7th ed. by G. F. Benecke, K. Lachmann, and L. Wolff. Trans. and epilogue by Thomas Cramer (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001). For a broader approach to the issue of magic in Arthurian romances, see Sandra Witte, *Zauber: Magiepraxis und die geschlechtsspezifische Darstellung magiekundiger Figuren in der höfischen Epik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. Schriftenreihe Schriften zur Mediävistik, 12 (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2007).

tle where he had stayed the night before. This then becomes the crucial adventure which his friend Yvain/Iwein wants to experience, and the magic works its charm again, except that this time Iwein defeats and kills the other knight, which sets into motion the actual topic of this Arthurian romance, whereas the function and workings of the fountain and the basin are not mentioned specifically.⁷²

In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205), the section dealing with Gawan's adventures also entails numerous references to the workings of a magician, Clinschor.⁷³ Even though the poet never allows him to appear in person, his impact on the entire Arthurian world is remarkable, that is, almost devastating, which requires Gawan to take on the challenge and to restore the well-being of courtly society. He has to face truly life-threatening dangers, but survives, though with many wounds that require careful treatment by the women held prisoners at the enchanted castle. Once he is more or less well again, Gawan inquires with the old queen Arnive about the nature of the magic that had been cast upon that mysterious castle, appropriately called "Schastel Marveile." He is told that those marvels are minor and almost insignificant compared to those magical powers that he can really exert in other parts of the world. His own kingdom is called "Terre de Labur" with the capital "Capua," and he was born as a descendant of "Virgil of Naples" (275), which brings us back to the commonly shared myth of the magician Virgil (see above).

Arnive then informs him that Clinschor had fallen in love with the lovely queen Iblis, married to the King Ibert of Sicily. After much service that he offered her, Iblis finally granted him her love, but they were then caught *in flagrante* while spending a night together at the castle "Caltabellotta," and Ibert castrated the victim: "Clinschor was made into a capon" (275) – an obvious pun on the name of the capital, which Gawan rewards with a loud laughter.

Only then, however, after having lost his manhood, did Clinschor seek out the ancient lore of magic in a city called "Persida" (276), where it had been invented. In order to avenge himself generally on mankind, Clinschor turned his newly acquired magical skills against many aristocratic men and women, de-

72 Stephen Maksymiuk, *The Court Magician in Medieval German Romance*. Mikrokosmos: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung, 44 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1996); he discusses numerous magicians in Middle High German literature, but does not dedicate a special chapter to Iwein.

73 Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival and Titivel*, trans. with notes by Cyril Edwards. Oxford World Classics (2004; Oxford, New York, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2006); Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival: Studienausgabe*. Mittelhochdeutscher Text nach der sechsten Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann. Übersetzung von Peter Knecht, Einführung zum Text von Bernd Schirok (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998).

stroying their happiness with the help of his necromancy. He could force King Irot of Rosche Sabbins to hand over to him the mountain upon which the enchanted castle is situated and a large territory surrounding it. Arnive ominously emphasizes: “he wields power over all those, whether *mal* or *bêâ schent*, who dwell between the firmament and the earth’s compass – except for those whom God wishes to protect” (276). However, since Gawan withstood all those attacks against him while he was in the castle, this now belongs to him, and so the land, since Clinschor, who is still a man true to his word, no longer wants it for himself, granting it to the victor.

Wolfram does not enter into much further discussion about Clinschor’s abilities and particular skills and leaves it all a bit in the narrative background, obviously satisfied with the playful allusion to the mysteries of the magical arts, although Gawan is then established as the new lord of the previously enchanted castle and can, in the course of time, pacify and settle both the land and the various conflictual relationships at King Arthur’s court. Clinschor’s magic is presented as a learned art which granted him enormous power, but it did not destroy his inner sense of nobility, despite his almost unquenchable desire to destroy other people’s happiness to compensate for his own pain and loss of love.⁷⁴

An interesting example from the late Middle Ages would be the ninth story of the tenth day in Boccaccio’s *Decameron* where the Sultan Saladin, then Soldan of Babylonia, travels *incognito* through Italy in order to spy on his enemies who are about to launch a crusade against him. In Pavia he is most generously and hospitably treated by the merchant Torello, and strikes a deep friendship with him, though he then has to leave and return to Alexandria to prepare himself for war. Saladin proves to be fortunate and can quickly gain victory over the crusader army, and captures many prisoners. One of them is Torello, who then has to serve as a slave to Saladin, assuming the role of falconer. Eventually the Sultan recognizes his former friend and embraces him full of joy, which could solve the entire situation rapidly. However, in the meantime false news about Torello’s alleged death have reached his wife Adalieta, who is then forced by her relatives to

74 For further details, see the contribution to this volume by Christopher R. Clason. Cf. also Walter Blank, “Der Zauberer Clinschor in Wolframs Parzival,” *Studien zu Wolfram von Eschenbach: Festschrift für Werner Schröder zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt Gärtner and Joachim Heinzle (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1989); Susan Tuchel, “Macht ohne Minne: Zu Konstruktion und Genealogie des Zauberers Clinschor im Parzival Wolframs von Eschenbach,” *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 231 (1994): 241–57; Sandra Linden, “Clinschor und Gansguoter: zwei Romanfiguren im Spannungsfeld von Gelehrsamkeit und Magie,” *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 49 (2008): 9–32.

marry another man at a set time, that is, a year after Torello's departure, as they both had agreed before he set off to war.

Torello also realizes that his letter to his wife had never reached its goal, which would mean that he is now in danger of losing his wife to another man. This throws him into such desperation that he is ready to die, but Saladin comes to his rescue and orchestrates a strategy based on magic: "Accordingly Saladin bade one of his necromancers, of whose skill he had already had proof, to devise a method whereby Messer Torello should be transported abed in a single night to Pavia: the necromancer made answer that it should be done, but that 'twere best he put Messer Torello to sleep." The two friends then say good-bye to each other, and Torello is put to sleep and placed on a most ornate bed: "Which done, he kissed Messer Torello again, and bade the necromancer speed him on his journey. Whereupon, forthwith, the bed, with Messer Torello thereon, was borne away from before Saladin's eyes, and he and his barons remained conversing thereof."

As expected, Torello is immediately transported to Pavia, where he and his bed are placed in the church San Piero in Ciel d'Oro. Even though his sudden appearance deeply frightens the abbot and his monks, Torello can eventually calm them down and explain the entire situation. This new situation, with the protagonist having returned home safely though in a very strange fashion, pleases the abbot greatly, who simply accepts the magical act that brought his nephew back home safely and just in the nick of time to prevent his wife from marrying another man: "After which, having put the costly jewels in safe keeping, he recounted to the abbot all the story of his adventures to that very hour. The abbot, rejoicing in his good fortune, joined with him in offering thanks to God."⁷⁵

For Boccaccio as a story teller, the appearance of a magician, or necromancer, was a convenient narrative instrument helping him to develop his account further, dramatizing the events, but allowing Torello to arrive just in the nick of time to safeguard his own marriage. There are no comments on the magician himself, who operates like a *deus ex machina*, and his art, we only know that he commands enormous powers and employs those according to the Sultan's wish-

75 Here quoted from the online version drawn from the English translation by J. M. Rigg (1903; London: Priv. Print. for the Navarre Society, 1921); http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/texts/DecShowText.php?myID=nov1009&lang=eng (last accessed on Dec. 18, 2016); see now Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron: A New Translation, Contexts, Criticism*, trans. and ed. Wayne A. Rebhorn. Norton Critical Editions (New York: W. W. Norton, 2016). Unfortunately, this otherwise very welcome new translation is marred by the fact that it presents only a selection of Boccaccio's complete work.

es. There is nothing negative about having a court necromancer, and not even the ecclesiastics in Pavia have anything to say about the workings of a magician; instead the abbot praises and thanks God for this help bringing Torello back home safely and in a rapid fashion, which avoids a terrible mistake of marrying his wife to another man while Torello is still alive.

In Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (ca. 1400), we encounter a magician as well who is hired to arrange a love affair, though now to the chagrin of the wife who does not want to submit to the conditions that she had set up herself.⁷⁶ In *The Franklin's Tale* the narrative focuses on a happily married couple, Arveragus (he) and Dorigen (she) whose bliss is suddenly deeply threatened by the amorous efforts by the squire Aurelius who has fallen in love with Dorigen and tries his luck with her when the husband is away in England where he hopes to achieve fame and gain glory as a knight.

When confronted by the squire, Dorigen radically rejects his wooing and insists on being a loyal wife. Curiously, however, she then offers the young man a chance, after all, that is, she would grant him her love if he were able to remove all the black rocks on the shore of Brittany. Dorigen is certainly not serious about this proposition, referring to God who would not permit such a miracle to happen and who would thus preserve her love and honor. She calls Aurelius's longing a 'folly' and assumes that therewith she would have dashed all of his hopes and recovered his reason.

Indeed, Aurelius falls into a deep depression and has to stay in bed for two years, only taking his brother into confidence over the cause of his misery. This brother had studied at Orléans some years ago and now suddenly remembers that he had read in a book about white magic. The narrator immediately inter-

76 It would be futile to engage with the host of relevant Chaucer research, since he enjoys such a reputation in the history of medieval English literature. Here I have used Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*. A new unabridged trans. by Burton Raffel, intro. by John Miles Foley (New York: The Modern Library, 2008); and for the historical-critical edition, see *The Riverside-Chaucer*, ed. Larry Dean Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). For important research, see now the contributions to *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (1986; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For more detailed research, see Alison L. Ganze, "'My Trough for to Holde-Allas, Allas!': Dorigen and Honor in the Franklin's Tale," *The Chaucer Review* 42 (2007/2008): 312–29; Kudo Yoshinobu, "Shrewd Negotiation in the Guise of 'gentillesse' in Chaucer's 'Franklin's Tale,'" *Poetica* (Tokyo) 77 (2012): 27–46; Wan-Chuan Kao, "Conduct Shameful and Unshameful in The Franklin's Tale," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 38 (2012): 99–139; Darragh Greene, "Moral Obligations, Virtue Ethics, and Gentil Character in Chaucer's Franklin's Tale," *The Chaucer Review* 50 (2015): 89–107. Curiously, the role of the magician in this tale does not yet seem to have attracted much interest. But see now the contributions to this volume by Lisa M. C. Weston and Daniel F. Pigg.

venes, however, and assures his readers that the entire plot is situated in the past, whereas at the present moment Christian faith would radically reject all of those necromantic matters (397–400).

Nevertheless, the brother is convinced that such magic, many fanciful examples of which he is recalling, would be a real possibility, so he and his brother quickly travel to his alma mater to find the best master of the necromantic arts there who could help Aurelius achieve his goal of gaining the lady's love. Already outside of the city gate they encounter an apparently powerful master who knows exactly what they are looking for. He takes them with him to his house, where he entertains them with amazing magical shows, which are all nothing but illusions yet powerful demonstrations of his mastery in this art. He is even quickly prepared to help Aurelius to make all the black rocks disappear, although he demands the high price of thousand pounds, which the young man is more than willing to pay because the miracle promises to solve his trouble and give him the lady's love (483–91).

To ease his reader's possible concern with magic, Chaucer injects regularly some remarks about the ancient time when these events take place, insisting that he had read about this story in old books (503). Nevertheless, as a narrator he never raises any doubt about the story's veracity and does not question the real existence of magical powers. Instead, he outlines in considerable detail how the magician works to figure out the correct astrological configuration for the miracle to occur that all the rocks would disappear from people's sight. There is a reference to the famous tables of Toledo (533), to the planets and stars, etc., so this magician actually works as an astrologer and achieves his goal of making all the rocks disappear, at least from public view, for a fortnight or even a month, as the result of magical illusions (558).

Chaucer employs a fascinating concept of magic in this tale because this magician operates more like an illusionist who draws his power from astrological calculations and thus knows how to deceive people. Obviously the rocks can no longer be seen, seemingly having disappeared for good, but we know from the early part of the story when the two brothers had arrived how well versed he had been in creating those 'cinematographic' tricks. And a trick it is, which could not really be true according to the laws of nature, as Dorigen thinks, when she is confronted with the miraculous disappearance of the rocks. This reminds her of her own pledge to the squire to grant him her love when that miracle would have happened (608).

Dorigen ponders, in her desperation, what to do in that dilemma, torn between her love for her husband and the oath that she had foolishly sworn to Aurelius. She is close to committing suicide, following a long tradition of similar cases of abused and raped women in antiquity, when her husband finally re-

turns, finds her in such misery. Once he has learned the entire situation, he insists that she live up to her oath and grant her love to the squire, as painful as it would be for both of them. Honor depends on holding up an oath, and nothing would be more worthy in life than that.

Amazingly, when Aurelius learns about Arveragus's decision in this case, placing his honor and that of his wife over all of his feelings of being hurt and humiliated by this proposition that she would sleep with the other man, he suddenly feels deeply ashamed and begins to realize the absurdity and meanness of his strategy regarding Dorigen. So he suddenly releases her of the oath and is ready to despair over a love he will never achieve because he cannot destroy the strong bond of love between husband and wife. At the same time, it begins to dawn upon Aurelius how much he has to pay the magician, which threatens to ruin him completely, unless he can set up a long-term payment plan, just as in a modern credit scheme (830–42). However, once the magician has understood the sentiments expressed by Dorigen and the high level of honor upheld by her husband Arveragus, he decides to match their level of nobility and performs graciously and generously to Aurelius, releasing him of the debt.

Thus ends Chaucer's tale, which leaves us with much to think about regarding the role of the magician, who is here identified primarily as a cleric who operates with white magic and is apparently fully recognized as a member of a learned community. Insofar as the narrator has situated his tale somehow into a pre-Christian world, he feels safe to include the element of magic, which does not threaten, at any rate, any religious concepts. After all, this magician does not call upon the help of devilish forces and relies, instead, on his astrological skills. Nevertheless, there is still a remarkable difference between this magician and ordinary people, such as Dorigen, who had sworn her foolish oath simply because she had not ever heard of magic and could not imagine that this miracle would ever occur (859–60).

No one voices any criticism of the magician, who proves to be a respectable, learned, and powerful individual. He carries out his profession in an honorable fashion and accomplishes his assigned task after having worked hard for a long time. Still, he seems to be an illusionist primarily and knows exceedingly well how to deceive people through the projection of most fabulous images. But it does not matter for us whether the black rocks really have disappeared or whether everyone is only the victim of an illusion. Realistically speaking, it might well have been that a heavy cloud covered the coastline, which the magician could foretell through his astrological calculations. The focus rests on Dorigen and Aurelius, hence on the question whether she would be bound to uphold her part of the bargain, that is, her oath, as her husband finally insists. But love cannot be bought or compelled, as Aurelius, in his immaturity assumes, and only when he

learns of Arveragus's painful but honorable decision to force his wife to live up to her part of the bargain with the squire, does he realize the shameful of his own efforts.

The magician here demonstrates that the magical arts belong to the advanced disciplines studied at the university, that magic is mostly a matter of illusions, and that magical miracles can easily be produced if the customer pays enough money and if the magician commands enough learnedness. Chaucer has nothing negative to say about magicians and gives this cleric much credit as a highly educated and powerful, and then also a very honorable and generous individual who knows how to operate on the same ethical level as the knight Arveragus.

We also encounter a different perspective toward magic in the slightly earlier anonymous alliterative romance, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (ca. 1370), where the Green Knight arrives at King Arthur's court and challenges them all to a grizzly Christmas game involving beheadings. He would voluntarily submit to one of Arthur's knights to carry out the decapitation, if he himself then would be allowed to do the same to the other within a year's span. Everyone is rather horrified about this proposition, but it proves to be an enigmatic game, after all.⁷⁷ Gawain assumes the task, cuts off the Green Knight's head, but he does not kill him. Instead, something magical occurs:

But the freak neither faltered nor fell none the more.
Then steadily he started forth upon stiff shanks,
And rapidly he reached out where ranting men stood,
Took hold of his handsome head and held it up quickly,
And then hurries to his horse to handle the bridle,
Steps into the steel-stirrup and straddles on top,
Holding his head in his hand by the hair.⁷⁸

Gawain has to live up to his promise to allow the Green Knight, who turns out to be Bercilak de Hautdesert, do the same thing to him, but even he does not die in that competition. He submits to the test, but his shoulder jerks at first when he notices the axe coming down upon him swung by his opponent. The latter then scoffs at him, ridiculing him in his cowardice, which then steels Gawain to hold steady the second time, although he must expect certain death. The Green Knight

⁷⁷ Albrecht Classen, "Erotik als Spiel, Spiel als Leben, Leben als Erotik: Komparatistische Überlegungen zur Literatur des europäischen Mittelalters," *Mediaevistik* 2 (1989): 7–42.

⁷⁸ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: A Dual-Language Version*, ed. and trans. by William Vantuono. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 1265 (New York and London: Garland, 1991), 430–36; see Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural* (see note 46), 204, 253.

then swings again, but he deliberately cuts only through flesh creating a blood wound, which signals to Gawain that he has survived and that the Green Knight had not performed this in earnest. He immediately jumps up, puts on his helmet and gets ready to fight, which demonstrates to his opponent that he is indeed a worthy knight, which then ends the wager peacefully. Gawain has to learn, to his shame, that the entire set-up had been nothing but a test orchestrated by King Arthur's own sister, Morgan le Fay, hence Gawain's aunt, as Bercilak then informs us about her magical skills:

I hold sway in this land
Through the might of Morgan le Fay, who in my house dwells,
And the science of lore through skills well learned;
The mastery of Merlin she has managed to acquire,
For she once dallied in delight and developed an affair
With that marvelous magician; your men at home know that tale of fame.
Morgan the goddess and my guide,
Therefore is her noted name;
No one possesses such high pride
When she can not make very tame. (2445–55)⁷⁹

As this denouement actually reveals, Morgan did not harbor evil thoughts and did not intend to cause real damage or death; Instead, she intended “To tempt the pride, to perceive if there were truth / In the rumors of renown of the great Round Table” (2457–58). However, her jealousy over her competitor, Guenevere, which made her even willing to kill her by means of frightening her to death, also is revealed by Bercilak (2460–62).

We do not learn much more about the magical arts practiced by Morgan, but it is evident that she knows how to create the miracle that Bercilak's head could be decapitated without this causing him any harm. Just as in Chaucer's narrative, the magical act was nothing but a “þat ilke gomen þat gostlych speked” (2461; “green illusion that ghastly spoke”). Insofar as Bercilak also spares Gawain's life, though he draws some blood when he cuts his neck, he followed through with what she must have instructed him about in fact. For her, magic amounts

⁷⁹ Research has much studied this mysterious figure, often operating in the background of Arthurian literature; see Carolyn Larrington, *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006); Kristina Pérez, *The Myth of Morgan la Fey. Arthurian and Courtly Cultures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Jill M. Hebert, *Morgan le Fay, Shapeshifter. Arthurian and Courtly Cultures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural* (see note 46), 193–200. See now the contribution to this volume by Dalicia K. Raymond.

to a masterful game, a box full of tricks through which she can test the entire court of King Arthur, well represented by Gawain. Whether the green belt, which Bercilak's wife had given to Gawain would really have preserved his life, we cannot determine, but it underscores as well how much the poet, and hence also his audience, believed in the power of magical objects, talismans, which could have the power to save one's life.

We also need to observe that Morgan had gone through an intense learning process, acquiring her knowledge from Merlin, so magic emerges really as a science, at least within the medieval context. As much as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, or Chaucer's *The Franklin's Tale* fall into the textual world of fictional literature, both these two and other narratives predicated their accounts on the general assumption that magic was a specific art that could be studied and was available to those with the sufficient abilities and skills. The trick with decapitation was also employed as a literary motif in the thirteenth-century *Diu Crône* by Heinrich von dem Türlin.⁸⁰

Magic and Magicians in the Later Middle Ages

Considering the thin wall separating magic and pre-modern forms of sciences, it does not come as a surprise that many people viewed those scholars who were very advanced in their experimental studies, such as Roger Bacon (1214–1291), with great suspicion, although Bacon himself sharply rejected magic and insisted on mathematically and physically based experiments in order to understand the miracles of nature. In his treatise *De mirabile potestate artis et naturae* (On the Marvelous Power of Magic and Nature), Bacon

draws the important distinction between magic that works by suggestion and natural science. For him, a juggler was *praestigiator*, and prestiges would have been the term used by his contemporaries for the visual deceptions they caused. According to him, prestige might involve anything from high class illusion to low class duping, providing the crucial elements of artifice and imposture were present.⁸¹

However, for most people, both then and today, sciences as a critical study area, was too difficult to understand, and the workings of magic continued to appeal

⁸⁰ Christa Agnes Tuczay, *Magie und Magier im Mittelalter*. Rev. ed. (1992; Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003), 305–30, 315.

⁸¹ Tuczay, "Magic and Divination" (see note 20), 947–48.

widely. Consequently, the degree to which superstition was fully embraced was, to say the least, rather astounding.⁸²

No surprise then that the Christian Church struggled from very early on, and particularly since the seventh and eighth centuries, to overcome pagan cultures and beliefs, and hence had to operate systematically, energetically, and sometimes even very aggressively to eliminate ancient folk beliefs and types of magic, whether those were simply superstition or whether they functioned just the same way as prayers and Christian rituals.⁸³ Nevertheless, magic was of no real and deeply troubling nature for the Church until the thirteenth century. At that time the two new mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans emerged which aimed specifically at teaching and preaching to the ordinary people and who were thus suddenly confronted with a vast number of popular concepts, beliefs, customs, and rituals, none of which conformed to the demands by the Church.⁸⁴

The rich body of narratives composed by the Cistercian monk and master of the novices, Caesarius of Heisterbach, his *Dialogus miraculorum* (completed ca. 1240), was mostly based on the assumption of the devil's working everywhere in human life.⁸⁵ In particular, in the fifth section we come across numerous accounts of the active role played by the devil in human life, then of demons, necromancers, magicians, and others. Magic makes it possible to witness the return of deceased individuals, and the appearance of devils in the lives of people, both

82 *Life in the Middle Ages: Religion, Folk-Lore and Superstition*, selected, trans. and annotated by George Coulton. 2nd ed. The Cambridge Anthologies (Cambridge: University Press, 1928); Karin Baumann, *Aberglaube für Laien: Zur Problematik und Überlieferung spätmittelalterlicher Superstitionskritik*. 2 vols. Quellen und Forschungen zur Europäischen Ethnologie, 6.1 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1989); Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books; Cambridge, MA: Distributed by the MIT Press, 1998).

83 See, for instance, the letter written by Gregory the Great addressed to Saint Augustine of Canterbury, as transcribed by the Venerable Bede in his *Historia gentis Anglorum* (1. I, cap. XXX), here quoted by Raoul Manselli, *Magia e stregoneria nel medio evo*. Corsi universitari (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1976), 59–60.

84 For a practical approach to popular magic and superstition, in late medieval and early modern Czech medical treatises, see the contribution by David Tomiček

85 Manselli, *Magia et stregoneria* (see note 83), 135–37; Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum/Dialog über die Wunder* (see note 35); see also the contributions to *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogue on Miracles and Its Reception*, ed. Victoria Smirnova. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 196 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); for a recent study, see also Albrecht Classen, “Madness in the Middle Ages” (see note 35).

within the church and outside.⁸⁶ Other authors reflecting on magic were William of Auvergne (after 1180–1249), Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280), and numerous other philosophers and theologians far into the early modern age.⁸⁷ We hear of magicians, in positive and negative terms, both in Dante Alighieri's *Divina Commedia* (completed ca. 1320) and in countless treatises and narratives from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In fact, neither the Renaissance nor the age of the Protestant Reformation could be imagined without the discourse on magic, both with approval or utter rejection.⁸⁸ After all, the split of the Christian Church made it possible for many traditional but mostly hidden forms of superstition and 'heretical' thinking to emerge, which was the ideal fermentation ground for diviners, astrologers, alchemists, magicians, and sorcerers.⁸⁹ As Klaassen emphasizes, concluding his significant study, the engagement with magic was not an expression of crisis in the early modern age, but a creative challenge forcing the major intellectuals to reflect carefully and deeply on their own position vis-à-vis magical power, rationality, God, faith, and reason.⁹⁰ In fact, during the sixteenth century numerous figures emerged who worked in a variety of fields, including medicine, theology, and philosophy, at times combining them with the necromantic sciences,⁹¹ such as Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, simply known as Paracelsus (1493–1541), or Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522).⁹² The criticism

86 Manselli, *Magia et stregoneria* (see note 83), 138–48.

87 Manselli, *Magia et stregoneria* (see note 83), 209–10: "La posizione, dunque, della magia bianca si presenta con una triplice articolazione nella mentalità due-trecentesca, di cui abbiamo qui indicato alcuni dei maggiori rappresentanti. . . . Non a caso, magia bianca ed astrologia saranno due componenti caratteristici della cultura rinascimentale" (The position of white magic, hence, manifests itself in the mentality of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the most important representatives we have represented here, by way of a triple articulation. Not by accident, white magic and astrology are two components characteristic of the Renaissance culture).

88 *Everyday Magic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Kathryn A. Edwards (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

89 See, for instance, Doris Moreno Martínez, "Magical Lives: Daily Practices and Intellectual Discourses in Enchanted Catalonia During the Early Modern Era," *Everyday Magic in Early Modern Europe* (see note 88), 11–33.

90 Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic* (see note 45), 218.

91 See, for instance, Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine: 1550–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Jan Löhdefink, *Zeiten des Teufels: Teufelsvorstellungen und Geschichtszeit in frühreformatorischen Flugschriften (1520–1526)*. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 182 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016). See also the contribution to this volume by David Tomíček.

92 See the contributions to *Paracelsus im Kontext der Wissenschaften seiner Zeit: Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichtliche Annäherungen*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien,

against magic actually increased in the early modern age, not simply because the Church raised more opposition (both the Protestants and the Catholics), but rather because the issue became more complex, more widespread, and more influential, as the case of astrology, for instance, impressively confirms.⁹³ Regarding the emergence of early modern science, magic proved to be a major challenge, a competitor, and also a distant relative.⁹⁴ In Jens Braarvig's words, "the fundamental dichotomy is that magic is based in the belief that magical actions and the willpower of the magician work by its own force to bring about the desired result, while science would empirically and systematically search in nature for causes of the events that it would control."⁹⁵

While in the field of religion we have long accepted the presence of the *numinosum*, a term coined by Rudolf Otto in his book *Das Heilige* (1917),⁹⁶ the sci-

2 (Berlin and New York: Walther de Gruyter, 2010). The topic, in a broad context, is also discussed in the other volumes (4 vols.) of this series.

93 *Astrologia e magia nel Rinascimento: teorie, pratiche, condanne; atti del Convegno del Centro di Alti Studi Euaristos, Forlì, 21–22 maggio 2013*, ed. Ornella Pompeo Faracovi (Pisa: Edizioni Il Campano, 2014); *Astrologers and Their Clients in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wibke Deimann and David Juste. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 73 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2015); Darin Hayton, *The Crown and the Cosmos: Astrology and the Politics of Maximilian I* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015); Robin B. Barnes, *Astrology and Reformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

94 Steven P. Marrone, *A History of Science, Magic and Belief: From Medieval to Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge. The Routledge Worlds (Milton Park: Routledge, 2015); see also the contribution to this volume by Thomas Willard.

95 Braarvig, "Magic" (see note 55), 53. See also J. Bronowski, *Magic, Science, and Civilization*. Bampton Lectures in America, 20 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); *Zur Akzeptanz von Magie, Religion und Wissenschaft: ein Medizin-ethnologisches Symposium der Institute für Ethnologie und Anatomie, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, ed. Annemarie Fiedermutz-Laun. Worte – Werke – Utopien, 17 (Münster, Hamburg, and London: Lit, 2002); Dan Burton and David Grandy, *Magic, Mystery, and Science: The Occult in Western Civilization* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004); Ryan J. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science, & Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009); Graziella Federici-Vescovini, *Le Moyen Âge magique: la magie entre religion et science du XIIIe au XIVe siècle*. Études de philosophie médiévale, 97 (Paris: Vrin, 2011); Philip Ball, *Invisible: The Dangerous Allure of the Unseen* (London: Bodley Head, 2014).

96 Todd A. Gooch, *The Numinous and Modernity: An Interpretation of Rudolf Otto's Philosophy of Religion*. Vol. 293, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 293 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000); Alondra Yvette Oubré, *Instinct and Revelation: Reflections on the Origins of Numinous Perception*. The World Futures General Evolution Studies, 10 (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1997).

ences are much more obtuse to any efforts to entertain the notion that magic might be the foundation or even the complement to its own research area. Nevertheless, magic continues to exert profound fascination until today, and if we want to understand the pre-modern world in fundamental ways, we must also consider the presence and workings of magic, magicians, necromancy, astrology, and related subject matters. However, the purpose of this Introduction is limited to a critical examination of magic and magicians in the pre-modern era; I am deliberately staying away from examining what modern magic might entail, irrespective of major books that have been published on this topic, since we would thus lose our scholarly focus and get lost in the field of esoteric studies.⁹⁷ Yet, modern practitioners, believers, and researchers always draw from ancient sources, such as Hermes Trismegistus – the purported Hellenistic-Egyptian author of the *Hermetic Corpus* – the Bible, Persian and Arabic texts, ancient Jewish sources (the Cabala), etc.⁹⁸ There is no shortage of popular literature on this aspect, especially because fewer and fewer people in this world have a real understanding of modern technology and medicine, and simply use them for themselves, hence operate, willy-nilly, in a quasi magical environment.⁹⁹ I would go

97 See the massive volume by Aleister Crowley, with Mary Desti and Leila Waddell, *Magick: Liber ABA. Book Four. Parts I–IV*. Sec. rev. ed. Ed., annotated and intro. by Hymenaeus Beta (1994; San Francisco, CA, and Newburyport, MA: Weiser Books, 2008).

98 Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*, trans. from the German by David Lorton. Foreword by Jan Assmann (2005; Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2007); see also the contributions to *Le cercle des lettres de l'alphabet: un traité pratique de magie des lettres attribué à Hermès*, ed. Cécile Bonmarriage and Sébastien Moureau. Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science: Texts and Studies, 100 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016). See also Almut-Barbara Renger, "Von Pythagoras zur arabischen Alchemie? Über Longue-Durée Konstruktionen und Wissensbewegungen im Mittelmeerraum," *Magia daemoniaca, magia naturalis, zauber* (see note 48), 19–56.

99 Eckart von Hirschhausen, *Wunder wirken Wunder: Wie Medizin und Magie uns heilen*. 5th ed. (2016; Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2017). Apparently, this topic struck a nerve, since this book has appeared already in the fifth edition. I would venture that modern readers are simply gullible regarding 'practical' information about how to utilize magic even today. The business with magical objects, such as amulets and talismans is booming, and this in the twenty-first century: R. H. Laarss, *Das Buch der Amulette und Talismane: talismanische Astrologie und Magie* (Leipzig: Bohmeier, 2005). For magic and sorcery in the visual arts, see *Gespenster, Magie und Zauber Konstruktionen des Irrationalen in der Kunst von Füssli bis heute, anlässlich der Ausstellung Gespenster, Magie und Zauber. Konstruktionen des Irrationalen in der Kunst von Füssli bis heute 18. November 2011 bis 26. Februar 2012 im Neuen Museum in Nürnberg*, ed. Melitta Kliege (Nuremberg: Verlag für Moderne Kunst, 2011). This would also explain the enormous popularity of the *Harry Potter* book series published by J. K. Rowling since 1977. See also H. E. Douval, *Bücher der praktischen Magie: Magie, ihr Geheimsinn, ihre Technik und praktische Anwendung*. 12 Bücher in einem Band (1954; Schwarzenburg: Ansata-Verlag, 1977); for a critical, scholarly

so far as to claim that the modern subject increasingly feels disconnected from its technical environment where robotics are currently in the process of taking over the control in more and more areas of daily life. Naturally, magic thus seems to be an attractive alternative once again, at least through esotericism and supernaturalism.¹⁰⁰

As Marcel Mauss observes, “[a] magician is seen in terms of his relationship with animals as well as his relationship with spirits, and in the last analysis he is seen in terms of his own soul.”¹⁰¹ Particularly because of the obscure nature of magic and its practitioner, people have always attributed to the magician special powers, which they admire and abhor at the same time, fear and desire in order to improve their own lives. Considering the precarious position of a magician within the Christian world, above all, we can easily recognize the extent to which magic has always been hotly contested since it threatens the authority both of the Church and the sciences. But, magic is elusive and almost intangible, which makes it difficult for the opponents to identify and to eliminate it, just as difficult as it would be to fight against spirits: “the magician obtains advantages of a permanent nature through momentary contact with the spirits.”¹⁰² To establish such contacts, the magician has to learn unique rituals and words, charms, formulas, a new language, sacrifices, and performances, so we would have to identify him or her as a highly educated individual, though not in scientific

perspective, see the contributions to *The Cambridge History of Magic and Witchcraft in the West: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. David J. Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); see also Daniel Dubuisson, *Religion and Magic in Western Culture* (see note 23); Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supermagic* (see note 46), 5–6; *Everyday Magic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Kathryn A. Edwards (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016); Christopher Dell, *The Occult, Witchcraft & Magic: An Illustrated History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2016). The literature on this topic, often not quite serious or lacking in scholarly rigor, is truly legion.

100 See now the contributions to *Magic in the Modern World: Strategies of Repression and Legitimization*, ed. Edward Bever and Randall Styers (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2017). The online description provided by the publisher reads: “Taking a two-track approach, this book explores the complex dynamics of the construction of the modern self and its relation to the modern preoccupation with magic. Essays examine how modern ‘rational’ consciousness is generated and maintained and how proponents of both magical and scientific traditions rationalize evidence to fit accepted orthodoxy.” See also the contributions to *Gespenster, Magie und Zauber* (see note 99); Sabina Magliocco, *Witching Culture: Folklore and Neo-Paganism in America*. Contemporary Ethnography (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

101 Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (see note 23), 39.

102 Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (see note 23), 41.

terms. Magicians prove to be truly effective if they have followers or disciples who believe firmly in their actions as trustworthy and powerful.¹⁰³

After all, the magician establishes a sympathetic relationship with another power in spiritual, ritual terms, at a secluded location, and can thus conjure that power into his/her own sphere.¹⁰⁴ In Mauss's words, "[s]ympathy is the route along which magical powers pass: it does not provide magical power itself. In a magical rite the residue after the sympathetic formulas have been abstracted provides us with the essential elements of magic."¹⁰⁵ As alien and incomprehensible magic hence might appear, it has always appealed to people all over the world throughout time, though modern science has successfully marginalized it, without entirely eliminating it. The Church, by contrast, has always predicated its own legitimization on the projection of the very antithesis to its existence, the occult, the demonic, and the magic. As Daniel Dubuisson affirms, "it disfigured, diabolized and caricatured magic to such an extent that we can no longer find any positive trait in it."¹⁰⁶

The notion, as famously developed by Max Weber,¹⁰⁷ that our world today might be totally secularized and disenchanted would have to be dismissed quick-

103 Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (see note 23), 91–97.

104 Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (see note 23), 100.

105 Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (see note 23), 102.

106 Dubuisson, *Religion and Magic in Western Culture* (see note 23), 137. He suggests, for instance, to define magic less narrowly than traditionally done by the Church, in order to comprehend what would happen next. Then, as he concludes, "[m]agic is no longer this primitive and frightening thing installed on the periphery of civilization, whose existence it menaced by subjecting it to the irrationality of obscure and subterranean forces. It even acquires a bit of a noble title if one accepts displacing its centre of gravity in order to reconstitute the ensemble of the anthropological universe to which it belongs But for that, it will be indispensable to leave Christian Europe where it has been literally crushed by the Church. And the majority of the witnesses invoked in favour of a claimed universality of the religious will be able to be reversed and will illustrate henceforth, rather, a universality of magic, or, more exactly, of magic processes" (138–39).

107 Max Weber, *Religion und Gesellschaft: gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2012). The original article was his "Wissenschaft als Beruf" from 1917, which was published in 1919 under the same title (Munich: 1919). Here he formulated famously: "Die zunehmende Intellektualisierung und Rationalisierung bedeutet also nicht eine zunehmende allgemeine Kenntnis der Lebensbedingungen, unter denen man steht. Sondern sie bedeutet etwas anderes: das Wissen davon oder den Glauben daran: daß man, wenn man nur wollte, es jederzeit erfahren könnte, daß es also prinzipiell keine geheimnisvollen unberechenbaren Mächte gebe, die da hineinspielen, daß man vielmehr alle Dinge – im Prinzip – durch Berechnen beherrschen könne. Das aber bedeutet: die Entzauberung der Welt. Nicht mehr, wie der Wilde, für den es solche Mächte gab, muss man zu magischen Mitteln greifen, um die Geister zu beherrschen oder zu erbitten. Sondern technische Mittel und Berech-

ly.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, it makes perfect sense to return to magic and magicians in the pre-modern world in order to understand not only cultural and mental-historical conditions at that time, but also to comprehend how much modern science proves to be an outgrowth of a centuries-old discourse which might never come to a full conclusion, despite all the triumphs which scientists have achieved over the last four hundred years.

Magic represents, according to Martin Mulrow, a form of ‘precarious knowledge,’ that is, a concept of the mysteries of the macro- and the microcosm which can be analyzed without ever fully comprehending them because they are, ulti-

nung leisten das. Dies vor allem bedeutet die Intellektualisierung als solche” (9; The growing intellectualization and rationalization hence does not mean a growing general knowledge of the life conditions we are subject under. It means, by contrast, the knowledge of or rather the belief in the assumption that one could learn about those conditions, if one just wanted to. In other words, the belief that there are principally no secret, incalculable powers influencing us. It means thus the belief that we can control basically all things through calculations. That means hence: the disenchantment of the world. One no longer needs to resort to magical means in order to control the spirits or to plead to them, as it was the case for the barbarian. Now technical means and calculations do that. This implies, above all, the intellectualization). See the pleasantly useful survey online at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disenchantment> (last accessed on January 28, 2017). For a critical examination, see Joseph W. H. Lough, *Weber and the Persistence of Religion: Social Theory, Capitalism and the Sublime*. Routledge Advances in Sociology, 20 (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Christopher Adair-Totef, *Max Weber’s Sociology of Religion* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016). For a detailed analysis of what differentiates magic from religion, see Karl Beth, *Religion und Magie* (see note 6), ch. 3. He already emphasized, above all, that in cultures determined by magic virtually every event or action is determined by causality, which allows the magician to intervene and to partake in the numinous powers, utilizing them for his own purposes and those of his community. This is the sympathetic form of magic (104). Beth and others viewed and almost ridiculed magic, however, still from the lens of modernity determined by rationality and associated it with ‘primitivism.’

108 This is fully discussed by Allison P. Coudert in her contribution to this volume. See also Basit Bilal Koshul, *The Postmodern Significance of Max Weber’s Legacy: Disenchanting Disenchantment* (New York and Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Hartmut Lehmann, *Die Entzauberung der Welt: Studien zu Themen von Max Weber*. Bausteine zu einer europäischen Religionsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Säkularisierung, 11 (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2009); Keith Breen, *Under Weber’s Shadow: Modernity, Subjectivity and Politics in Habermas, Arendt and MacIntyre* (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012); Jibu Mathew George, *The Ontology of Gods: An Account of Enchantment, Disenchantment, and Re-Enchantment* (Cham, Germany: Springer International Publishing – Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Jason Ananda Josephson, *The Myth of Disenchantment: Magic, Modernity, and the Birth of the Human Sciences* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017). For a somewhat opposite perspective, emphasizing the march toward modernity and rationality, see the contributions to *Wege in die Neuzeit*, ed. Thomas Cramer. Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur, 8 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1988).

mately, beyond human capacities to grasp a cosmic, universal, maybe divine (infernal?) epistemology.¹⁰⁹ Oddly, so it seems, the more modern sciences or medicine push forward and explore ever new dimension in outer space or in the nanosphere, the more similarities emerge to medieval and early modern magic.¹¹⁰ As much as we might belittle medieval magicians, in essence they were pursuing rather similar goals, yet with dissimilar methods and principles. Magic only lost its reputation and high esteem even at the university level in the course of the thirteenth century when the theologians battled vehemently against the rise of Aristotelianism at the various academic institutions.¹¹¹ Curiously, we know so much about magic in the Middle Ages today because there are many more medieval manuscripts with magical treatises extant than we might have commonly assumed; and those manuscripts were certainly written mostly by clerics, that is, monks, or university-trained individuals, who did not simply subscribe to devil worship or pursued any heretical practices. However, until today it remains a desideratum to catalogue exactly and to identify the available magical treatises in European manuscripts.¹¹²

109 Martin Mulsow, *Prekäres Wissen: Eine andere Ideengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2012); see especially 14–18; cf. the Introduction to *Magia daemoniaca, magia naturalis, zouber* (see note 48), 2–3.

110 Barbara A. Strassberg, “Magic, Religion, Science, Technology, and Ethics in the Postmodern World,” *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science* 40.2 (2005): 307–22. Her abstract is worth quoting in full: “In this essay I argue that magic, religion, science, technology, and ethics are components of cultures that coexist at every stage of the evolution of societies and cultures and are interconnected and intertwined with each other within the web of relationships with other components of social life and culture. They undergo changes under the influence of each other and of social and cultural factors that coevolve with them throughout the history of humanity in the direction of democratization. The religion-and-science discussion is embedded within the framework of the postmodern social scientific discourse to illustrate that the apparent contradictions or substitutions disappear and that in actual human experience there is cooperation and complementarity between these elements of culture.”

111 Frank Fürbeth, “Die Stellung der Artes magicae in den hochmittelalterlichen ‘divisiones philosophiae,’” *Artes in Mittelalter*, ed. Ursula Schaefer. Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes, 7 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1999), 249–62.

112 Fürbeth, “Magische Texte,” *Magia daemoniaca* (see note 48); cf. also Hans Biedermann, *Handlexikon der magischen Künste von der Spätantike bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. 3rd improved and thoroughly expanded ed. 2 vols. (1968; Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1986). See also Jennifer M. Corry, *Perceptions of Magic in Medieval Spanish Literature* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2005).

Johannes Hartlieb – The Great Expert, or Harsh Critic

This now allows us to turn to one of the most important authors on magic in the late Middle Ages, Johannes Hartlieb, whose famous treatise, the *puoch aller verpoten kunst, ungelaubens und der zaubrey* from 1456, offers a broad spectrum of information about magic, necromancy, the presumed role of the devil, rituals, and other aspects. He was born ca. 1400 in Neuburg an der Donau, received an excellent education, became ducal councilor to the Bavarian Duke Louis VIII of Bayern-Ingolstadt (1365–1447) in 1430, and received his *Baccalaureat* in 1432. In 1436 he obtained the position of a priest in Ingolstadt, and around that time he also earned his *Magister Artium*, which was followed by his doctoral promotion in 1439. The following year he switched his political orientation and joined the court of Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria in Munich (1401–1460), another branch of the Wittelsbach dynasty. In 1444 he married a woman called Sibilla, perhaps the daughter of Duke Albrecht and the Augsburg citizen Agnes Bernauer, who had been executed by drowning in 1435 because Albrecht's father, Duke Ernst (1373–1438) had suspected her of witchcraft. In 1446 Hartlieb served as ducal diplomat in Ferrara, and in 1447 he spent time in Heidelberg in administrative terms. In 1451 the famous reform-minded Bishop Nicholas of Cusa visited Munich and made Hartlieb's acquaintance, who, from that time on, probably under Nicholas's influence, wrote only negatively about magic. However, in 1456, the year when his *puoch* appeared, he also visited the Margrave Johann the Alchemist of Brandenburg-Kulmbach (1403–1464) in order to arrange a marriage between the two dynasties, Wittelsbach and Brandenburg. In 1465 Hartlieb was appointed as personal physician for Duke Sigmund of Bavaria-Munich (1439–1501). In 1467 he accompanied his lord on a journey to visit the spa of Bad Gastein, and he died in Munich on May 18, 1468.

Hartlieb is famous both as a medical doctor and as a translator of literary texts and author of learned treatises. In 1430/1432 he composed the *Kunst der Gedächtnüß*, a study on how to train one's capabilities regarding memory; between 1433 and 1435 Hartlieb wrote, based on a Latin book on the Three Magi, his *Mondwahrsagebuch* (divination based on the course of the moon) and his *Geomantie*. These were followed by his *Onomatantie* (ca. 1437; a treatise on how to secure victory), *Namenmantik* in 1438/1439, a divinatory treatise on the meaning of names. In 1440 he translated Andreas Capellanus's *De amore* into German and composed a book on herbals, mostly based on Konrad of Megenberg's *Buch der Natur* (ca. 1350/1362). Then he wrote a version of the ancient *Alexander* romance, his *Die histori von dem großen Alexander* (ca. 1350), a translation of Cae-

sarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* under the same title (between 1456 and 1467), an herbal under the title *Kräuterbuch* (ca. 1450),¹¹³ and a version of the *St. Brendan* legend (1456/1457).¹¹⁴ His last work was a translation of *De secretis mulierum* (*Von den Geheimnissen der Frauen*) from 1465 and 1467.

Although previously I have not explored any of the individual writers' biography and did not add a list of works in such detail, in the case of Hartlieb it seems to be necessary because we can recognize thereby how much the various types of occult sciences and the magical arts were of central interest for the intellectuals of many different backgrounds, even though Hartlieb primarily rejects all magic as the outgrowth of the devil's working. Hartlieb was not only an expert medical doctor, but also an extraordinary scholar in many different fields and apparently never shied away from exploring different topics and examining otherwise neglected or deliberately ignored themes.

However, Hartlieb, like many of his contemporaries and predecessors, was primarily, if not exclusively, focused on preserving the written tradition, and he did not enter any empirical insights. So, his *Kräuterbuch* goes back to Konrad of Megenberg's *Buch der Natur*, which in turn was based on Thomas of Cantimpré's *De natura rerum* and Albertus Magnus's *De vegetabilibus* (ca. 1260), and both of these drew heavily from Arabic handbooks – certainly a common feature both in natural sciences/medicine and in the magical arts. Today we similarly do not approach any research project without first studying the sources, the established data, and then experiment with them, though we now rely very heavily on the principles of verification and falsification. So, Hartlieb was a philologist in

113 For a digitized version of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek manuscript, Ms. germ. qu. 2021 (1462), see <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN620313544> (last accessed on Jan. 29, 2017). Bernhard Schnell, "Wissenstransfer in mittelalterlichen deutschen Kräuterbüchern: Zu den Quellen Konrads von Megenberg und Johannes Hartliebs,"

Konrad von Megenberg (1309–1374): Ein spätmittelalterlicher 'Enzyklopädist' im europäischen Kontext, ed. Edith Feistner. Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft, 18 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011), 143–56.

114 Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb. Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk*. Hermaea – Germanistische Forschungen N. F. 64 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992); Klaus Grubmüller, "Ein Arzt als Literat: Hans Hartlieb," *Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter. Würzburger Colloquium 1978*, ed. Volker Honemann, Kurt Ruh, Bernhard Schnell, and Werner Wegstein. Anglo-Deutsches Colloquium zu Problemen der Mittelhochdeutschen Literatur, 6 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1979), 14–36; Bernhard Schnell, "Neues zur Biographie Johannes Hartliebs," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 136 (2007): 444–48.

the first place, though he certainly demonstrated great interest in the various sciences,¹¹⁵ hence also in the *artes magicae*.

Both Margrave Johann of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, to whom the *puoch aller verpoten kunst* is dedicated, and Hartlieb's own master, Duke Albrecht III demonstrated great interest in those necromantic skills and could afford to have many experiments with alchemy carried out at their courts. For Hartlieb it was a delicate diplomatic task in writing this work because it also served the purpose to smoothen the political and personal relationships between both dynasties, with Albrecht facing rather difficult financial conditions and hoping to profit from a wedding arrangement. The author is treating the seven illicit arts and then promises to address further eighty-three, which he never completed, however. While the treatise was to serve as an answer to Johann's curiosity about all those necromantic arts, Hartlieb designed it rather as a diatribe against all those condemnable study subjects, which he identifies as the devilish and un-Christian.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, his *puoch* can be regarded as a kind of compendium on all known magical arts as they were practiced or studied at his time.

As Hartlieb emphasizes in the second chapter of the prologue, magic, superstition, and the belief in the devil's power are just too easily anchored in people's minds, both in the upper and the lower classes (16). His treatise hence is to serve as a warning to study only what is actually present in nature and what the Church has allowed one to focus on. Everything else would only incur God's wrath, and he assumes that his patron, the Margrave Johann, would appreciate to learn about those magical arts in order better to know how to recognize them and hence how to stay away from getting involved in any of them. The seven arts are: "Nigramancia, Geomancia, Ydromancia, Aremancia, Piromancia, Ciromancia und Spatulamancia" (18), which subsequently are defined in great detail. We are actually reminded of the long list of the liberal arts and of the necromantic arts in the speech by Death in Johannes von Tepl's *Der Ackermann von Böhmen*, discussed at the beginning of this Introduction.

115 Schnell, "Wissenstransfer in mittelalterlichen deutschen Kräuterbüchern" (see note 113), 153–54. See the edition, Johannes Hartlieb, "*Kräuterbuch*", ed. Gerold Hayer and Bernhard Schnell. *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter*, 47 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2010).

116 Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf, "Einleitung," Johannes Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ed., trans., and commentary by id. ([Ahlerstedt]: Param Verlag, 1989), 10–12. This is now available also in English translation, *Hazards of the Dark Arts. Advice for Medieval Princes on Witchcraft and Magic: Johannes Hartlieb's Book of all Forbidden Arts (1456) and Ulrich Molitoris's On Witches and Pythonesses (1489)*, trans. Richard Kieckhefer. *Magic in History* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017); see my review, forthcoming in *Mediaevistik*.

Good Christians face great difficulties not to be caught by those complex and convoluted necromantic arts, especially those with a simple mind, which proves to be his own justification for his lengthy treatise. The devil can be identified as the source of all forms of magic, and anyone who might ask for his help would commit a deadly sin (20), especially because the devil operates only with lies and evilness (22). But only when people willingly turn to him would the devil have any influence over the human soul (22). Even if one would receive much help from the devil, disguised as a squire, for instance, it would be mandatory to reject such service and stay true to the path toward the Godhead (30) because the human soul is spiritually wedded to God (32).

For Hartlieb necromancy appears as the most dangerous and sinful occult art because it requires sacrifice to the devil and swearing an oath to him (34). Nevertheless, in the following chapters he then explains what books the necromancers use (*Sigillum Salomonis*, *Claviculam Salomonis*, *Jerarchiam*, and *Schamphoras*) and what characters and signs they employ (36). Although he explicitly condemns necromancy, he explains in detail how one can learn and study this art, and he prides himself with offering more information about specifics than most other comparable books would do (36). Yet, immediately following, the author alerts the reader about the devil's strategy to deceive people by pretending to suffer from the conjuration, as if it imposed human will upon the devil, when the opposite would be the case (36).

In the twenty-sixth chapter Hartlieb refers to other necromantic treatises that explain how to collect certain herbs, stones, and roots and to concoct a special potion, such as the book *Kyranidorum*, which apparently enjoyed considerable popularity in the late Middle Ages.¹¹⁷ Hartlieb did apparently not write in a scholarly vacuum; instead he drew from a rich library of grimoires, many of which he must have studied himself since he proves to be so well informed about many details, such as book titles, recipes, rituals, and charms.¹¹⁸ He warns his readers

117 Claude Lecouteux, *Le livre des guérisons et des protections magiques: Deux mille ans de croyances* (Paris: Auzas éditeurs-Imago, 2016); id., *Le livre des grimoires: de la magie au Moyen Age* (Paris: Imago, 2002); id., *Dictionnaire des formules magiques* (Paris: Imago, 2014).

118 Owen Davies, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); see also Monika Hauf, *Kompendium der Magie und des Okkultismus: von der Magie der Chaldäer über die alten Grimoires und das Astrallicht Eliphas Lévis bis zur Psychologie des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Bohmeier, 2008); for an extensive bibliography of relevant pre-modern titles, see *Bibliotheca esoterica: catalogue annoté et illustré de 6707 ouvrages anciens et modernes qui traitent des sciences occultes (alchimie, astrologie, cartomancie, chiromancie, démonologie, grimoires, hypnotisme . . . etc.) comme aussi des sociétés secrètes*. Rpt. (1940; Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino, 1997). Important also proves to be the great work by Collin de Plancy and Jacques Albin Simon, *Dictionnaire infernal ou Répertoire universel des êtres, des personnages, des livres, des faits et des*

that the devil would always command more power than any source in nature, and alerts them that whatever they might read in the various treatises about magical charms, love potions, talismans, and astrology would only amount to nonsense commonly mystified by their authors through secret words, characters, and rituals (38), which altogether constitutes the art called “Notarey” (40).

To illustrate the practical aspects of applied necromancy, Hartlieb offers numerous examples of how people have experimented and believed in all kinds of magic, such as one leading to the ability to fly in the air (45), which would, however, always be nothing but the result of the devil’s involvement, hence of illusion and deception. As he therefore emphasizes, all those forms of magic were strictly banned by the Church: “und vast groß verboten ist” (44; and is very much forbidden).

Hartlieb also refers to the necromantic treatise *Picatrix* which was compiled for a Spanish king and represents one of the very best grimoires, especially because the magical charms and rituals are described in such a skillful fashion as predicated on statements in the Holy Scriptures that even learned theologians could be seduced, accepting it as a learned and acceptable study, though it would mislead extraordinarily many people and condemn their soul to hell.¹¹⁹

choses qui tiennent aux apparitions, aux divinations, à la magie, au commerce de l'enfer, aux démons, aux sorciers, aux sciences occultes, aux grimoires, à la cabale, aux esprits élémentaires, au grand œuvre, aux prodiges, aux erreurs et aux préjugés, aux impostures, aux arts des bohémiens, aux superstitions diverses, aux contes populaires, aux pronostics, et généralement à toutes les fausses croyances, merveilleuses, surprenantes, mystérieuses ou surnaturelles (Paris: P. Mellier, 1844); Albertus Parvus Lucius, *Il segreti meravigliosi della magia naturale e cabalistica*. Nuova collezione di grimoires antichi (1706; Viareggio: Ed. Rebis, 1978). This tradition of publishing catalogues of magic books has continued probably until the modern times; see, for instance, Johann Wallberg, *Compendieuses natürliches Zauber-Buch Oder Aufrichtige Entdeckung Vieler der allerbewährtesten, nicht nur Belustigend- sondern auch Nutzen- und Gewinn-einbringender Geheimnisse, Insbesondere denen Wein-Negotianten dienende, Samt mit eingebrachten kurtzen Discoursen Von der Goldmacherey, Zauberey, Macht und Würckung der guten und bösen Geister in die Körper von Gespenstern, [et]c. Benebst Einem Anhang, Der untrüglichsten, theils medicinisch, theils sympathetisch- und antipathetischer Geheimnisse* (Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig: n.p., 1745). For the latest survey of grimoires in medieval libraries, see Frank Furbeth, “Magische Texte in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken,” *Magia daemoniaca* (see note 48), 165–88. Many times the medieval grimoires were not even included in the official catalogues, obviously because that would have been too dangerous for the authors and/or owners. For an excellent survey article, along with a solid bibliography, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Picatrix>. The author of another online article, M. Plessner, “*Picatrix* (The Aim of the Sage),” offers further bibliographical information and especially an extended summary of this famous treatise. <http://www.esotericarchives.com/picatrix.htm> (both last accessed on January 29, 2017)

119 See the contributions to *Images et magie: Picatrix entre Orient et Occident*, ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Anna Caiozzo, and Nicolas Weill-Parot. Sciences, techniques et civilisations du Moyen

Subsequently, Hartlieb engages meticulously with the various other necromantic arts, such as geomancy, which claims to provide divination through signs in the earth, but he explicitly and seriously warns his patron to forget about God and to forgo all hope to receive help from Him, hence the turning toward magic (57–58). Nothing could defeat the devil, who is always identified as the creator of such necromantic arts, but a pure consciousness of a blessed person and God's power (58).

Most interestingly, Hartlieb is apparently only too well aware of the great attractiveness which magic can exert on ordinary people, such as on the Margrave, whom he almost chastizes in arguing that he finds magic just entertaining, although he would not really believe in it (62). If his subjects would notice his magical practice, they would regard it as legitimate and hence would imitate him.¹²⁰ Moreover, as he observes, even the Virgin Mary and Saint George are being abused by the ordinary people for divinatory purposes, when they appeal to them or use their names in magical rituals, which he calls a “bösen, schnöden ungelauben” (64; evil, miserable superstition). Apparently, just as much as in the early Middle Ages when pagan charms and Christian prayers were often mingled in a form of acculturation, Hartlieb reports indirectly that people tend to rely on those sacred names in order to learn something about their own future.

Âge à l'aube des lumières, 13 (Paris: Champion, 2011); cf. also Fürbeth, “Magische Texte in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken,” *Magia daemoniaca* (see note 48), 173–76. The *Picatrix* was the Latin translation of the Arabic book *Ghāyat al-hakīm* (The Goal of The Wise) by a man currently identified as Pseudo-Majriti who carried out his task upon the request of Alphonso X of Castile at some time between 1256 and 1258. It has survived in thirty-one manuscripts from as late as the eighteenth century and exerted great influence on such intellectuals interested in necromancy as Marsilio Ficino (fifteenth century) and Thomas Campanella (seventeenth century).

120 Reinhard Seyboth, “Markgraf Johann der Alchimist von Brandenburg (1406–1464); Studien zu seiner Persönlichkeit und seiner Politik,” *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 51 (1991): 39–69; for parallel cases, though focused on astrology, see Wiebke Deimann, “Astrology in an Age of Transition: Johannes Lichtenberger and His Clients,” *Astrologers and Their Clients* (see note 93), 83–104; see also the contributions to *Religion und Magie in Ostmitteleuropa: Spielräume theologischer Normierungsprozesse in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Thomas Wünsch. Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa, 8 (Berlin: Lit, 2006); Edward Goldberg, *Jews and Magic in Medici Florence: The Secret World of Benedetto Blanis*. Toronto Italian Studies (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); for a focused study on court astrology, see Darin Hayton, *The Crown and the Cosmos: Astrology and the Politics of Maximilian I* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015); Andrea Berlin, *Magie am Hof der Herzöge von Burgund: Aufstieg und Fall des Grafen von Étampes*. Spätmittelalterstudien, 6 (Constance and Munich: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2016). See also Dieter Kempkens, “Der Erfolg der Prognostica auf dem Buchmarkt in der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 16 (2014): 5–27.

Other practices were applied to solve cases of theft (66), such as to give blessing to cheese which the thief would not be able to eat. Hartlieb is so rational and critical in his thinking that he immediately alerts his readers to the danger of abuse, such as when the cheese would then be substituted with soap, whereby any hated person could be accused and tried as an innocent culprit (66–68). The author, however, is also willing to accept that magical practices do work at times, but he explains this once again with a reference to the devil who allows this to happen so that he can seduce people even better (68).

Surprisingly, he then charges the princes, above all, for their evil role model since they tend to practice magic for selfish reasons, such as to learn the secrets of another prince (68) or to win love (70), which would all be directed against God's teachings and which would mislead the ordinary people away from the true Christian faith. In the case of hydromancy, people would even go so far as to employ holy water for their own purposes, thus practicing magic in a syncretic fashion, relying both on pagan rituals and Christian concepts. As Hartlieb reports, for instance, many farmers would give blessed waters to their animals with the assumption that this would prevent wolves from attacking and eating them. He rejects this outright, commenting: "Das ist ungelaub, wann das wasser ist dem menschen geweicht und nicht dem vich" (74; That is superstition because the water was blessed for people and not for animals). Considering the degree of details concerning the common practices with hydromancy offered by Hartlieb (74), we might have to assume that he must have witnessed numerous experiments or tried his own hand at this necromantic art, even though he explicitly states that it would all amount to nothing but superstition, "ungelaub" (74), insofar as the devil would create nothing but an illusion and make people believe that their ritual had the desired effect.

One specific ritual deserves particular mention because it continues to be practiced until today. In chapter 62 Hartlieb mentions that some hydromancers throw hot, or molten, lead or an alloy (pewter) into a container of water in order to observe how many bubbles emerge and what kind of shape the metal takes (76). The former belongs to hydromancy, the latter to pyromancy, or rather molybdomancy. Until today, this ritual is practiced at New Year's in Germany ("Bleigießen")¹²¹ and in the Scandinavian countries, especially in Finland,

121 Max Ressel, *Das Bleigiessen: eine Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen Figuren*. Bunt es Allerlei, 12 (Mühlhausen i. Th.: G. Danner, 1921); Till Hartmann and Paul Jansen, *Bleigießen: eine alte mantische Kunst und ihre Symbole* (Hamburg: Corona, 2008); for a good list of characteristic shapes which the molten lead assumes in the cold water, see <http://www.mrshea.com/germusa/customs/bleimean.htm>; see also Christa Agnes Tuczay, *Kulturgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Wahrsagerei* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2012).

where it is called “uudenvuoden tina,” but then also in Estonia and elsewhere.¹²² However, for Hartlieb this all amounts to terrible and condemnable superstition, especially because those rituals are commonly carried out in competition with Christian church service, and “jung und alts maint, es sey kain sünd. Es it aber nit, wann es ist ain ungelaub, den die haiden vor langen jaren getriben haben und noch treiben” (78; young and old assume that it is no sinfulness. The opposite is the case because it is a superstition which the pagans practiced many years ago and continue to do so).

In other words, Hartlieb is more than aware that he is actually engaged in a highly confrontational battle against popular culture enjoyed and embraced by people at all stations of life, as if Christianity constituted only a thin varnish which could be easily undermined and destroyed by the old faiths.¹²³ The author would not have so many reasons to criticize people everywhere for their foolish and ill-conceived concepts if he had not witnessed many examples everywhere, though he is writing his treatise for the Margrave and his courtly audience above all.

122 Raisa Maria Toivo, *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). See also the very old, yet still informative doctoral dissertation, Matti Waronen, *Vainajainpalvelus muinaisilla suomalaisilla*, 3rd ed. (1895; Helsinki: Salakirjat, 2009. [“Ancient Finns and serving the dead”]. I would like to thank my colleague Susanna Niiranen, University of Jyväskylä, for pointing this out to me and providing an English translation of a crucial passage: “The shape of the resulting cast was examined and interpreted to predict the various future events of the coming year. Different shapes have different meaning, promising either good luck or health, wealth, happiness, sorrow, sickness, etc. If the cast was very rugged, it meant money, wealth and happiness, for instance. Sometimes the water was used . . . , but somehow they foresaw by listening to the sound of the water. Either way, the water in which the tin was cast was also ‘magical.’ The sound of water was related to harvest, cattle, and future spouses” (218–19).

123 Baumann, *Aberglaube für Laien* (see note 82); see also Batriz Barba de Piña Chan, *La expansión de la magia* (Córdoba, Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología, 1989); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi (1976; Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980/1992); id., *The Night Battles: Witchcraft & Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi (1966; 1983; Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); id., *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, trans. by Raymond Rosenthal (1989; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991); Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion 1250–1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); see the collected articles by H. C. Erik Midelfort, *Witchcraft, Madness, Society, and Religion in Early Modern Germany: A Ship of Fools*. Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2013); *Superstition and Magic in Early Modern Europe: A Reader*, ed. Helen Parish (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

This finds further confirmation when he addresses aeromancy, another method of divination based on areal phenomena (80–82), listing numerous examples of how people interpret the flights of various birds, which then convinces them to change their behavior or their outfit. This then also forces Hartlieb to reflect on many a prince who determine the date for their hunting based on the kind of wind, which the author once again condemns categorically as “unge-laub” (82; superstition). At the same time, he has to admit that good hunters know how to use a certain direction of wind to their advantage over the prey, which altogether amounts to a sophisticated skill and art, and would not have anything to do with magic. Summarily, Hartlieb then cuts it all short and concludes: “Ains frommen menschen gelück ist in allen örten der welt” (82; a pious person finds good luck everywhere in the world).

Intriguingly, he also rejects the common habit to associate sneezing with forthcoming fortune or misfortune (84–86) and tries to offer a scientific explanation for this physical phenomenon. Similarly, with respect to comets he encourages his readers to accept those as natural features in the sky which serious astronomers are fully entitled to study because the comets have natural causes and are hence part of the natural universe without any magic or the devil’s influence (86). However, Hartlieb also warns the astronomers to approach their task very carefully and wisely because even some of the greatest scholars have been maligned in public because of their explanatory statements: “ungeliündt worden sind” (86; [they] have been slandered). However, Hartlieb then admits himself that wise medical doctors have predicted the emergence of pestilence or epidemics on the basis of a careful study of the change of air. Again, he insists that such divination is simply based on natural consequences, as explained already by the greatest scholarly authorities in the past, such as Avicenna (88).¹²⁴ If a doctor were to go beyond the limits of natural reason, he would fall prey to the devil’s influence as well. So, to find the truth would always require a delicate process of applying permitted, legitimate, and rational operations of analysis, and to avoid slipping into the domain of superstition, ruled by the devil.

Magic carried out by means of secret words, such as “ragel” (96) would constitute a grave danger for the soul since no one really knows how to translate it. He himself had inquired about it among “kriechen, tartern, dürcken, ir ärztz und sternseher. Ich hab auch gefraugt die jüdin” (96; Greeks, Tartars, Turks, their

124 Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna’s Philosophical Works*. Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science, 89 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1988); Jon McGinnis, *Avicenna*. Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Nancy G. Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

medical doctors and astronomers. I have also asked the Jews), but all to no avail. Hence, Hartlieb is afraid that such words might have originated from the devil and should be avoided, which is the universal and pervasive tenor of his entire book. In full conformity with the Church, then, the author finally concludes with the complete condemnation of all sorts of magic, decrying every practice or ritual as nothing but superstition caused by the devil. Thus, he strongly supports the harsh persecution of all those who operate with magic and refers to the specific legal guidelines against magic as formulated in the Decretals. (156). He even goes so far as to support torture with hot irons, tongs, and hooks to destroy the magicians' bodies without any mercy, since this is prescribed in the law books.

Ironically, however, to summarize our findings briefly, Hartlieb pursues a double goal, on the one hand describing any conceivable form of magic as detailed as possible or permissible, on the other condemning it as forcefully as he can. Thereby he reveals that he himself has studied necromancy, magic, astrology, hydromancy, geomancy, etc. quite extensively and now claims to be an authority in that field. Moreover, through his numerous references to popular opinions and practices, which he regularly identifies as evil and devilish superstition, Hartlieb also admits indirectly how much those cultural rituals and concepts were widespread at his time. One really might have to wonder how much the Church had actually succeeded in controlling people's minds at that time. Hartlieb's *puoch* obviously confirms how much magic had become extremely popular despite its dangerous and marginalized position. Reading this valuable treatise, we almost gain the impression that the faith in God was waning at that time, being replaced by a faith in magical powers. We are facing the rise of a new epoch, in which the devil was to play a much more significant role than ever before.¹²⁵ It is not surprising that the discourse on magic in all of its facets also gained increased valence and intensity. After all, the Church was not ready or willing simply to stand by, so the competing forces – magic versus religion, whereas not so much magic versus sciences – quickly clashed more and more, especially by the late fifteenth century, which offers an additional explanation for the rise of a different aspect of the large topic of magic, the horrible witch craze.¹²⁶

125 *The Faustian Century: German Literature in the Age of Luther and Faustus*, ed. J. M. van der Laan and Andrew Weeks (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013); see now Jan-Dirk Müller, "Magie, Erotik, Kunst: Zur Vorgeschichte einer frühneuzeitlichen Problemfigur," *Magia daemoniaca* (see note 48), 143–63.

126 The research literature on this topic is legion, which does not need to be reviewed here; but see the contribution to this volume by Amiri Ayanna.

Historia von D. Johann Fausten

At the end of the sixteenth century, an anonymous poet published a most remarkable prose narrative, the famous *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, which appeared in print in Frankfurt a. M. om 1587. The printer, Johann Spieß, obviously achieved a great success with this book, insofar as he could produce twenty-one editions between 1587 and 1598, six of which in the first year alone.¹²⁷ But the interest in this text did not wane in the following centuries,¹²⁸ and the book was then even translated (or adapted) into a dramatic work in English by Christopher Marlow sometime between 1588 and 1593, the year of Marlowe's death.¹²⁹ Once Johann Wolfgang Goethe adapted this sixteenth-century source for his own *Faust*, it became actually a major contribution to world literature. Goethe's *Urfaust* was created between 1772 and 1775, *Faust ein Fragment*, published in 1790. Goethe completed a preliminary version of what is now known as Part One in 1806. Its publication in 1808 was followed by the revised 1828–1829 ed-

127 Bodo Gotzkowsky, "Volksbücher": *Prosaromane, Renaissancenovellen, Versdichtungen und Schwankbücher. Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke*. Part I: *Drucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, CXXV (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1991), 402–15. For the history of research, particularly focusing on the *Historia*, see Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch. A Critical History of a Late-Medieval Genre*. Studies in German Language and Literature, 15 (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995, reissued 1999), 213–43.

128 See, for instance, *Dritter Theil D. Johann Fausten GauckelTasche: Von allerley unerhörten / verborgenen / listigen KunstStücken / Geheimnissen und Erfindungen / dadurch ein Mensch Traum außlegen / weissagen ... und andere ... beides lustige und nützliche Stück zu wercke richten kan; Beneben noch fünff sonderbaren / vortrefflichen und bewertesten Kunststücken ... / durch Johan de Luna: Christoff Wagners gewesenen Discipeln*, printed in 1621 (s.l. and s.i.), which is erroneously called 'third part,' and which is identical with the edition from 1608 (Gera: Spieß). See also the later adaptation *Des bekandten Ertz-Zauberers Doctor Joh. Fausts ärgerliches Leben und Ende, vor vielen Jahren der bösen Welt zum Schrecken beschrieben, von Georg Rudolph Widmann, nachgehends mit neuen Erinnerungen / vermehrt von Joh. Nicolao Pfitzer, und endlich ist noch beygefüget worden, Conrad Wolffgang Platzii, Vorbericht von der Sünde der Zauberey* (1726).

129 Christopher Marlowe, *Dr Faustus: the A- and B-texts* (1604, 1616), ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen. Revels Student Editions (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); see also the contributions to *Witchcraft and Society in England and America, 1550–1750*, ed. Marion Gibson (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); for the wider reception history, see also Carmen Leñero, *Las transmigraciones de Fausto* (Ciudad de Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2014).

ition, the last to be edited by Goethe himself. He successfully completed Part Two in 1831, one year before his death.¹³⁰

The printer Spieß emphasizes in the prologue that the historical Dr. Faust had been a highly learned, very popular magician and necromancer who had experienced many adventures; because of the great interest in Faust, the anonymous composer felt inspired to offer his own version of this mysterious individual.¹³¹ The explicit purpose of this work would be to serve as a “schrecklich Exemple deß Teuffelischen Betrugs / Leibs vnd Seelen Mords / allen Christen zur Warnung” (833; a horrifying example of the devil’s deception, which brings about the death of the body and the soul, as a warning for all Christians).

Faust was, as Spieß implies, misled to submit himself under the devil because of his curiosity, which ultimately led him astray and made him fall away from God. However, irrespective of this literary and theological projection, we can be certain of Dr. Faustus’s historical reality, a scholar who was renowned for his astrological skills, but who also seems to have dabbled in magic and became an iconic figure amongst the Humanists and Protestant Reformers of his time, being admired and feared, demonized and glorified, mystified and debunked at the same time.¹³² Whereas before magic and conjurations of the devil through all kinds of strategies were commonly rejected in a learned fashion, or were embraced as a useful art, here we encounter a bitter engagement with those topics which unsettled deeply both the Catholics and the Protestants, although neither side could really repress this interest in the necromantic sciences.¹³³

130 This is such a world classic that it would be useless here to list the relevant studies; but see Gloria Flaherty, *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); see also the contributions to *A Companion to Goethe’s Faust: Parts I and II*, ed. Paul Bishop (Rochester, NY, and Woodbridge: Camden House, 2001); for the latest English translation, see Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust: A Tragedy in Two Parts*, trans. Thomas Wayne (New York: Algora Publishing, 2016). Cf. also the useful facing-page edition of the original German (Part One) and the ‘classical’ English translation by S. T. Coleridge from 1821 (Part One), online at <https://web.archive.org/web/20130331154558/http://www.einam.com/faust/index.html> (last accessed on Jan. 30, 2017).

131 Quoted from *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Erstdrucken mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller. Bibliothek der Frühen Neuzeit, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), 833; most valuable proves to be the extensive commentary, 1319–1430.

132 Frank Baron, “Faustus of the Sixteenth Century: His Life, Legend, and Myth,” *The Faustian Century* (see note 125), 43–64. See also Thomas Willard’s contribution to this volume.

133 Jan-Dirk Müller, *Das Faustbuch in den konfessionellen Konflikten des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Philosophisch-historische Klasse: Sitzungsberichte, 2014/1 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014).

Quite similarly as in Hartlieb's treatise, the following account quickly reveals its ambivalent nature, on the surface functioning as an explicit warning against ever signing a contract with the devil, but in reality, so it seems, presenting a wide range of fascinating stories about what an individual could truly achieve by means of magic, though at a very high cost, one's own life and the well-being of the soul.¹³⁴ Necromancy is identified as the greatest sin one could commit against God, as already observed in the Old Testament, 1 Sam. 28 (836).¹³⁵ Subsequently the narrator enters into a whole diatribe against the devil and equates everything associated with magic with his workings, warning his audience that most servants of the devil would experience a horrible end, such as in the case of Dr. Faustus. Although he could enjoy many entertaining adventures, sexual encounters, and gluttony, he had finally to submit under the devil and was lost (839).

Nevertheless, the author still moves ahead and relates the story of his protagonist, but, just in the same way as the printer formulated it, only as a "schrecklich Exempel" (841; horrible example), even though he then points out that he has left out all "formae coniurationum" (841; magical charms), as if he were an expert in those or would have access to such information. His intentions are to create a literary work "zur Warnung vnnd Besserung" (841; warning and reform), and yet we are presented with a most fascinating literary reflection of what the devil could actually help a magician to achieve his goals here in this life.¹³⁶

One of the remarkable features of young Faustus was his superior intelligence, which allowed him to rise up fast through the academic ranks at the university (843–44). After graduation he turned away from theology, embraced astrology and mathematics instead, and also became a medical doctor. However, dissatisfied with his limitations in knowledge, he probed how he could explore all aspects both on earth and in heaven, and thus, out of a misdirected form of *curiositas*, dedicated himself to necromancy, learned magical "vocabula, figuras, characteres vnd coniurationes" (845; words, figures, characters, and conjurations) in order to draw from the devil's power for his own sake. While the anonymous author of *Dr. Fausten* here explicitly rejects curiosity as a danger for the

134 Gerhild Scholz Williams and Alexander Schwarz, *Existentielle Vergeblichkeit: Verträge in der Melusine, im Eulenspiegel und im Dr. Faustus*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 179 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2003).

135 This also found numerous reflections in late medieval and early modern art; see the contribution to this volume by Martha Moffit Peacock.

136 For a great study illuminating the sixteenth-century context, see Andrew Weeks, "The German Faustian Century," *The Faustian Century* (see note 125), 17–40.

well-being of the soul, the entire period was determined by this innovative desire to gain new understanding and to explore the world, even though here it is identified as dangerous and a turning away from God.¹³⁷ Indeed, soon enough Faustus meets the devil, they both sign a contract, which then launches the actual story, with the protagonist roaming the known world, enjoying all kinds of adventures, but at the end paying for all that splendor and delight with his life and his soul.

Many of the specific aspects already discussed by Hartlieb come to the surface in this literary treatment of Dr. Faustus, such as that the devil would pretend unwillingness to appear in front of the conjurer, though this would be only a deception to catch the man's soul the more easily (846). As the author emphasizes, Faustus, like many other magicians, felt flattered and pompous when the devil seemed to submit himself under his control, as if the magician truly exerted so much power, although the opposite was really the case (847). In other words, as the narrator then formulates, the magician in reality becomes a victim of his own "Stoltz vnnd Hochmut" (852; pride and arrogance). As much as the entire account subsequently indicates how much Faustus was misdirected and lost his faith in God because of his unquenchable desire to learn all secrets of this world and to enjoy his life in physical terms, all brought about by the devil's manipulations. We are also informed about the infernal world in its power structure, and we learn through Mephostophiles's words many occult secrets and wonders, which easily explains why the *Historia* experienced such a popularity on the book market. There is much fascination in magic, both then and today,

137 This phenomenon has already been discussed numerous time, and *curiositas* can be identified as one of the keywords of the critical paradigm shift characterizing the rise of the early modern world; Neil Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe: Word Histories*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 81 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998); see the contributions to *Curiositas: Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Krüger (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2002); Andrea Moltzen, *Curiositas – Studien zu "Alexander", "Herzog Ernst", "Brandan", "Fortunatus", "Historia von D. Johann Fausten" und "Wagnerbuch"* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 2016). The classical study of this phenomenon remains the one by Hans Blumenberg, *Der Prozeß der theoretischen Neugierde*. 4th expanded and revised ed. Die Legitimität der Neuzeit, 3. Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch Wissenschaft, 24 (1973; Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1988). The issue, however, was already discussed explicitly in the seventeenth century; see, for instance, Jacob Masen, *Utilis Curiositas De Humanae Vitae Felicitate; Vtilis Curiositas De Humanae Vitae Felicitate; Per Varios hominum status Cum amoeno Historiarum aliquot delectu ad usum non minus Politicorum, quam Ecclesiasticorum inquisita; Utilis Curiositas* (Cologne: Friessem, 1672). Regarding curiosity in *Dr. Faustus*, see Marina Münkler, "'curiositas' als Problem der Grenzziehung zwischen Immanenz und Transzendenz in der 'Historia von D. Johann Fausten'," *Neugier und Tabu: Regeln und Mythen des Wissens*, ed. Martin Baisch. Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Scenae, 12 (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach, 2010), 45–69.

and as much as the narrator emphasizes consistently how dangerous and un-Christian the collaboration with the devil would be, the curious individual, here Faustus, cannot resist and becomes a victim, loses his self-control, and allows the devil to rob him of his soul.¹³⁸

If we follow the narrative development, we easily recognize how much the *Historia* represented a kind of summary of centuries of magic literature. After the discourse on the properties of Hell (870–79), the topic turns to calendars and astrology (881–83), the nature of God's creation and of heaven (884–87), then again to hell and its inhabitants (888–91), which is followed by Faustus's personal visit of that infernal place (891–96). Subsequently Faustus gets the opportunity to explore the sphere of the stars and planets (896–901), which continues with an extensive travel throughout the world, exploring the various kingdoms, countries, and cities (901–15). The protagonist is even allowed to pay a visit to paradise (915–18), and subsequently he learns about a comet (918), about the stars (919), the property of the evil spirits (920–21), and the nature and origin of thunder (921–22).

In general, the text is increasingly moving away from magic and turns to broader interests typical of a learned person who desires to explore all aspects of this and the other worlds, which is here made possible through the power of the devil. Medieval magic has thus transpired into a new strategy to learn everything there is in material and in spiritual terms, and this *curiositas* means, of course, Faustus's miserable death at the end. Yet, in the meantime the narrative's real appeal for the broader audience did not rest, as we may assume, in the Christian moralization, but in the intrigue which those reports about hell, paradise, the stars, etc. exerted. Then there is also the humorous component, such as when Faustus manages to utilize magic to make fun of innocent or foolish contemporaries at the courts, in the cities, and elsewhere (926–43). We might recognize here in Faustus an avatar of Till Eulenspiegel, although he operates with devilish powers to fool and ridicule ordinary people.

Then the author included numerous jests performed by the protagonist during the Shrovetide season, and one of them proves to be a close parallel to the magic performed in the Middle English *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (see above), with four magicians seemingly decapitating each other without suffering any harm (951–52). For Faustus this represents a significant irritation because

138 Jan-Dirk Müller, "Magie, Erotik, Kunst" *Magia daemoniaca* (see note 48), 162–63, suggests that in all the devil literature and in those early modern novels where magic plays a significant role the seduction through eroticism and pleasure assumes a central function. For the history of devil literature, see Albrecht Classen, "The Devil in the Early Modern World and in Sixteenth-Century German Devil Literature," *The Faustian Century* (see note 125), 257–83.

those men steal the show from him and successfully entertain the audience. In his anger, Faustus secretly intervenes, cuts the stem of flowers and places them in a vase on the table and can thus destroy their magical powers. Unfortunately, this then also means that one of them whose head had already been cut off cannot place it back on his body and thus dies a miserable death (952). Apparently, for the protagonist magic also represents an instrument to achieve fame and reputation; otherwise he would not have strategized in such a mean fashion to destroy his opponent's power.

In another chapter we hear that Faustus, obviously with the help of the devil, has a greenhouse next to his residence in Wittenberg where he can grow all kinds of fruit and flowers in the middle of winter. This magic delights all visitors, but curiously here the narrator has nothing negative to say about this operation and does not even mention the devil. Despite all the moral and religious concerns, major sections of the *Historia* simply operate with the intriguing, fascinating, and entertaining features possible through magic.

However, as to be expected, the moralization and the religious teaching return at the end, since the didactic intentions continue to be of primary purpose, strictly warning the readers about the dangers for the human soul resulting from magic, which is consistently identified with the devil. Not surprisingly, in the last hours of Faustus's life, Mephostophiles reappears and orders Faustus to follow through with his oath to the devil, to despair of God's help, and to accept the catastrophe (969), which then also comes to pass. The author thus concludes his narrative with severe warnings about magic, as attractive as it might appear at first sight, providing learning, physical pleasures, excitement, and power. Faustus's major error had been to submit to his own hubris and to follow the path of arrogance, which then made him forget God's grace.

Worse, however, ultimately proves to be that Faustus does not try to turn back to God and despairs, like Judas did, which makes him even more condemnable. Formulating a general proverb, the devil tells him: "Wer zuviel wil haben / dem wirt zu wenig" (970; Whoever wants to get too much will receive too little). Continuing in the same vein, he also expresses the same idea in a more metaphorical fashion: "Es gehoert mehr zum Tantz / dann ein roht par Schuch / hettestu Gott vor Augen gehabt / vnd dich mit denen Gaben / so er dir verliehen / begnuegen lassen / doerfftestu diesen Reyen nicht tantzen / vnnd soltest dem Teuffel nicht so leichtlich zu willen worden seyn" (971; You need more for a dance than a pair of red shoes. If you had remembered God and if you had been content with the gifts that He had granted to you, you would not have partaken in this dance and you would not have become so easily a willing victim for the devil).

There are no more specifics about magic, which is simply reduced here to an evil power. The devil lends this to a human being temporarily in order to gain control over his soul and to take him down to hell. Nevertheless, the *Historia* appealed to a wide audience, and found a number of imitators, first the *Wagnerbuch* (*Ander theil D. Johann Fausti Historien*, 1593),¹³⁹ then in a variety of further versions even in the early seventeenth century. Faustus's horrible death did not deter the large number of readers and other authors to engage with this figure, with his experimentation with magic and incantations of the devil. A Dutch translation appeared in 1592, a French one in 1598; in 1599 Georg Rudolf Widmann expanded the *Historia* to three volumes, adding new commentaries and notes. Another version by Johann Nikolaus Pfitzer appeared in 1674, and then we know of numerous puppet plays presenting Faustus on the stage, such as the one produced in Lübeck in 1666. We also need to consider the version by the so-called Christlich Meynender from 1725.¹⁴⁰ Little wonder that Goethe later realized the enormous potentials of this "Volksbuch" (chap book) and created his play *Faust* (see above).¹⁴¹

However, already Spieß's contemporaries debated Faustus, the role of magic, its efficacies, whether it commanded real power or not, and reflected publicly on the role of the devil and the question how to advance sciences. In his massive treatise *De praestigiis daemonum* (1583), the famous medical doctor and author Johann Weyer declared: "Our fellow Germans use one and the same word *Zauberer* for the magician who is a professional deceiver and illusionist and often well educated . . ."¹⁴² He was primarily concerned to combat the uncontrolled witch craze and argued that "these writers provide drawn sword and kindling for the savage executioners, who lack judgment, discretion, and any trace of pity" (98) in their persecution of women accused of being witches. Consequently Weyer discusses the entire group of "infamous magician[s] (98–100), the origin of magic (100–06), and the destiny of later practitioners of magic (106–110). In that context he also outlines Faustus's biography, and reviews books of magic

139 Gotzkowsky, "Volksbücher" (see note 127), 437–41. See also Karl-Heinz Huckle, *Figuren der Unruhe: Faustdichtungen*. Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 64 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992).

140 *Das Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden nach dem Druck von 1725*, ed. Siegfried Szamatólski. Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, 39 (1891; Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968).

141 Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 127), 227–29.

142 Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum*, ed. George Mora, trans. by John Shea. *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance*. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 73 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991), 97.

(grimoires) (110–14). Without going into details, we can thus conclude that the discourse on magic grew considerably in the late Middle Ages and then continued well into the early modern age, although I am not sure that we can be certain that the interest in magic, witchcraft, sorcery has waned truly, though it has surely been marginalized or pushed into the background in modern times.

Many more names of magicians or necromancers, of astrologers and alchemists, or other specialists of the occult arts could be mentioned to widen the field of investigation, many of whom enjoyed a high reputation and were regarded as solid and trustworthy experts in their field, as already Johannes Hartlieb had confirmed in his *puoch*: “Die kunst zu treiben hört zu dem rechten sternseher, und wann sy die zaichen ußlegen nach ir natürlichen ursach, so ist es nit sünd noch verpotten” (86; This art is the one practiced by the trained star gazer, and when they interpret the signs according to their natural causes, then it is neither a sin nor a forbidden matter).

Of course, this broad topic has already attracted much research, as my copious footnotes have hopefully indicated clearly and thoroughly enough. We have observed that magic and magicians commonly appear in many different texts, both literary and ‘scientific’ or simply factual, and all those voices have richly contributed to a complex discourse throughout the ages which often pitted individuals or groups against the majority, especially the Christian Church, but then magic apparently also made its way into the Church as well under particular circumstances.¹⁴³ We cannot, of course, naively identify magic as a precursor of modern science or as equally valid, but the idea behind it, the driving force motivating certain people to dedicate themselves to the study and practice of magic, is probably very similar to that which inspires and energizes even modern scientists, searching for the understanding of natural and other phenomena.

It would be impossible to delineate specific areas in medieval and early modern Europe where magic might have dominated. In earlier times magic and sorcery were more commonly practiced by individuals predestined for this task, or vested with special powers, whereas since the high and late Middle Ages magic emerged increasingly as a sophisticated and learned art and thus more commonly clashed with the clerical and laical authorities. However, among folk cultures and folk medicine, for instance, magic continued to play a huge role over the following centuries, and even until today, as represented, for instance, by the flood of amulets and talismans, magical charms, rituals, performances, etc.¹⁴⁴

143 Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 39).

144 See the contributions to this volume by Chiara Benati and David Tomíček.

In light of the numerous documents and visual representations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reflecting an ongoing, at times maybe even intensifying interest in magic and all the related arts, it seems rather doubtful that the Church and the scientists/medical professionals really gained the complete control over the proper interpretation of the natural world in physical terms or through a reference to God in theological terms.¹⁴⁵ As much as the process of disenchantment progressed, as Max Weber had formulated, at least since the eighteenth century, just as much as there seems to have occurred also a re-enchantment process, as magical practices, the establishment of an order of magicians, the *Ordo Templi Orientis*, in 1903, the development of parapsychology, the renewed interest in tarot cards, and the like richly document.¹⁴⁶ Or, we might say that the strong tradition of magic, alchemy, astrology, and necromancy at large could simply not be repressed by the Catholic or Protestant Church and also not by the worldly authorities, despite massive and systematic efforts in that regard. This would not mean at all that we would have to criticize or to question the modern sciences, but we ought to acknowledge in some way the actual presence of ‘irrationality,’ spirituality, and some sort of power beyond the material existence not accessible by means of scientific investigation.¹⁴⁷ After all, taking just the example of astrology, a secondary branch of magic, the early modern age witnessed numerous highly successful court astrologers, such as Georg Caesius from Burgbernheim (1543–1604),¹⁴⁸ Wilhelm Misocacus from Danzig (1511–1595),¹⁴⁹ and David Herlitz from Stargard (1557–1636).¹⁵⁰

145 Matilde Battistini, *Astrology, Magic, and Alchemy in Art* (see note 41); Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); *Religion, the Supernatural, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe: An Album Amicorum for Charles Zika*, ed. Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger (Boston: Brill, 2015); Paola Maresca, *Alchimia, magia e astrologia nella Firenze dei Medici: giardini e di more simboliche* (Florence: Pontecorvoli Ed., 2012); see also the contribution to the present volume by Martha Moffitt Peacock.

146 Graham Cunningham, *Religion and Magic: Approaches and Theories* (Edinburgh University Press, 1999); Susan Greenwood, *Magic, Witchcraft and the Otherworld: An Anthropology* (Oxford: Berg 2000); for a truly excellent summary survey of the entire history of magic until the present day, see <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Magie#Renaissance-Magie> (last accessed on Feb. 2, 2017).

147 Susan Greenwood and Raje Airey, *The Illustrated History of Magic and Witchcraft: A Visual Guide to the History and Practice of Magic Through the Ages, Its Origins, Ancient Traditions, Language, Learning, Rituals and Great Practitioners* (London: Lorenz Books 2006); Owen Davies, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Witchcraft and Magic* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2017). See also Christoph Daxelmüller, *Zauberpraktiken: Die Ideengeschichte der Magie* (Düsseldorf: Albatros, 2001).

148 Dieter Kempkens, “Georg Caesius als Hofastronom des Markgrafen Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg-Ansbach,” *Simon Marius und seine Forschung*, ed. Hans Gaab and Pierre Leich.

The common association of magic with the devil (black magic) was more likely the result of acerbic criticism of the magical art by the Catholic Church and hence a convenient way of maligning all practices of para-scientific investigations and experimentations out of fear of losing control and authority over the parishioners' souls.

While Marguerite de Navarre tried to hide her true interest in magic and occultism in her famous collection of tales, her *Heptaméron* (1558/1559), by ridiculing the world of magicians who operate with a kind of voodoo (no. 1) and of ghosts (no. 39),¹⁵¹ William Shakespeare (1564–1616) obviously cared little about any church-imposed restrictions concerning the treatment and evaluation of magic, the miraculous, or sorcery. Both in his play *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595/1596) and in *The Tempest* (1610–1611) we discover fairies, magical figures, the theme of magical love potion – almost similar to the love potion concocted by the Irish Queen Isolde in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210)¹⁵² – and other fanciful aspects, all playfully staged as important for the love story to develop and to make the audience laugh and cry.¹⁵³ For the Elizabethan audiences it was perfectly normal to watch magic being performed on the stage be-

Acta Historica Astronomiae, 57 (Leipzig: AVA, 2016), 149–61; for a bibliography on him, see <http://www.astronomie-nuernberg.de/index.php?category=personen&page=490> (last accessed on Feb. 9, 2017).

149 Richard L. Kremer, “Mathematical Astronomy and Calendar-Making in Gdańsk from 1540 to 1700,” *Astronomie – Literatur – Volksaufklärung. Der Schreibkalender der Frühen Neuzeit mit seinen Text- und Bildbeigaben*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Herbst. Presse und Geschichte: Neue Beiträge, 67; *Acta calendariographica: Forschungsberichte*, 5 (Bremen: Ed. Lumière; and Jena: Verlag Historische Kalender Drucke, 2012); 477–92. See also online at http://www.presseforschung.uni-bremen.de/dokuwiki/doku.php?id=misocacus_wilhelm (last accessed on Feb. 9, 2017).

150 Theodor Pyl, “Herlitz, David”, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (ADB), vol. 12 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1880); 118. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Herlitz (last accessed on Feb. 9, 2017). The same information appears also on the Polish Wikipedia page. See also Dieter Kempkens, “Der Erfolg der Prognostica” (see note 120).

151 Marguerite de Navarre, *The Heptameron*, trans. with an intro. by P. A. Chilton (Harmondsworth, UK, and New York: Penguin Books, 1984); see the contribution to this volume by Elizabeth Chesney Zegura.

152 See the contribution to this volume by Christopher R. Clason.

153 *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016); for the treatment of magic, see John S. Mebane, *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age* (see note 2); Keith Linley, *The Tempest in Context: Sin, Repentance and Forgiveness*. Anthem Perspectives in Literature (New York: Anthem Press, 2015); id., *Midsummer Night's Dream in Context: Magic, Madness and Mayhem*. Anthem Perspectives in Literature (New York: Anthem Press, 2016); see also the contributions to *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. Lisa Hopkins and Helen Ostovich, *Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama* (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

cause, as Keith Linley notes, “[a] huge array of superstitions, medical and weather lore and beliefs in fairies and elves was in the substrata of the audience’s conscious and subconscious.”¹⁵⁴ The dichotomy between religious perspectives regarding magic and the role which magic continued to play within the literary discourse and for the common people was apparently a major factor which had a huge impact on the subsequent centuries.¹⁵⁵ Serious scientists, mathematicians, and astronomers, and medical practitioners as well as ordinary people both belittled and believed in magic, sorcery, and also witchcraft, as the various Shakespeare plays illustrate, for instance, next to a plethora of other documents from that time. Nevertheless, it continued to be gravely dangerous to be publicly associated with magic, since the Church persecuted anyone accused of practicing it and hesitated rather little to persecute those ‘heretics’ and having them burned at the stake, such as Giordano Bruno (1548–1600). But Shakespeare re-introduced magical practices to the stage and could firmly count on public approval, perhaps because his plays represented imaginary pieces on the stage and did not challenge the Church explicitly, such as in *The Winter’s Tale* (5.3.89–97). As Linley concludes:

While black magic was prohibited and could be punished severely when discovered, many apparently ‘natural magic’ spells, potions, salves and other remedies were shown to be the outcome of scientifically explicable processes though manufactured and administered with the ritual mumbo jumbo of age-old white magic. Though intellectuals and scientists were beginning to develop rational, chemical, biological and physiological explanations of supposed magic they still faced a highly critical conservative opposition backed by the immense power of the Roman and Anglican Churches.¹⁵⁶

Altogether, it seems now most appropriate to conclude with a quote by Silvia Lippi, who defines magic as follows:

La magie est une technique exceptionnelle pour réussir dans cette emprise de maîtrise du monde. À certaines époques, la magie s’est alliée à la connaissance en contribuant à l’avancement de cette dernière, et en renforçant en même temps la conviction d’élargir la domination de l’homme sur le monde. En Italie, à la Renaissance, philosophie, magie, science et religion se réunissent dans une forme très particulière de savoir: l’hermétisme. Le savant

154 Linley, *Midsummer Night’s Dream in Context* (see note 153), 213. See also Owen Davies, *Popular Magic: Cunning-Folk in English History* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2003), 182–83.

155 See the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert.

156 Linley, *Midsummer Night’s Dream in Context* (see note 153), 234.

capable de pratiquer la magie était en même temps un philosophe qui mettait son art au service de la science.¹⁵⁷

[Magic is an exceptional technique for achieving mastery over the world. In certain eras, magic was associated with conventional knowledge by contributing to the advancement of the latter, at the same time reinforcing the determination to expand humankind's dominion over the world. In Italy, during the Renaissance, philosophy, magic, sciences, and religion joined together in a very special form of knowledge: hermeticism. The sage capable of practicing magic was at the same time a philosopher who put their art to the service of science.]

Already in the seventeenth century, Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639) correlated magic with the sciences, and urged his readers to embrace both methods for a more holistic understanding of our world,¹⁵⁸ as he formulated it in his *Del senso delle cose e della magia naturale* (1620; On the Sense of Things and On Natural Magic). For him, magic was a productive, wholesome method to help people achieve individual happiness: “The magician is someone who has the ability to act on these passions by employing herbs, phrases, actions and anything else that might be suitable. This person will know how to increase bodily powers, suggesting foods, drinks, climates, sounds, herbal and animal remedies that aid and strengthen vital energies and counseling against anything that has to do with putrefaction and death.”¹⁵⁹

It might be high time to pay closer attention to him and many of his predecessors for a more comprehensive understanding of our world, which could be analyzed, as he argued strongly, by means not only of secular sciences, but also by means of white magic, requiring careful observation of nature, time, ag-

157 Siliva Lippi, “La magie ‘scientifique’ à la Renaissance: un paradoxe?,” *Cliniques méditerranéennes* 85.1 (2012): 77–89; here 77. Now also online at <http://www.cairn.info/revue-cliniques-mediterraneennes-2012-1-page-77.htm> (last accessed on Feb. 2, 2017).

158 D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic: From Ficino to Campanella*. Warburg Institute, Studies, 22 (1969; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

159 Here quoted from Germana Ernst, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/campanella/> (2014; last accessed on Feb. 2, 2017). Cf. also eadem, *Religione, ragione e natura: ricerche su Tommaso Campanella e il tardo Rinascimento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1991). The treatise “Del senso delle cose e della magia” is contained in *Opere di Giordano Bruno e di Tommaso Campanella*, ed. Augusto Guzzo and Romano Amerio. *La Letteratura Italiana. Storia e Testi*, 33 (Milan and Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1956), 1031–69, but unfortunately without the first two books. Other editions present only his literary works; hence consult the edition *Del senso delle cose e della magia*, ed. A. Bruers (Bari: Laterza, 1925); new ed. Germana Ernst (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2007). For detailed discussion, see Wayne Shumaker, *Natural Magic and Modern Science: Four Treatises 1590–1657*. *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, 63 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1989), 94–124.

riculture, the stars and the planets. Campanello perceived magic as a particular aspect of astrology and believed that there was a direct connection between the macrocosm and microcosm, as many of his medieval predecessors had already claimed, because God's divine creation is determined by a universal harmony.¹⁶⁰

We realize, at least, that the struggle between the various institutions for power and influence pertains to the proper interpretation of the physical environment and the existence of spiritual forces. The real problems which the Catholic Church had in the Middle Ages with regards to magic and magicians indicate, perhaps, how troubled they were, facing a source of power that could not be easily categorized and pigeon-holed, hence dominated and simply eliminated. After all, magic is predicated on a polytheistic world view, which directly competes with the Christian concept of monotheism.

Almost as a historical irony, even monotheistic religions contain numerous elements that echo magic in various forms. Thus we would be best advised to abandon the effort to project radical dichotomies between magic and religion and perhaps also between magic and science. However, one should keep in mind that the method pursued by the latter is strictly determined by the processes of verification and falsification, testing and experimenting, while magic relies on the magician's or sorcerer's individual authority and charisma and on the uniqueness of the magical experiences, connecting the person with the *numinosum* or the *numen* in a highly specialized manner.¹⁶¹

Already the famous anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss had claimed in his *La pensée sauvage* (1962) that there has never been a religion without some form of magic.¹⁶² However, it would be erroneous to hold that there might have been population pockets or even strata in the European Middle Ages or the early modern age where Christianity had not left any imprint and where pagan culture, hence magic, ruled supreme.¹⁶³ The Christian religion has been

160 *Del senso delle cose e della magia*, ed. Germana Ernst (see note 159), 235–36.

161 Leander Petzoldt, "Magie," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich. Vol. 9.1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 2–13; Gary R. Varner, *The Mythic Forest, the Green Man and the Spirit of Nature: The Re-Emergence of the Spirit of Nature from Ancient Times Into Modern Society* (New York: Algora, 2006); for the great importance of imagination even in the sciences, see the contributions to *Fact and Fiction: Literary and Scientific Cultures in Germany and Britain*, ed. Christine Lehleiter (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

162 Chave-Mahir and Véronèse, *Rituel d'exorcism* (see note 44), 12–59, discuss the long history of exorcism by members of the clergy, who undertook the virtually impossible task of fighting against the world of magic, here represented by the devil.

163 Nancy Mandeville Caciola, *Afterlives* (see note 6); cf. also the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert.

the all-dominant one on the continent since the end of the fourth century, and the Church worked hard throughout time to ensure that its teachings were completely obeyed and followed. Nevertheless, as the topic of magic and magicians has taught us, alternative concepts, commonly impugned as superstition or devil worship, have continued to hold sway in many parts of the pre-modern population to some extent, and probably in some way until today. The vast number of good-luck wishes, charms, and simple conjurations practiced and applied in the very modern world, all predicated on ancient and medieval magical practices, such as ‘Hocus pocus’ or ‘knock on wood’ speaks volumes.¹⁶⁴

The interest in the occult has surged once again in modern times, so it makes perfect sense to probe as thoroughly as possible what we know about magic and magicians in the Middle Ages and beyond in order to reveal epistemological substrata of those worlds which have deeply shaped our own concepts and perspectives.

Summaries of the Contributions

While research on magic in the pre-modern world has traditionally focused on historical and religious aspects, some of the best manifestations of medieval and early modern concepts of magic can be found in literary texts, so a majority of contributions to the present volume focus on such material. However, there are also studies dedicated to the genre of charms and a variety of medical documents within the world of magic, and some articles dealing with philosophical questions regarding the dis- and re-enchantment of the world in the post-medieval era. Almost all papers were first presented at the “13th International Symposium on Medieval and Early Modern Studies,” held at the University of Arizona, Tucson, from April 28 to May 1, 2016, and organized by Albrecht Classen.

164 Jonathan Roper, *English Verbal Charms*. FF Communications, 288 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 2005); James Alexander Kapaló, *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013). For a good survey with a useful bibliography, see Jonathan Roper, “Zauberspruch,” *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, ed. Rolf Brednich et al., vol. 14. (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 1197–201. <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zauberspruch> (last accessed on March 2, 2017); see also Rudolf Simek, “Zauberspruch und Zauberdichtung,” *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd compl. revised and expanded ed. by Herbert Jankuhn, vol. 34 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 441–46.

In a perhaps at first surprising manner, Warren Tormey approaches magic from a different perspective, not looking at charms, magicians, or methods to evoke demons, but studying this universal phenomenon in light of smithing. Throughout the entire early Middle Ages and far beyond, blacksmiths emerge as powerful but also enigmatic figures who command an elusive and yet very significant connection to the netherworld insofar as they work with fire and create iron objects, such as swords, helmets, armor, etc. Already in classical mythology we hear of Prometheus who brought fire to mankind, and was hence severely punished by the gods. In countless medieval and early modern literary texts do we encounter the ambivalent figure of the blacksmith who commands extraordinary power, so it seems, being in charge of creating magical weapons, especially swords, which allow the protagonists to accomplish their heroic deeds.¹⁶⁵ The blacksmith is regularly associated with the ability to transform materials by purifying them in his forge, especially because he is normally located in caves, hidden corners, or the netherworld, and this already since antiquity.

As Tormey illustrates through his grand scope, the blacksmith hardly ever enjoys popularity, especially because he is working with fire and metal and so appears as a gloomy figure, although he is the creator of the most marvelous objects relevant for all of knighthood, and others. Both in the Old Norse tradition and in medieval German literature the blacksmith appears as a dwarf or as the occupier of marginal spaces, where the protagonist learns his art and thus acquires the magical sword, for instance. Other examples for the mighty blacksmith can be found in Old English, French, and Spanish heroic poetry, and each time the poets project a magical, or perhaps even a mythical person. However, the blacksmith could also assume a disruptive function, particularly because of his marginal status irrespective of his actual power as a forger of the essential weapons.

As Tormey reveals through his wide-ranging study, both the Church Fathers and early and high medieval poets, as well as artists and philosophers responded with great interest to the figure of the blacksmith and associated him with a variety of features that resonated closely with magic and dark forces, though he

165 In most heroic epics the protagonists own superior swords that are named and almost have an identity on their own, apparently drawing from magical powers imputed to them by a blacksmith. In the thirteenth-century Icelandic Saga *Egil's Saga*, for instance, Thorolf is equipped with the sword Long, and Egil with the sword Adder. *Egil's Saga*. Trans. by Bernard Scudder. Ed. with an intro. and notes by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (London: Penguin, 1997), 95. We hear of major swords also in the Old French *Chanson de Roland*, in the Old Spanish *El poema de Mio Cid*, in the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied*, etc. The poets do not say much explicitly about the magic of those swords, but these weapons are greatly admired and enjoy highest respect.

was not perceived as a demon or as a collaborator with demons. But both in the *St. Brendan* legend and in late medieval visionary images does the blacksmith move more closely to the hellish spheres and assumes an increasingly uncanny character, unless he was cast as a metaphor of a transformative power purifying the human soul and readying it for the ascension to heaven, as in the case of Konrad von Würzburg's *Die goldene Schmiede* (late thirteenth century). Tormey also explores the function of the blacksmith in the medieval Finnish tradition, as represented by the *Kalevala*, where the blacksmith contributes both to the disruption and near destruction of the world and then to its reconstruction. Through his near-magical skills, the blacksmith thus emerges as a marginal and also as a central figure in medieval imagination.

Only by the late Middle Ages did the blacksmith's quasi-mythical character diminish because his range of tasks became more and more differentiated, forcing a considerable diversification in the professional activities. Ultimately, this integrated the specialist metal workers so much into urban societies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that they lost much of their previously mythical appeal. The blacksmith's so-called magical powers simply became trivialized and were functionalized for everyday use, especially because he turned into a member of the strictly organized craftsmen's guild.

Even though medieval scholars have commonly viewed magical charms as a 'literary' genre of the early Middle Ages, when the Christian Church was not yet fully established, charms were used throughout the entire period and well into the modern age, as Chiara Benati illustrates in her contribution. After all, people have always been in need of higher powers, such as in cases of sickness or war, and have either prayed or formulated a charm in order to prevent theft, to reclaim the stolen object, or to identify and punish the thief, as Benati explores. The enormous longevity of the genre of charms, ranging far into the modern times, if not even into the present, underscores the importance of this theme, especially in a volume on magic.

Charms were originally non-Christian, and they continue to be practiced in many cultures until today. But the examples presented by Benati underscore how much Christian thinking quickly entered charms and soon replaced the original religious framework, without changing the content, that is, the desperate plea to the *numen*, the external power, for help. In fact, as her comprehensive study indicates, the number of charms still available from the various cultures, languages, and periods is legion, obviously because the problem of theft has continued to be a major problem throughout time. The word-magic practiced here proves to be virtually identical with a prayer, though the purpose of magical charms was

always to restore lost property, to bring back the thief, and to take him/her to justice.

Many charms refer to saints, to Christ, to relics, and other Christian objects; hence they operate fully within the context of the Catholic Church, and yet they replicated closely the pagan models in words, gestures, rituals, and intentions. Prayers and ordinary prose texts could be combined with the charm, but despite the great variety, all charms proceeded ultimately the same way and continue to operate until now, serving basically the same purpose of building a bridge between the helpless and desperate human being and the higher powers. The use of words, gestures, talismans, and amulets in order to reach out to the *numen* proves to be essentially the same in charms and prayers, and this throughout times. We could even go so far as to equate those European charms with the voodoo magic in the Caribbean and elsewhere, since the combination of words, actions, and ritual is always intended to achieve the virtually impossible task of identifying, bringing back, and punishing the thief, or some other related task. Moreover, Benati demonstrates how much specific charms can be identified in various parts of pre-modern (but also modern) Europe, both within the Christian and a pagan context. Anthropologically speaking, the study of charms confirms that they belong to universal archetypes and enjoy great popularity, if not authority, amongst all people throughout time.¹⁶⁶

With Aileen M. O’Leary’s article the attention turns to the world of ancient Irish druids, especially Mog Ruith, who enjoyed great popularity in many different texts from early on and who was identified broadly as an ancestor of Fir Maige Féne, the early-medieval inhabitants of the area now known as Fermoy. While there is fairly little evidence regarding druids in general, the references to Mog Ruith shed considerable light on the interactions between the pagan Irish culture and early medieval Christianity.

He was associated with Simon Magus, whom Dante Alighieri had discussed in the nineteenth canto of his *Inferno* (ca. 1308–ca. 1320) and from whom he allegedly learned druidery and gained thus in social status, especially when he constructed, together with him, a rowing wheel, which represented the sun

166 See now also Victoria Symons, *Runes and Roman Letters in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*. Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde – Ergänzungsbände, 99 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016); for American examples, see now Edward J. Lenik, *Amulets, Effigies, Fetishes, and Charms: Native American Artifacts and Spirit Stones from the Northeast* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2016); cf. also the contributions to *Charms, Charmers and Charming: International Research on Verbal Magic*, ed. Jonathan Roper. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

and which allowed him to control the world, giving him the capability to fly. O'Leary also points out examples of this druid as a sinister character, thus when he is presented as the executioner of John the Baptist, which powerfully illustrates the ambivalence with which people in the pre-modern world generally, and so also in Ireland, viewed magic. The tale of *Forbhais Droma Damhgaire* ('The Siege of Knocklong') demonstrates how much the narratives about Mog Ruith were determined throughout time by magical charms and local (Munster) legends.¹⁶⁷ Here this druid enjoys high popular esteem for his divinatory powers through which he managed to save the kingdom from doom because of lack of water. But his demand for an enormous reward casts a rather negative light on him, since he only cares for the well-being of his own clan and kin.¹⁶⁸

Altogether, as O'Leary confirms, this druid represented both the old pre-Christian culture and the efforts by the Church to constitute itself in Ireland and to introduce the Gregorian Reform movement there. In many ways, as we might argue, there are significant parallels to the pan-European figure of Merlin, whose character was similarly described in constantly shifting terms, operating with magic, and yet also performing his official role as an intermediary to the Christian Church.

When Christian missionaries reached the European continent in the seventh century (first from Ireland, then from England), they faced a sea of pagan peoples. Nevertheless, in the course of time they managed to make their influence felt and thus could achieve a constant, steady transformation of the popular culture deeply determined by a strong belief in the power of magic and sorcery into a Christian society. Christoph Galle examines in his contribution the process and strategies through which the missionaries realized their goals, which primarily consisted in targeting the pagan practices of magic and the employment of charms, which Chiara Benati discusses at greater length in her contribution.

The missionaries operated systematically against the wide dissemination of pagan religion and identified the magicians and sorcerers as evil transgressors who deserved to be punished. Soon enough, the representatives of the Church could secure the help of the secular governments, and both authorities then proceeded with full force against the old faith all over the continent. However, as Galle also observes, the Church was quite flexible and open toward encultura-

167 John Carey, ed., "An Old Irish Poem about Mug Ruith," *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society* 110 (2005): 113–34.

168 Käthe Müller-Lisowski, "Texte zur Mog Ruith Sage," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 14 (1923): 145–63; eadem, "La légende de St Jean dans la tradition irlandaise et le druide Mog Ruith," *Études celtiques* 3 (1938): 46–70.

tion, welcoming many forms of the former pagan beliefs, rituals, and gestures for their own purposes, but adapted to the Christian concepts. Many Christian churches, for instance, were built at the site of the ancient temples or sacred locations, and numerous pagan texts were re-written in a Christian fashion, thus inviting the ordinary people to recognize the clerics as continuators, so to speak, of the previous magicians and sorcerers.

Even though the Christian authors easily condemned magical practices, their own stories of martyrs and miracles proved to be very similar in praxis. It was rather difficult, however, as Galle emphasizes, how to differentiate between white and black magic, between magicians who operated very similarly to priests and basically accepted Christ, and those who worshipped other gods. The clerical-legal procedure to combat 'evil' magicians consisted in excommunication, though this entailed difficult investigations and trials. In fact, the entire early medieval period was deeply determined by this ongoing struggle between the Christian Church and the pagan cultures with their magicians and sorcerers.

Despite all efforts by the Church authorities throughout the Middle Ages to repress and to eliminate pagan cultures, heathendom, superstition, and magic, their success was rather dubious, as a closer analysis of popular culture can demonstrate. Most curiously, belief in magical aspects, especially in hybridity and monstrosity, existed even within the Church, as Nurit Golan examines in her contribution. The existence of numerous depictions of mermaids, sirens, or, as I would rather suggest, Melusine figures in church art since the twelfth century, such as in the floor mosaic of the cathedral of Otranto in southern Italy on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, underscores the continuous presence of mythical beings in the common subconscious and in the popular imagination throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁹ They do not necessarily represent magic in the traditional sense of the word, but they certainly mirror the presence of alternative forces and beings beyond the natural limits.

169 Carl Arnold Willemsen, *Das Rätsel von Otranto: das Fussbodenmosaik in der Kathedrale, eine Bestandsaufnahme*, ed. Magnus Ditsche und Raymund Kottje (1980; Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992); Grazio Gianfreda, *Il mosaico di Otranto: anima per l'Europa* (Lecce: Edizioni del Grifo, 2003); *La sapienza e l'infinito: l'albero della vita nel mosaico di Otranto*, ed. Marco Rossi (Castel Bolognese: Itaca, 2006); Christine Ungruh, *Das Bodenmosaik der Kathedrale von Otranto (1163–1165): Normannische Herrscherideologie als Endzeitvision*. Studien zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 9 (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2013). For excellent images online, see <http://www.italianways.com/the-great-medieval-mosaic-of-the-otrantocathedral/> (last accessed on Feb. 24, 2017).

Focusing on the north portal of the transept of the cathedral of Rouen, the so-called *Portail des libraires*, Golan offers a detailed analysis of the large number of ca. eighty carved hybrids framed in quatrefoils (out of a total of 189), suggesting that this largest collection of such artistic droleries in Christian art was done rather deliberately in order to mirror the dominant interest in white, or natural magic, as a particular approach to natural science as it was practiced widely in the thirteenth century.

While previous scholarship mostly dismissed any effort to read meaning into those reliefs, or associated them with the tradition of bestiaries, Golan boldly and convincingly claims that here we encounter a serious effort by the Church to demonstrate to the public its own great interest in the natural sciences, which included also the study of hybrid creatures and even monsters, which all resulted from God's own creation.¹⁷⁰ The exterior decoration of the cathedral in Rouen hence reflected the new interest in a scientific explanation of the physical reality, supported by the clergy, which here wanted to demonstrate its own 'scientific' understanding of the world, including, after all, magical components in the form of monstrosity and hybridity.¹⁷¹ The discourse was focused both on the biblical account of Genesis and the natural world; both were supposed to be explained in the same fashion, as the reliefs indicate, since they also reflect the Creation story. Education had become most important, also for the members of the Church, so this Rouen portal can be identified, as Golan confirms, as a reflection of this profound change in attitude toward the natural world, which gave legitimacy, in a way, to white magic.

As we have already seen above, this branch of 'magic' continued to be of great relevance well into the modern age and was strongly promoted by intellectuals such as Paracelsus and Tommaso Campanella. This allowed the intellectuals, both within and outside of the Church, to find reasonable explanations for phenomena that were outside of logic and rationality, such as monsters and hybrid creatures. The reliefs in Rouen thus served both as signals about the high

170 Thüring von Ringoltingen comments in the prologue to his version of *Melusine* (1456) that we should not be surprised about the existence of such hybrid creatures such as Melusine because, according to the biblical text in Ps. 67:36 and Ps. 138:14, "Mirabilis deus in operibus suis." Quoted from *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Erstdrucken mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller. Bibliothek der Frühen Neuzeit, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), 12. See now also Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural* (see note 46), 185–93.

171 See also Nurit Golan, "The North Portal of the Freiburg im Breisgau Münster: Cosmological Imagery in Funerary Art," *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 16 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 155–91.

level of learning espoused by the Church itself, and as markers of what the novices could learn truly about the greatness of the divine Creation.

The widespread interest in at least white magic was also reflected in many different medieval narratives, as I have already outlined above. In his contribution, Christopher R. Clason focuses on Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205) and Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210), where magical powers and beings emerge at many critical junctures and exert tremendous influence on the narrative development. Surprisingly, however, whether we think of the love potion and the dog Petitcreiu in *Tristan* or of the deeply frustrated and forlorn magician Clinschor in *Parzival*, there are no really negative comments about magic as such. Of course, the impact of the magical power proves to be rather ambivalent or even devastating, but magic by itself does not attract specific criticism and is accepted as an extraordinary yet legitimate feature in courtly life.

As Clason notes, both poets intriguingly connect the workings of visuality, that is, the gaze, with magic insofar as emotional transformation results from the optical connection between two future lovers. Queen Isolde's love potion is certainly based on the assumption that the two persons drinking it during their wedding night would fall in love while looking at each other, and then form a stable marriage for the rest of their lives. Clason specifies that the poet definitely removed all possible doubts about the demonic features of that potion because love trumps all, as intended by the Irish queen who wants her daughter to experience happiness. However, despite all efforts on the queen's part, and later also on Tristan's part when he gains the magical dog Petitcreiu for his beloved Isolde, magic is of limited effect and does not achieve the miracle solution. The lovers continue to suffer and to experience pain, irrespective of the magical objects which do not have complete power over love.

Similarly, in Wolfram's *Parzival* the magician Clinschor tries to exert his magical power over a large group of imprisoned women out of a deep sense of frustration after having been castrated in punishment for his sexual affair, but he is eventually robbed of his influence by Gawan who can disenchant the castle where the ladies are held prisoners and gain Orgeluse's love for himself, which hence defeats Clinschor altogether. Love is a stronger force than magic, as Clason concludes in light of these two romances, especially because the distorted worldview as held by deeply angry Clinschor is corrected by Gawan, since he sincerely loves Orgeluse and can thus overcome the magician's attempts to deceive the courtly society through false images. This intriguingly corresponds with the action by the Irish Princess Isolde, Tristan's paramour and wife of King Mark, who destroys the magic exerted by the music created by the bell around the dog's neck. As much as both poets reflect on magic as a real phenom-

enon that had to be reckoned with in their protagonists' lives, hence at court at the highest level, true love proves to be stronger than all learned necromantic arts.

In her contribution, Rosmarie Thee Morewedge focuses even further on Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*, examining in greater detail what gift-giving might mean in the context of magic and how true love and magic appear to stand in stark contrast, endangering the individual's true happiness contrary to the expectations by those who produce or perform magic in support of that love. While love grows from the inside and gives the individual tremendous agency, magical power exerts its influence from the outside and originates from a rather elusive source, the *numen*.

In Gottfried's romance the Irish court is viewed by the Cornish courtiers as a location of major magical powers, and those who travel there, such as Tristan, return as magicians themselves, both aspects regarded with great suspicion and fear. While Béroul and Eilhart introduced some magical objects, their interest did not linger much on magic as such. The opposite is the case in Gottfried's version, where the lovers develop their strong feelings for each other through the love potion the power of which never fades away, and where Tristan tries to soothe Isolde's love pangs for him while he is away from her with the help of the magical music caused by the bell hanging around the dog Petitcreiu's neck.

Morewedge points out that for Tristan the music has a soothing effect and allows him to regain his agency in the love relationship with Isolde, liberating him from the effects of the magical love potion. On the contrary, for Isolde the music threatens to remove her from her own love feelings for Tristan, so she rips off the bell and thus destroys the music because her inner emotions are the catalyst for her own identity. While Tristan had tried to help her regain happiness, she destroys the magic of the music in order to maintain her love for him. In other words, as Morewedge argues, Isolde fights successfully for her love by way of discarding magic because her true feelings rest in her heart and should not be confounded through external influence. She remains pure and noble as lover.

Similarly, but then focusing on both protagonists together, when they spend time together in the love cave, they experience a magical transformation of their existence, yet then deliberately leave the cave again in order to return to courtly society, thus freeing themselves from the influence of magic, although this deeply endangers their love relationship. When Tristan finally has to leave for good, Isolde hands over a ring to him, which symbolizes the (alchemical) transformation of their physical, erotic love into a spiritual, mental, and emotional experience. In a way, the young female protagonist emerges as a new magician, on a

much higher level than her mother, Queen Isolde of Ireland, because whereas the latter knows how to influence material conditions and to heal wounds, her daughter knows how to bond two hearts together in eternity, that is, memory. This is the new magic Gottfried is really talking about, and it is the foundation for the community of those with a noble heart, whom he addresses so intriguingly and enigmatically in his prologue.

Anne Berthelot takes into view the mysterious figure of Merlin, who operates in many courtly romances since his first appearance in Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *Historia regum Britanniae* and the *Vita Merlini*, being a prophet, a magician, a seer. Although he can read the stars (astrologer), he really does not need them to learn the future. In the thirteenth century, Merlin assumes more devilish features in Robert de Boron's prose *Merlin*, since he then serves the devil helping him to take people back to hell. However, as Berthelot then stresses, the subsequent developments catapult Merlin into quite a different position, accrediting him with much power, wisdom, and prophetic abilities, all far removed from the devil. He is even associated with the creation of the Round Table, thus assuming a quasi-Christian function, though he operates, as it seems, with some magic to create strongest bonds among the fifty chosen knights, which proves to be simply awe-inspiring, not dangerous or infernal at all. Could Merlin thus emerge as a Christian magician, almost a *contradictio in adiecto*? However, Merlin almost gains center-position through his wonder-working that will help prepare the way for the future King Arthur, and this by way of his magical powers. These appear to work through his words, which always become true, so Merlin might be more an enchanter than a magician, and this also in the thirteenth-century romances such as the *Roman de Merlin* and *Lancelot*.

Magic and magicians enjoyed a fairly reputable status, at least according to the comments by many different medieval poets. There was hardly ever a specific association with the devil; instead, those who commanded magical powers had studied the magical arts intensively and were regarded as highly learned. Even the Church did not continuously voice specific criticism and did not always fight explicitly against magic, as unorthodox or dangerous it might have appeared, as various contributions to this volume confirm, in line with the overwhelming consensus of modern research on magic. The main character of the thirteenth-century French romance *Li romans de Witasse le moine*, Eustace the Monk, whom Cristina Azuela examines in her contribution, represents a good example for this phenomenon. The literary figure was based on the historical character Eustace Busket (ca. 1170 – 1217), who operated as a pirate and corsair in the English Channel, sometimes working for the English, sometimes for the French

crown, but who was hated by pretty much everyone among the authorities.¹⁷² In the literary manifestation, Eustace commands considerable magical knowledge, which he had acquired in the famous city of Toledo, but he uses it primarily to have some fun, to play tricks on people, to get out of difficult situations, and to frighten a whole village population, for instance; yet he never conjures the devil or other dark forces, and normally restores order and appeases his 'audience,' that is, his victims subsequent to his magical performance.

As Azuela underscores, Eustace operates as a magician primarily during his youth, but he is presented much more as a trickster and a fascinating figure throughout the narrative as soon as he has entered adult life and operates as a pirate, which puts the magic applied by Eustace within a rather ordinary framework of events, and could be identified as youthful dalliance. Much more important proves to be the fact that Eustace is treated as an outlaw, and as such is more relatable to the mythical figure of the trickster, and his medieval manifestations such as Merlin, Robin Hood, Renart, and even Tristan, than to a traditional magician operating in a sinister fashion. Nevertheless, we would do injustice to this romance if we ignored the magical aspects, insofar as Eustace operates with magic as means to have some fun for himself.

Eustace's major strategies consist in creating chaos, in transgressing the social norms, in deceiving and cheating, but not really out of malicious intent; instead his actions invite us to laugh about them, and to marvel about his magical abilities and cleverness that always help him out of even the most difficult situations, including imprisonment and near execution. The fact that Eustace is regularly persecuted by the authorities align him with the old tradition of rebellion stories in which barons try to stage protests and even military opposition to a tyrannical king. But magic hardly surfaces when Eustace proceeds against his feudal lord, insofar as he then relies mostly on his astuteness, cleverness, and trickery. Yet, as Azuela also observes, Eustace has no hesitation to resort to his magical powers to bring about burlesque scenes, such as making monks farting in the cloister.

Irrespective of the many references to the devil as Eustace's source for his magic, it remains an elusive component that should not be overemphasized in the evaluation of this literary protagonist as magician, especially because the textual evidence for such a claim is rather thin. Satan does not play a role in Eu-

172 Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*. Revised paperback edition (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987); see also the very useful biographical and literary-historical survey online at: <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/eustache-the-monk-introduction>; drawn from *Robin Hood and Other Outlaw Tales*, ed. and trans. Thomas E. Kelly, Stephen Knight, and Thomas H. Ohlgren (West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press, 1998).

stage's life, who really needs to be categorized primarily as a trickster and pirate who commands magical powers and utilizes them for his humorous pranks, as gruesome as some of those might be. The *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1583) will prove to be a significant avatar of *Li romans de Witasse le moine*, especially because of the ambiguous, transgressive behavior displayed by Eustace, who appears like the outgrowth of ancient pagan culture, commanding considerable magical abilities, yet drawing from them only when there is need to save his own life, to pull someone's leg, or to entertain the public.

Magic is not simply a strategy to transform reality, material substance, or to achieve a most unlikely turn of events; it also can be an operation to divinate, or, in reverse, to prevent something from happening by intervening in the past. But time travel with the purpose of manipulating situations, conditions, or people in the past is virtually impossible because of simple logical contradictions, as Christa Agnes Tuczay illuminates in her contribution, focusing, above all, on the anonymous Middle High German romance *Reinfried von Braunschweig* from the late thirteenth century. The issue is to circumvent prophesy, which a magical operation is supposed to bring about, but already cases in ancient literature confirmed that this was not possible.

Both in *Reinfried* and in a variety of other texts the magician is attempting to resort to word magic, that is, a magic based on the written word, to achieve this goal, even though always in vain. In the late Middle Ages authorities tried numerous times to fight against magic by burning books, especially grimoires, but they do not seem to have been fully successful. But this allows Tuczay to probe further how much books of magic mattered throughout the Middle Ages and where they were the center of attention in literary texts, such as in the *Wartburgkrieg*, and in many of those accounts dealing with the Greek philosopher Aristotle, such as the highly popular *Secreta Secretorum*. This also went hand in hand with the growing respect for white, or natural magic, as late medieval poets associated it even with the highly regarded University of Paris where students could gain a Master degree in it, as reflected, for example, in the fifteenth-century Middle Low German *Malagis*.¹⁷³ Little wonder that already famous scholars such as Peter Abelard (d. 1142) were ill-reputed as possible magicians, and that the anonymous poet of *Reinfried* elaborated the theme of the magician and his magical books so meticulously. Intellectuals all across Europe were

173 See the contribution to this volume by Albrecht Classen.

deeply intrigued by grimoires, which also could be found at times in fairly large numbers in monastic libraries, such as in Canterbury.¹⁷⁴

While magical books in modern popular imagination are filled with magical charms only, in the Middle Ages those grimoires consisted of herbal recipes, benedictions, prayers, and also charms. For those people who were illiterate the magical books gained in status as talismans. Divinations and magical procedures were commonly carried out with such tomes, the basis of bibliomancy. Both the literary reference (*Reinfried von Braunschweig*, etc.) to the magical power of the manuscript/book and the larger history of magic in the pre-modern world confirm the great significance which the written text enjoyed, connecting the learned reader with uncanny forces, the past and the future. As Jan Assmann observed, “hieroglyphs [i. e., all written letters] performed three functions: that of arcanizing, of denoting ideas independent of language, and of immediate signification. . . . In this regard, hieroglyphs function as a cryptography that discloses its meaning only to the initiated.”¹⁷⁵ Magical books corresponded to this phenomenon by way of analogy and paved the way toward a hermeticism by which “the coherence of the world . . . could be put to practical use, magically, mystically, and medically, but, above all, alchemically, for refining metals, prolonging life, achieving earthly bliss – in short, for producing the Philosopher’s Stone.”¹⁷⁶ To study the history of magic thus amounts to the exploration of the deepest and most fundamental level of intellectualism in the pre-modern world.¹⁷⁷

174 Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 39); Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008). Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Carolina Escobar-Vargas, *Magic and Medieval Society*. Seminar Studies in History (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).

175 Jan Assmann, “Foreword,” Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus* (see note 98), xi.

176 Assmann, “Foreword” (see note 98), xii.

177 Lynn Thorndike, *The Place of Magic in the Intellectual History of Europe*. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, XXIV.1 (New York: AMS Press, 1967). He refers, for instance, to Isidore of Seville, the Venerable Bede, Alexander of Neckam, Michael Scot, Roger Bacon, Vincent de Beauvais, Bernard Gordon, Albertus Magnus, Arnald of Villanova, Jerome Cardan, Paracelsus, Tycho Brahe, and Francis Bacon. That list could be easily expanded since for most scholars, theologians, scientists, and philosophers the difference between magic and the scientific exploration of the world was rather minimal. John of Morigny (late thirteenth/early fourteenth century) was one of the major authorities in this regard. See the contribution to this volume by Claire Fanger.

In the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (middle of the thirteenth century) we observe an intriguing thematic combination of the veneration of the Virgin Mary and of magic, which the poet wants to combat in order for the Church to gain victory over the nefarious forces threatening the spiritual well-being of Christianity. Veronica Menaldi examines the powerful interaction between the demons and the mother of God as a reflection of how popular, pagan culture continued to interact with and to struggle against the official Church, which bravely embraced that challenge and systematically created literary material and images for public display, demonstrating both the danger resulting from the devil and the inner strength of good Christians to resist those seductive efforts.

Contrary to common expectations, evil does not originate from ordinary individuals, but from clerics, who collaborate with the devil to achieve their own goals, mostly material and political in nature. This is particularly vividly expressed in *Cantiga 125*, which Menaldi examines at great length. Here we learn that while many clerics perform according to the norms, others resort to demonic conjuration in order to pursue their personal goals, including sexual satisfactions.

But in reality, as Menaldi alerts us, and which certainly applied to many other parts of medieval Europe, clerics were quietly allowed to ‘marry’ a woman or, to be more precise, to keep her as a concubine which solved numerous problems, not only for himself, but for the entire community. Of course, this altogether situates spiritual sanctity, human sexuality, demonology, and the teachings of magic in the center of the public discourse, as sanctioned by the highest authorities. Nevertheless, this common procedure of achieving marriage was allegedly associated with the power of demons whose help the clerics had evoked by means of magic.

This and other *cantigas* reflected on the wide-spread dissemination of scientific and (!) magical discourse in late medieval Spain, mostly originating from Toledo where Arabic, Jewish, and Christian cultures interacted closely with each other. The *Cantigas* are accompanied by a rich display of miniatures, some of which contain very similar ‘magical’ symbols as those present in the Arabic sources, such as the *Picatrix*. However, *Cantiga 125* served the purpose to identify magic as a form of mental danger, as a seductive force, so the poet intended to project the necromantic arts as a medium by the demons to influence people negatively, particularly clerics, removing them from God and making them victims of the devil. Otherwise, as the many religious narratives illustrate, and as the famous *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercian master of the novices, Caesarius of Heisterbach (completed ca. 1240), specifically indicates, magic continued to be widely popular and was either practiced or sought after for the sol-

ution of personal problems.¹⁷⁸ But *Cantiga 125* reflected on a special form of magic and intended to warn against the dangers resulting from the demons, although the magical arts were otherwise commonly regarded as effective, meaningful, and practical in handling human problems.

Menaldi emphasizes that *Cantiga 125* profiles magic as a rather common occurrence, but she argues in particular that magic is incorporated here in order to demonstrate the superior power of the Virgin Mary against demonic influences. For the cleric affected or manipulated by the demons it was high time to turn to her for the salvation of his soul, whereas before he had experimented too long with magic and had almost become a servant to the demons. The text thus indicates the pervasive influence which magic continued to have throughout the late Middle Ages, both on the Iberian Peninsula and certainly in all other parts of Europe as well. The Church was almost a critical battleground concerning the role of magic, since demons had entered its heartland and had become dangerous even for the clerics through sexual temptations.

Although the *Cantigas* altogether served primarily religious purposes, they relied heavily on the critical engagement with magic in order to confirm the supremacy and truth of the Christian faith. In other words, the issue of magic as reflected upon in the text indicates how much Christianity itself was an ideological concept imposed on medieval Iberia and all other countries deliberately and strategically opposed to the ancient pagan cultures. As the poet of the *Cantigas* emphasized, the Christian individual could only rely on the help of the Virgin Mary in order to fend off the temptations set up by the demons as they attempted to confuse people by means of allegedly magical powers which individuals had acquired illegitimately. Even clerics were not exempt from that danger, as we can hear especially many times in the late Middle Ages.

The thirteenth century witnessed a considerable growth of interest in magical figures, as often reflected in literary texts, such as the Old French *chanson de geste*, *Maugis d'Aigremont* (ca. 1380/1390), which was later to become the source for the Dutch and then the German translation, *Malagis*, which Albrecht Classen discusses in his contribution. In her study, Kathleen Jarchow offers an analysis of the protagonist and his magical abilities, who does not seem to fit into the traditional framework of epic or courtly narratives, especially in comparison with his literary cousin, *Renaut de Montauban*. With the help of herbs, sleeping spells,

178 Albrecht Classen, "Madness in the Middle Ages – An Epistemological Catalyst? Literary, Religious, and Theological Perspectives in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*," *Hermeneutics of Textual Madness* (see note 35), vol. I, 339–68.

and charms Maugis transcends the traditional knightly role, ascends to the role of a truly learned magician, and concludes his life as a pious hermit. But his real adventure as a magician begins only after he has crossed the Strait of Messina and reaches Sicily, where he enters, still being an infant, the world of fantasy and is greeted by the fairy Oriande. She invokes God, but also Simon the Magician, Simon Magus, combining the Christian with the pagan aspects, just as was often the case in the world of medieval charms (see Benati's contribution to this volume). The magical dimension gains intensification with the arrival of the magician dwarf Espiet, but Maugis is subsequently privileged to acquire from the fairy's brother Baudri a fully-fledged education in magic at chateau Rocheflor, although the narrator specifically frames all this with clear references to Christianity, to which Oriande and everyone else in her realm subscribe.

As Jarchow observes, magic is as much at play as traditional and yet also unconventional knightly efforts to rid the world of evil, here especially in the form of a devil. Magic is not regarded as something condemnable; on the contrary, Maugis emerges as an ideal warrior hero who shines both through his intellectual, magical skills and his physical strength, bravery, and energy. There are no indications of magic being viewed as suspicious or dangerous for the protagonist's well-being. By contrast, Maugis proves to be a highly admired master of magic who wields tremendous power, which significantly transforms the traditional narrative framework of the two genres of the *chanson de geste* and the courtly romance.

Medieval magic (particularly in the thirteenth century) emerged through the arts as it made its way from the clerics to the laypersons. The itinerant jongleur very well could have had access to medieval grimoires in the vernacular. At the very least, jongleurs, audiences, and copyists all had a working knowledge of the contents of the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, giving them a working understanding of the community of saints and some exposure to (biblical) exegetic stories.

Maugis d'Aigremont is part of this 'arts' movement inasmuch as it reflects the proliferation of magical practices (practice meaning the study and use of a codified form of magic, i.e., here specifically the seven arts) from one population to the next: from the Latinate to the vernacular dimension. This Old French text confirms the transformation of magic as an art form practiced exclusively by the learned (pagan or Christian) in the early and high Middle Ages to a learned skill accessible also to the members of the courts and ordinary individuals in the later Middle Ages. This will then be confirmed specifically by the Middle Low German version, *Malagis*, which Albrecht Classen discusses in his contribution.

However, as we have noticed already several times above, and as Claire Fanger's contribution highlights as well, the evaluation of magic depended very much on the specific situation where it appeared and on who practiced it, not to speak of those who offered that evaluation. At first she illuminates the highly contradictory conditions under which the Benedictine monk John of Morigny (early fourteenth century) operated with the occult *Ars Notoria*, which he then taught his sister Bridget, whereas he specifically rejected necromancy as a dangerous art threatening a good Christian's spiritual well-being. Paralleling this case, Fanger turns her attention next to the twelfth-century Tibetan monk Milarepa whose mother induced him to study black magic, thus endowing him with the ability to conjure strong storms for the purpose of exacting revenge on much disliked relatives. This comparison allows the author to shatter any traditionally held concepts that magic was entirely distinct from religion and that magic was primarily a western, European subject.

John of Morigny rejected working with necromancy in order to solicit the devil's help, but he promoted the *Ars Notoria* as an intellectual method to strengthen and promote the study of the *Artes liberales* and thus to gain easier access to the angels and even God. This art was primarily predicated on the use of prayers and the employment of diagrams to establish communication with divine beings. However, as both John and his sister Bridget experienced, their study of this form of white magic also invited unwelcome guests, demons who visited them in their dreams. At the same time, his strong devotion to the Virgin Mary granted him the privilege of her speaking to him directly, which confirmed for him that at least this type of magic could be approved even by the Church. At the same time, as Fanger notices, John was also afraid of being caught by his colleagues if he were to perform necromancy and thus would enter into the world of illegitimate magic.

Studying the life of the Tibetan monk Milarepa allows Fanger to draw significant parallels with the Benedictine monk in France, insofar as both resorted to the genre of the autobiography and explored the extreme limits of magic regarding its usefulness and dangers. Moreover, Milarepa also at the end repented his magical workings, similar to John, both finally struggling hard to leave their magical past behind and turning to higher religious or spiritual devotion. This entails, above all, the specific action to remove the book of black magic from the altar or the shrine, and to dedicate their own lives to the pursuit of sanctity.

The comparison between both historical figures makes it possible for Fanger to reflect on older theories about magic (Durkheim) and to discriminate those further, since magic and religion often appear to be intertwined and similar in a variety of ways, what neither side would easily agree with (private versus public, clientele versus congregation, etc.), especially if magic is learned and prac-

ticed within the confines of the family, as is the case with John of Marigny and Milarepa. It proves extremely difficult to distinguish clearly between approved and condemned magic, between public and private good achieved by a magic, and between useful and useless magic.

In the world of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* magic emerges a number of times, as I have discussed already above in brief terms. In her contribution, Lisa M. C. Weston casts a wider net and questions to what extent modern interpretations of Chaucer's attitude toward magic, as determined by skepticism and a desire for a rational explanation of this world, can truly be upheld. There is a surprisingly large number of clerics in the various tales who have studied magic or have at least a strong interest in it because their own goals cannot be achieved otherwise. By contrast, it is obvious that Chaucer demonstrated a great curiosity about the new sciences of his time, especially astronomy – see his own treatise on the astrolabe – and astrology. But did he hence reject magic and related necromantic arts altogether? Did he identify common magic as nothing but an illusionary art, a deception brought about by a good knowledge of the tides of the sea, or weather patterns, as previous scholarship has commonly argued?

While Chaucer might have viewed traditional magic with a good degree of irony, he still operated happily with concepts of magic throughout his narratives, as Weston emphasizes. However, the poet tended to combine this theme with the creation of imagery, hence a form of magic based on optics. In fact, he strongly endeavored to bring about a combination of magic with modern science by way of astronomical and optical studies, and not shying away from the power of words, as in magical charms, which Chiara Benati discusses in her contribution to this volume. He may even have predicated some of his concepts on the new *Ars Notoria* (see above) in which geometric diagrams served to appeal to angels to provide help in human affairs.

As ironic some of the treatment of magic hence might seem in the *Canterbury Tales*, there is little doubt about the various clerks' great interest in that art, as confirmed both by the literary evidence and simple library catalogues of monastic holdings from the entire Middle Ages.¹⁷⁹ Chaucer thus could be identified as a typical representative of the late Middle Ages who was curious both about modern sciences and traditional magic and happily incorporated references to al-

179 Frank Klaassen, "English Manuscripts of Magic, 1300 – 1500: A Preliminary Survey," *Conjuring Spirits* (see note 38), 3 – 31. He emphasizes, however, that the presence of magical texts in monastic libraries or private collections does not necessarily indicate a particular interest in necromancy and hence in devil worship. Magic, such as the *Ars Notoria*, would easily fit into a broader Christian world view. See also Fanger, *Rewriting Magic* (see note 39), 35 – 44.

chemy and related arts as strategies by which some individuals believed that they could transform the material conditions of this world. And in this regard he was by far not the only late medieval writer engaging critically with the topic of magic, he himself being a member of the intellectual elite working as a diplomat and bureaucrat.¹⁸⁰

I would add here the following observation. As *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* and its prologue illustrate abundantly, he regarded alchemists mostly as deceivers and ridiculed their efforts to create gold out of ordinary matter: "Nis nat good, whatso men clappe or crye. / Right so fareth it amonges us. / He that semeth the wiseste, by Jhesus, / Is moost fool whan it comth to the preef" (965–68). The search for the philosopher's stone would be in vain, and all the efforts by magicians or other occultists would result simply in intentional opposition to God: "For whoso maketh God his adversarie, / As for to werken anythyng in contrarie / Of his wil, certes, never shal he thryve, / Thogh that he multiplie terme of lyve" (1476–79).¹⁸¹ This ambivalent attitude toward magic reminds us of many other cases discussed above, such as John of Morigny (turn of the fourteenth century) and Johannes Hartlieb (late fifteenth century), who reflected on this necromantic field of science, detailed what they knew about it, which was often more than we might have expected, but rejected it in the end, or ridiculed it, as Chaucer does in this tale. However, even Chaucer leaves open the option that magic could be a valid art if fully understood and thoroughly studied, whereas most practitioners would not comprehend magic to the full degree necessary and would remain, in their incompetence, rather fools, like most of us: "'For this science and this konnyng', quod he, / 'Is of the secree of the secretes, pardee'" (1446–47).¹⁸²

180 Fanger, *Rewriting Magic* (see note 39), 38. Analyzing John of Morigny's approach in his *Liber florum celestis doctrine*, or *Flower of Heavenly Teaching*, Fanger comments: "In this description, the *Ars Notoria* represents a means of access to knowledge that is not merely a pragmatically effective solution to a learning difficulty, but also a sacred alternative to a means of attaining somewhat similar goals by demonic magic. Further, according to John, it is a method that works." John of Morigny, *Liber florum celestis doctrine: The Flowers of Heavenly Teaching*. An Edition and Commentary by Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015).

181 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Robert Boenig and Andrew Taylor. 2nd ed. (Peterborough, Ont., and Buffalo, NY: Broadview Press, 2012). See Sheila Fisher, *Chaucer's Poetic Alchemy: A Study of Value and its Transformation in The Canterbury Tales* (New York and London: Garland, 1988); Alexander N. Gabrovsky, *Chaucer the Alchemist: Physics, Mutability, and the Medieval Imagination*. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

182 He probably refers to the famous treatise *Secreta Secretorum* attributed to Aristotle during the Middle Ages, probably based on an Arabic translation, the tenth-century *Kitab Sirr al-Asrar*;

However, as Daniel F. Pigg alerts us in his contribution, also dedicated to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, a literary text refuses easy answers and can not be read through the lens of positivism. What did Chaucer really intend to say? Can we even gain reliable insights regarding his attitude toward science, magic, and alchemy? Pigg further raises the question whether Chaucer did not mostly deal with make-belief magic, that is, the art of illusion or deception, which in itself would have to be evaluated as a considerable skill by itself. It would be important to distinguish, if possible at all, between science and magic, between white, or natural, and black, or demonic, magic, and then we would have to apply those distinctions to the fictional projection by Chaucer, which represents even further difficulties.

Neither *The Franklin's Tale* nor *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* allow us to reach a clear-cut understanding, which would not be untypical of the late Middle Ages when the paradigm shift regarding science versus magic was slowly reaching its critical mass. But in *The Franklin's Tale* the issue does not even seem to be so much magic, as rather love and prayer, which deceive the senses and create illusions, as Pigg emphasizes rightfully. This also reminds us once again of Isolde's decision in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210) to destroy the magical music coming from the bell hanging off the neck of the magical dog Petitcreiu because she wants to preserve her true and pure love for Tristan, as Rosmarie Thee Morewedge notices in her contribution.

It could well be, as Pigg suggests, that the Orleans magician whom Aurelius asks for help to achieve his goal of gaining Dorigen's love is primarily a theatrical master performer specializing in creating masks and trickery, almost in the way as Shakespeare's Prospero does in the *Tempest*. This would not belittle the magician, but it would rather satirize the audience's expectations and assumptions vis-à-vis magic. Magic would hence be, in the context of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, a specialized branch of natural science in which seemingly impossible

see Karl Young, "The 'Secree of Secrees' in Chaucer's Canon's Yeoman," *Modern Language Notes* 58 (1943): 98–105; Edgar H Duncan, "The Literature of Alchemy and Chaucer's Canon's Yeoman's Tale: Framework, Theme, and Characters," *Speculum* 43.4 (1968): 633–56; Robert Epstein, "Dismal Science: Chaucer and Gower on Alchemy and Economy," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer: The Yearbook of the New Chaucer Society* 36 (2014): 209–48. As to the *Secreta* (also *Secret of Secrets*), see Steven J. Williams, "The Early Circulation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian 'Secret of Secrets' in the West," *Micrologus* (1994): 127–144; id., *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse: die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-aristotelischen Sirr al-asrar / Secretum Secretorum*. Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter, 43 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006). For an online version of the 1528 edition, see <http://www.colourcountry.net/secretum/> (last accessed on March 11, 2017).

acts are performed, which are predicated, however, on nothing other but a deep understanding of the normal forces of nature.

Chaucer's narrator in *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* would hence have to be identified as a comedian who really laughs about the readers'/listeners' naivité and simple-mindedness regarding the powers which a good scientist or magician can solicit. However, who would pay a solid scientist if he could not produce impressive effects and dabble in showmanship? The Yeoman does not fully understand his master's craft, and we are not fully told what the Canon might have mastered in terms of science and magic.

The conclusion of Chaucer's tales hence would not be that there is no magic, that magic is only a form of illusion, but that true magic proves to be tantamount to true science, although most ordinary people cannot understand what is going on in reality and rather rely on the sly of hand operation than on a critical analysis of the workings of nature in the background – a phenomenon which is probably still at work today regarding modern technology, for instance.¹⁸³ The critical point of *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* would thus be that there are many foolish and untrustworthy practitioners of magic and alchemy, such as the Yeoman, whose face is marked by the consequences of his miserable failures at mastering the art. But this could also entail, as I myself have pointed out above, that Chaucer was not simply rejecting magic, a specialized aspect of natural science, but was rejecting or satirizing those who did not fully understand it and yet dabbled in it for personal profit.

In other cases, such as the fifteenth-century Middle High German *Malagis*, which was based on a Dutch version, and that in turn based on the Old French version *Maugis d'Aigremont*,¹⁸⁴ magic emerges even as an extraordinary, fully legitimate form of science that could be studied at the University of Paris. Unfortunately for the protagonist, however, once at Charlemagne's court, a conflict erupts between Malagis and the emperor because the latter demands a demonstration of the protagonist's magical powers. To Charlemagne's great embarrassment, he and his wife become the victims of that process, being publicly exposed, and from

183 We have to remember that the Middle Ages certainly knew of automata, robots, and mechanical gadgets that looked like miracles to the naked eye; see E. R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). In my review, *Rocky Mountain Review* 70.1 (2016): 120–22, I also point out that there are additional examples of automata in the courtly romance *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* by Der Stricker (ca. 1220/1230). See also Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural* (see note 46), 134–45.

184 See the contribution to this volume by Kathleen Jarchow.

that time on the emperor pursues Malagis with almost infinite, truly irrational hatred, although he cannot really achieve anything against him because he is unlearned and understands nothing of magic. As Albrecht Classen outlines in his contribution, while the French source, *Maugis d'Aigremont*, achieved considerable popularity, the German narrative basically failed to attract real interest, since its reception was limited to the court of Heidelberg (only two manuscripts).

Malagis indicates how much white magic could be regarded with great respect at least in the literary context, since the magician does not encounter any criticism by the clergy or his scholarly colleagues in Paris. Instead, the only true conflict dealt with here consists of the one between the magician and the emperor, who emerges as a rather foolish and hateful character. The emperor is not competent enough to understand and appreciate Malagis's true level of learnedness and hence his intellectual powers with which he can demand respect from all of his colleagues in Paris and elsewhere. As the extensive discussion of this mostly ignored narrative indicates, Malagis acquires his secret knowledge through a meticulous study of relevant grimoires and by way of pursuing a corresponding academic career at the University of Paris. There is nothing demonic about his art, although he has encounters with demons, whom he dismisses or squashes, relying on his own learning as a magician.

The verse narrative does not condemn magic in any noticeable fashion, but indicates how much the true magician's power could conflict with the worldly authorities, i.e., with Charlemagne, who quickly turns into Malagis's personal enemy and pursues him with all his might, though to no avail because he cannot combat magic with his ordinary means (imprisonment, threat of execution, etc.). In fact, the emperor increasingly becomes a ridiculous figure who foolishly fights against this mighty magician without ever achieving his goal. Magic ultimately serves Malagis to poke fun at the emperor and to entertain his followers, although he also has to employ his magic at some time to defend himself, drawing on Christian words, as if in a prayer. In this context Malagis operates even as a defender of the Christian Church, turning into a 'Christian necromancer' who commands much more power than even the emperor. There are many intriguing parallels with the famous *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1587) where the author intends to condemn necromancy, but in that process also provides much material for general entertainment based on magic and the influence of the devil.¹⁸⁵

185 John B. Friedman, "Safe Magi and Invisible Writing in the *Secretum Philosophorum*," *Conjuring Spirits* (see note 38), 76–86, even talks of "Christianized magic" (76) when magical treatises such as the *Secretum* limited themselves to "mechanical or chemical means rather than magical or theurgic ones" (81). It might be quite reasonable to assume that with the rise of an intellectual proletariat graduated from the university, the large number of unemployed intel-

The situation with Morgan le Fay, often commented about in medieval literature from the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth onwards, represents a curious puzzle because here we encounter not only a mighty and influential queen, but also a female magician who operates in a field which traditionally seems to be male dominated. Dalicia K. Raymond focuses particularly on the way in which Thomas Malory described Morgan in his *Le Morte Darthur* (1485) because here she does not simply practice her art, but utilizes her necromantic skills in order to pursue actively her revenge against her brother, King Arthur, who had unwittingly killed her lover, Sir Accolon, in battle. Of course, the latter had intended to usurp the throne, so his death seems to be justified here, but this does not exempt Arthur from his sister's ardent desire for revenge.

This situation is quite a different case compared to the anonymous *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* where Morgan only wants to test her brother's stamina and the truth behind his courtly ideals, utilizing Bercelak de Hautdesert as her instrument, the Green Knight. By contrast, in Malory's famous work the magically schooled protagonist is filled with bitterness, fury, and murderous desires because her own lover had died at Arthur's hands. She also had wanted to kill her own husband, King Uriens, and thus to ascend to the throne together with Accolon, but all her plans are thwarted, although she uses the best possible magical arts. Those she had learned in a nunnery or convent school, although it remains unclear, as Raymond notes, whether the nuns had been her teachers in that art, or whether she had been able to study on her own once she had reached the necessary maturity.

Malory obviously experimented with the question to what extent the practice of magic would have to be identified in gender terms. Morgan performs increasingly in a male role, trying to slay her own husband with his sword, and employing her magical skills to murder King Arthur. However, Morgan fails in her attempts, even though she drops the scabbard of Arthur's sword Excalibur into the lake at its deepest spot and thus removes a valuable royal attribute. But this does not mean that she would lose out completely; instead she continuously demonstrates astounding power and the ability to utilize her magical skills for her political ends. She operates thus both in a male and a female space, virtually assuming the role of a knight, and yet operating still in the background for camouflage.

lectuals resorted to writing and practicing magic because this could gain them a sense of superiority and importance, when they were simply manipulating natural conditions to convey a sense of enigmatic authority (83). Friedman here draws from the valuable insight by William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 69.

Similarly to some other figures in medieval literature, such as the Irish Queen Isolde in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210), or the mysterious aunt in Salerno about whom Marie de France reports in her *lai* "Les deus amanz" (ca. 1190), Morgan le Fay gains tremendous agency both as a magician and as a powerful political figure. Why she at the end accompanies him in the last moment of his life in a boat that takes him to Avalon, the eternal resting place of all courtly heroes, allowing him to place his wounded head in her lap, remains a mystery. Morgan only comments that he had tarried for too long from her, and she and the other ladies shriek and cry over his imminent death (Book XXI, ch. 5). Brother and sister thus disappear in the dust of history, and therefore also all of Morgan's magical powers as well.

From early on, and certainly continuing far into the early modern age the difference between magic and witchcraft was never very marked, and the Christian Church tended to identify anyone who did not conform to its teachings first as a heretic, especially in the case of recantation, and then as a sorcerer, or, perhaps worse, as a witch, which allowed it to hand over a growing number of miserable individuals to the worldly authorities who then burned them at the stake.¹⁸⁶ In her contribution to this volume, Amiri Ayanna revisits the infamous *Malleus maleficarum* by Heinrich Kramer (1486) and examines how much the notion of magic mattered for the author in composing this most dangerous treatise ever written, targeting witches and condemning them to their fiery deaths. She recognizes that Kramer relied heavily on the *Book of Ecclesiasticus* in the Hebrew Bible for many of his specific charges and demonstrates the extent to which he culled from that source text for his own writing.

For Kramer, perhaps even more than for many of his contemporaries, the Apocalypse was near, and in order to save mankind from complete desolation, falling victim to the devil in the afterlife, there was no alternative but to persecute with all possible rigor and discipline the evil influence of the devil on people's souls. *Ecclesiasticus* provided him with the rhetorical treasury and the conceptual notions of the processes happening secretly in human minds. After all, as Kramer perceived it, God had made it possible for magicians to exist and to exert their influence, which consequently endangered people to the extreme. Consequently, he felt the need to resort to extreme measures, the result of

186 Franco Cardini, *Magia, stregoneria, superstizioni nell Occidente medievale*. Strumenti, 96: Guide/storia (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1979).

which was the *Malleus* and its horrendous impact on generations to come, the spawn of the age of the witch craze.¹⁸⁷

But magic and demonology were rather unstable phenomena and cannot be easily categorized and identified, which required that Kramer go into many details and to offer numerous examples. Kramer clearly wished the targeted audience of state and church authorities to know how to proceed when a case came up under their control. Satan's power was great and highly dangerous for humans, so the author had to discuss magic and its manifestations most carefully. As a result, the *Malleus* evinces a complicated textual structure, which closely follows the model of exhortation as developed by Ben-Sira, the author of *Ecclesiasticus*. As Ayanna points out, Kramer aimed for all laws to be obeyed, for wisdom to be restored, and for the proper punishment of those who break the law, which all applied to those who worked with and in magic. Women, however, appear in the *Malleus* as devoid of reason and mostly subject to the workings of the devil and so deserve to be persecuted with the full force of the law, according to this inquisitorial author. Considering the urgency with which Kramer tried to enact his strategies in light of the feared and imminent Day of Judgment, it does not come as a surprise that both women, as easy victims of the devil, and anyone accused of performing magic became the prime targets. Mass persecutions of innocent people were the consequence, although this did not necessarily affect the learned who really experimented at least with natural magic.¹⁸⁸

Studying medical treatises from the pre-modern world can shed fascinating light on the true extent of syncretism that was in place, involving folk medicine, white magic, and even the Christian Church. David Tomíček, in his contribution, argues that a careful examination of numerous Czech medical tracts and similar texts from the late Middle Ages and the early modern age easily yields much evidence about the continued presence of magical charms, word magic, magical rituals, and gestures, all of them often combined with Christian prayers or objects

187 See the excellent contributions to *Ketzer, Zauberer, Hexen: Die Anfänge der europäischen Hexenverfolgung*, ed. Andreas Blauert. edition suhrkamp, Neue Folge, 577 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1990); Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Defining Dominion* (see note 63); and Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (see note 63).

188 Elizabeth Chesney Zegura makes the same observation in her contribution to this volume. We can also refer to the highly popular *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (anonymous, 1587), which, though written from the perspective of a cleric condemning all forms of workings with the devil or demons, proves to be predicated on the overarching interest in magic and the general power to transform material reality by means of charms, rituals, or the help of spirits. See my discussion of this narrative above.

borrowed from the Church. In fact, as he can demonstrate, in a good number of cases pertaining to sick people or women in labor the magical ritual involved the church itself and the assistance of the priest, as much as all that might have been anathema to the Church authorities in the first place.

As early as in the fourth century, St. Augustine in his treatise *On Christian Doctrine* (*De doctrina christiana*) had not objected to the use of healing herbs and their functionalization as amulets. In the numerous late medieval Czech sources, we can discover a plethora of relevant examples continuing with this tradition because magical procedures and medical treatment often went hand in hand. Very similar to the many charms discussed by Chiara Benati in this volume, the Czech medical authors hesitated little to combine practical advice with a variety of objects (herbs, animal tails, feces, clothing, etc.) and Christian liturgical formulas to achieve the desired end.

Czech writers were deeply concerned with providing protection for their patients against the devil, whatever that entailed, and drew both from magical and Christian traditions, especially if their usual medical knowledge proved to be insufficient, fending off nightmares and nightly ghosts, such as fays and a character known as 'Trude' (who later entered the world of fairy tales). Here we encounter remarkable examples of sympathetic magic, drawing strength and power from inanimate objects, from blood, feces, and a priest's habit, for instance. Evoking the name of Christ or of the Virgin Mary combined with magical rituals was commonly recommended even by academically trained physicians.

Little wonder that the Inquisition hence also targeted many lower-level clerics for their suspicious activities in healing rituals for members of their parish, especially when they attempted to assist in driving out demons from an affected person. But the use of verbal magic, often predicated on Christian texts, continued well into the seventeenth century, although by then medical research had made tremendous progress. As long as the intentions were good, a syncretic combination of Christian prayers or references to God with magical ritual and objects was commonly regarded as highly effective and often simply necessary to rescue the sick or endangered person, such as women in labor. Irrespective of the considerable expansion of medical research in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, older magical rituals, especially in the form of talismans and amulets, continued to play a significant role, especially if they were borrowed from the Church and thus attributed that ritual a sense of official authority.

Despite all warnings about the dangerous role of the devil or of demons, and despite the growing effort to fight against witches and sorcerers, the early modern age continued to investigate many different kinds of magic, from astrology to divination, etc., all certainly an outgrowth of humanism and the new development

of natural sciences. At the same time, however, we hear of much criticism of magic and related arts among the same intellectual circles, as Elizabeth Chesney Zegura emphasizes in her contribution to this volume. Nevertheless, the world of the aristocratic courts such as at Heidelberg, Germany, or Paris, were filled with a discourse on all facets of magic, and also with individual practitioners. Zegura analyzes the situation as it might have been in reality through a close reading of Marguerite de Navarre's famous collection of stories, her *Heptaméron*, written in the vein of but in explicit competition with Boccaccio's *Decameron*, completed in 1558/1559.

We might expect to find much material concerning magic in any of the narratives contained in this major work of French humanistic literature, but Zegura's examination yields surprisingly few results. It is important for our understanding of sixteenth-century French culture that there are very few instances of magicians operating in this influential text, actually only one, and in that case he miserably fails to achieve his goal. Marguerite's primary intention was, according to her own testimony in the prologue, to tell the truth and to instruct her audience through veritable accounts of human affairs. In some of her other works she harbored no hesitation to reflect on talismans, amulets, witchcraft, and magical cures, yet this is not mirrored in the *Heptaméron*.

Zegura warns us against reading too much into the negative portrayal of the one magician in Marguerite's entire collection (story no. 1); it is not intended to create laughter, and it can also not be read as a specific criticism of the magical arts at large, although the magician is rather ridiculed as a fool and incompetent practitioner of his art. But he surprisingly performs similarly to a priest, which could entail an indirect satire on the Catholic Church and its ritual performed during mass, or at least on black magic specifically, while white magic is not even touched upon here.

Alternatively, or additionally, the world of the courts and the corruption of the legal system become the targets of Marguerite's criticism here. While the foolish magician in her story fails to achieve his ends because he seems to lack the proper knowledge, many Renaissance figures in France were deeply dedicated to the exploration of a new understanding of the world. But the poet might also have aimed at those individuals who operated with simulacra such as wax dolls to gain magical powers and were doomed in all their efforts to work with false images and to rely on optical illusions.

As it should have become very clear by now, it is not easy to talk about magic, since it pertains to so many different fields of human concepts, ideas, efforts, and operations. Magic appears in literary and religious texts, it is discussed in a philosophical and a political context, it comes across as devilish or demonic

powers, and was viewed both negatively and positively. Magic was regarded as essential for medical purposes, or in the political sphere since it connected the helpless individual with the *numen*, or the other power, however conceived of. In his contribution Thomas Willard offers an overview of the various approaches to magic from the late Middle Ages to the early modern age, emphasizing especially the extent to which Renaissance *magi* identified their magical practices as foundational for the development of new science or medical learning – white, or natural magic, which would have to be distinguished from black magic carried out with the help of demons or the devil himself. It was difficult, and much debated, where the demarcation line was, and both sides of the debate argued vehemently against each other over the proper approach to those occult sciences.

One of the intriguing issues which Willard addresses pertains to the competition amongst the early modern intellectuals who might have the better access to the highest level of knowledge, scientific, religious, medical, and magical. Two famous cases were Henricus Cornelius Agrippa and Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus, both of whom were allegedly models of influence for the anonymous writer of the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, truly an iconic text of the late sixteenth century, but there were many others who explored the various limits between those fields of investigation, including Marsilio Ficino and Giordano Bruno.

To illustrate what this constant struggle could really mean in practical terms, Willard discusses the work of the physician Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1605), who subscribed to alchemy, magic, the teachings of the Cabala, and hermetic philosophy, all supporting his medical practice. Another major author investigating magic and its practical application was the Jesuit Martin Delrio (1551–1608) who accepted a variety of statements by the major authorities such as Paracelsus or Agrippa, but rejected others as well and warned about the danger of their learned treatises for the uneducated masses which could easily be misled and become victims of the devil in that process. In general, as Willard emphasizes, Delrio ultimately charged that excessive curiosity about unscientific aspects such as magic would cause people's delusion, whereas a sober mathematical and scientific approach would be the only reasonable one.¹⁸⁹

189 Petra Nagel, *Die Bedeutung der "Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex" von Martin DelRio für das Verfahren der Hexenprozesse*. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 2, Rechtswissenschaft, 1765 (Frankfurt a. Main, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 1995); Jan Machielsen, *Martin Delrio: Demonology and Scholarship in the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). There is also a solid discussion of Delrio's *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* in Shumaker, *Natural Magic and Modern Science* (see note 159), 70–93. He concludes: Delrio's use of authorities is

On the other hand, the Welshman Thomas Vaughan (1622–1666) defended the history of magical explorations as an effort really to discover God’s creative power in nature, perhaps similar to the philosophical approach by his near contemporary Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677). Vaughan espoused a mystical perception of miracles and magical phenomena and recognized many signs of chemical research already in Egyptian, Byzantine, Greek, and medieval texts, arguing almost for something like a Christian chemical-magical explanation of the world. The Rosicrucians were not far away from his thinking, and the effort to harmonize magic with religion and science continued throughout the following centuries until today.¹⁹⁰ Vaughan exerted a considerable influence far into the eighteenth century, if not beyond, as documented, for instance, by various German translations of his early works.¹⁹¹

Learning from art-historical evidence, it can be possible to detect an old tradition pertaining to magic that ran parallel to the one pursued by the Catholic Church from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Long before the witch craze truly affected The Netherlands, artists such as Jacob Cornelisz Van Oostsanen (1472?–1533) experimented with the motif of the sorceress, which might have been inspired by classical models of Diane and Circe, but which also might have been, as Martha Moffit Peacock suggests, a definite tribute to humanistic interests, as espoused by Van Oostsanen’s patron, Pompeius Occo.¹⁹² In his painting *Saul and the Witch of Endor* from 1526 based on the biblical narrative of Saul and the Woman of Endor (1 Samuel 28), the artist employed the motif of Saul evoking the ghost of Samuel through the help of this witch of Endor in order to appeal to those intellectuals of his time who worked intensively with the occult, such as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa or Johannes Reuchlin. Saul was in great need of divine intervention, despite his evil actions as King in the past, and so he relied on biblical necromancy, which Van Oostsanen mirrored most skillfully in his paint-

somewhat unusual because he often lists them only to deny their pronouncements, his acceptance of Christian truth providing a motivation for the dismissal of high-flying views that seemed to him heretical or dangerous” (92). Delrio’s text enjoyed tremendous popularity well into the eighteenth century, when the publisher Huisch printed it in Cologne in 1755.

190 See the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert.

191 Thomas Vaughan, *Lumen de lumine, oder, Ein neues magisches Licht geoffenbahret und der Welt* (Hamburg: Bey Gottfried Liebezeit, 1693); id., *Magia Adamica, oder, Das Alterthum der Magie: als dererselben von Adam an herabwärts geleitete Erweisung* (Leipzig and Hof: Verlegts Johann Gottlieb Vierling, 1735).

192 For a solid overview, see Norbert Schneider, *Von Bosch zu Bruegel: niederländische Malerei im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation*. Karlsruher Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte, 10 (Berlin and Münster: Lit, 2015).

ing. Did the prophet Samuel actually reawaken, and what did he mean by his mysterious words about Saul's imminent death and subsequent afterlife? These issues dominated the theological discourse since late antiquity and throughout the subsequent centuries; our artist, to be sure, condemned the consultation of a witch by Saul as indicated by the inscribed title.

Peacock examines this painting once again and focuses more on the presentation of witches and their attendants, especially because already in previous depictions of this famous scene the Woman of Endor was increasingly portrayed in a rather positive, highly respectable fashion, as can also be perceived in Van Oostsanen's masterpiece. But much more than in the past, here we observe great attention to details relevant for the practice of magic, including specific objects and a grimoire, all indicating the artist's stupendous familiarity with the occult arts, which his patron and others must have easily recognized and appreciated. Irrespective of the title, as Peacock emphasizes, all the magical procedures presented here are associated with God's involvement, which transforms the scene into an example of 'Christian necromancy' once again, especially when the presented grimoire is framed by holy signs which would signal the Church's general approval of such practice and reading of magical texts, such as the famous *Key of Solomon*.¹⁹³ Judging from a variety of very specific objects and figures, it seems rather likely that the patron Occo himself had commissioned van Oostsanen to produce this painting, which illustrated fittingly his own interest and that of his friends in the occult. The artist himself could have been influenced by Occo and endeavored with this painting to transgress the traditional limits between Christianity and magic, a rather typical move in the late Middle Ages.

Although we have traditionally assumed that the world of medieval literature came to an end by the early sixteenth century, making room for the age of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation, there are many different traditions that secured the continued interest in specific medieval literary motifs, themes, *Stoff*, and genres far into the eighteenth and nineteenth century and beyond.¹⁹⁴ This can be beautifully illustrated with the so-called genre of

193 *The Key of Solomon the King: Clavicula Salomonis*, ed. Samuel Liddell MacGregor (1888; Newburyport, MA: Red Wheel Weiser, 2016). This edition and translation was reprinted numerous times since 1889. It also exists in a variety of translations into other languages. For an online version, see <http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomon/ksol.htm>; or <http://www.sacred-texts.com/grim/kos/index.htm> (both last accessed on March 2, 2017).

194 Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 127); id., *Deutsche Schwankliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Martin Montanus, Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof und Michael Lindener*. Ko-

“Volksbücher” or ‘chapbooks,’ that is, early modern prose novels, many of which originating in fifteenth-century Germany making the decisive leap from the manuscript into the printed book. These early novels experienced a tremendous reception in other languages as well, such as in neighboring Czech, as Jiří Koten demonstrates in his contribution to this volume. Czech literature experienced an intriguing bifurcation around the turn of the eighteenth century, with the burgeoning of ‘new literature’ and the re-adoption of many of the plethora of late medieval chapbooks, which also meant the return to the topic of magic as addressed in various ways in those texts. Here we face a dramatic continental example of the re-enchantment in the nineteenth century, which Allison P. Coudert discusses in her contribution.

As in Germany, the *Faust* theme intrigued Czech writers deeply, but they also turned their attention to the motif of *Melusine*, since here they had the opportunity to explore either the meaning of a hybrid creature (see also the study by Nurit Golan) or the way how a scientist/occultist finds a way to strike a deal with the devil in order to gain deeper knowledge about the macro- and microcosm. By the nineteenth century, however, the necromantic arts are regarded as a means to create simple illusions and to deceive the ordinary folks, something which we can observe already emerging in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, as discussed by Lisa M. C. Weston here in this volume. Of course, we noticed already the entertainment factor in the original German version of the *Faust* story from 1587, though then the author had tried hard to provide at least a religious message condemning all dealings with the devil. Seventeenth-century Czech *Faust* versions already began to pursue that approach more strongly and increasingly ignored the theological intentions by the original poet. Magic became a means of entertainment for the wider readership.

Turning to the equally popular Czech version of the German *Fortunatus*, Koten notes the continued obsession with magical objects, here the inexhaustible money purse and the magical travel hat that allows the one wearing it to go anywhere in the world within seconds.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, there are those magical apples which transform those who consume them and thus make them subject to the workings of the ‘magician.’ The same elements as in the first printing of 1509

blenz-Landauer Studien zu Geistes-, Kultur- und Bildungswissenschaften, 4 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2009). See also Gotzkowsky, “*Volksbücher*” (see note 127).

195 As a reminder, see the parallel motif in Boccaccio’s ninth story of the tenth day in his *Decameron* (see above). For the reception history of *Fortunatus* and his magical objects, see Elisabeth Frenzel, *Stoffe der Weltliteratur: Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte*. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 300. 8th ed. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1992), 229–31. It hardly needs mention that these magical objects also became popular motifs in modern fairy tale literature.

(German) reappear in the Czech adaptations from ca. 1800 (*Zdeněk from Zás-muk*), where the interest in magic as a tool to carry out tricks and achieve the seemingly impossible continues unabatedly, although by then the magical objects have lost their allegorical meaning and serve only as plain props to advance the narrative in a critical fashion.

Koten also examines the application of casting magical spells in the Old Czech *Kronika o Bruncvíkovi* (Chronicle of Bruncvík) in which the protagonist has to wrestle with many fantastical creatures and overcome magical powers, comparing this text with the nineteenth-century *Off with Their Heads or Bruncvík and his Lion*, which was published by Jan Spurný around 1850. Here again the transformation of the medieval focus on magic as a true power into a rather entertaining discussion of magic for general consumption proves to be a striking feature. The medieval material with the many magical objects, animals, and magicians turned into highly popular historical legends during the nineteenth century; so we can conclude, also in light of the astounding reception history of the German chapbooks, that the deep interest in the magical component continued after all.

The concept of magic could entail also a variety of other aspects especially in the early modern age when science and new medical research increasingly moved aside traditional ideas about the world. This led the father of modern sociology, Max Weber (1864–1920), to assume that there was a wide-spread and profound process of disenchantment leading to deep changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, supported by the rise of rationality and logic. In her article, Allison P. Coudert claims, however, that this was actually not the case, because there is a wealth of evidence confirming the continued interest, and actually a growing fascination with magic, the dream world, imagination, and fantasy well into the nineteenth century and beyond. The entire Romantic movement confirms this observation, although scientific and medical discoveries certainly transformed the world and continue to do so until today.

We could also point out the considerable interest in magic and fantasy on the theater stage and in opera, such as mirrored by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart with his *The Magic Flute* and the German libretto by Emanuel Schikaneder from 1791. The very likely influence of the courtly romance *Yvain* by Chrétien de Troyes (ca. 1160) on this opera, among many other sources, underscores the continuity of the discourse on magic from the Middle Ages to Shakespeare's time and then well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁹⁶

196 David J. Buch, *Magic Flutes & Enchanted Forests: The Supernatural in Eighteenth-Century*

The interest in wonder and sheer delight about the miracles of this world, in nature, have accompanied those developments, keeping, oddly, the fascination with magic in close company with rational, scientific investigations.¹⁹⁷ As before, we ought to refer once again to the famous German *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1587), and then also to the much later adaptation of this text by Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) in his *Faust* (*Fragment* 1790; *Faust Part One* 1806; *Faust Part Two* 1831). Here the protagonist searches for new knowledge, and can achieve that only with the help of the devil, which makes him lose his soul, although he also discovers love.

Throughout the early modern age the interest in wondrous things, monstrous births, deformations, and physical transgressions in people and animals was intensive, resulting in numerous curiosity cabinets, especially at royal courts (see Castle Ambras near Innsbruck; the Augsburg Art Cabinet from 1632, now held in the Gustavianum in Uppsala, Sweden). Even famous scientists such as Francis Bacon (d. 1626) embraced fully the idea that the miraculous and the wonderful would be the foundation for all subsequent discoveries.

Although many scholars have suggested that with the rise of Enlightenment the sense of wonder was lost, Coudert claims that the opposite was actually the case, considering the various utopias and dreams of new technologies. Curiosity was very much at play, opening many different doors during the eighteenth century, parallel to new critical approaches to epistemology. Right next to mechanical philosophy there continued to exist concepts of alchemy, hermeticism, and a variety of manifestations of magic. Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677)'s idea of *deus sive natura* clearly supported the idea that there was not only nature, but the magic of the divine, and similar phenomena. Both vitalism and hermeticism held on to their philosophical ground, and with the emergence of Anton Mesmer (1734–1815) a quite new world view emerged that was not simply determined by natural sciences. Even though a new wave of automata came to the market, these did not dismiss the sense of wonder, but strengthened it, whether we call them magical objects or not.

Again, the development of Romanticism represented the true triumph of the wondrous over the scientific, though both dimensions existed side by side – again, see Mozart's *Magic Flute*. Both Goethe and Alexander von Humboldt recognized, as Coudert notes, the deep inner connection between macrocosm and

Musical Theater (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). See also Mary Kathleen Hunter, *Mozart's Operas: A Companion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

197 *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. Owen Davies and Willem de Blécourt (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press; New York: Distributed in the USA by Palgrave, 2004).

microcosm and accepted the divine wonders of the entire world, as perhaps best expressed by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis. Even though they were the heirs of Enlightenment, these Romantics fully subscribed to the ideal of wonders and the enchantment of this world, once again. We would have a hard time to disclaim the overarching presence of a desire for amazement, miracles, and magic even today. The modern world has grown in skepticism, and in many quarters also in disbelief, but the interest in and fascination with magic continue until the very present.¹⁹⁸

Conclusion

What have we achieved so far, and what will be the outcome of the collective effort of the various contributors to this volume. First of all, we can be certain that the discourse on magic and magicians traverses throughout time, from antiquity to the present age. The continuous intrigue which magic has exerted both among the learned and the ordinary people confirms the great importance consistently attributed to this field of science, or occult arts both in the past and in the present. Certainly, the Catholic, later also the Protestant Church tried their best to squash, repress, eliminate, malign, or ridicule magic from early on, obviously because they recognized clearly how parallel to religion magic could appear to many individuals. The example of the genre of charms confirms this abundantly, insofar as we can find charms written down and employed throughout the Middle Ages and until today. Their word-magic proves to be, in the final analysis, really identical with a Christian or any other kind of prayer, since the practitioner attempts to reach out to the *numen* or the *numinosum* by means of special, secret, holy, or magical words and to achieve a particular effect here in our physical reality.¹⁹⁹

198 *Fact and Fiction*, ed. Christine Lehleiter (see note 161). *Science and the Human Imagination: Albert Einstein: Papers and Discussions*, by Jeremy Bernstein and Gerald Feinberg, including two lectures on New Jersey's contributions to the nation in chemical industry and chemical education: papers and discussions, by Henry B. Hass and A. K. Bose, ed. Charles Angoff. Leverton Lecture Series, 5 (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1978); Roch C. Smith, *Gaston Bachelard: Philosopher of Science and Imagination*. SUNY Series in Contemporary French Thought (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2016).

199 Dubuisson, *Religion and Magic in Western Culture* (see note 23), 142–58. He draws, in particular, from the seminal study by Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1932), 427.

Even though modern science has clearly departed from magic and no longer subscribes to any magical practices, this cannot blind us to the fact that medieval and early modern sciences were deeply influenced by what we would call ‘white magic,’ and that many modern strategies to carry out scientific experiments are predicated, at least in the first place, on imagination, fantasy, creativity, hence some form of the belief in magic. In the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, that is, during the critical period of a massive paradigm shift, numerous European intellectuals explored the power of magic and studied it carefully, despite severe threats by the Church to stay away from any kind of necromancy – again, probably out of fear of a severe competition with its own holy books and its institutional authority.

Magic and its practical application represent a wide field of learning, legitimate or illegitimate. On the one hand we can recognize how much even some of the earliest metallurgic arts, smithing, were associated with magic. On the other, as literary documents often confirm, the experience of love was perceived as a form of magic *sui generis*. Moreover, the world we are living in, whether we believe in God the Creator or not, consists of an infinite number of phenomena, many of which represent hybrid creatures, seeming monsters, and inexplicable beings, which all still fit into the universe of our earth. Not even the medieval Catholic Church was loath to acknowledging the virtually magical scope of beings here on earth, since God was regarded as the greatest magician of all and could do whatever He sees fit.

Both the field of pre-modern medicine and the world of pre-modern science can be characterized by their openness toward magical features, as serious treatises and literary reflections confirm. While Andreas Vesalius’s anatomical atlas *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* from 1543 is commonly hailed as the harbinger of modern medical science, Camillo Leonardi was still at the forefront of thaumaturgical medicine, or magic, predicated in many different ways on the idea of Marsilio Ficino and Neoplatonism. Here we can identify simply the other branch of the medical discourse, specifically associated with white magic, which continued to exert influence for a very long time well into the eighteenth century. As Liliana Leopardi comments,

The value of Leonardi’s *Speculum lapidum* is the window it provides into an important but hitherto overlooked arena of early modern medical thinking. Its notions of the embodied sense and their responses to the occult virtues of precious and semi-precious stones, as reconstructed here, demonstrate the rich interplay of powerful discursive traditions which connect magic, philosophy and visual aesthetics to the healing arts.²⁰⁰

200 Liliana Leopardi, “Magic Healing and Embodied Sensory Faculties in Camillo Leonardi’s

In other words, magic mattered significantly in the academic, the religious, the literary, the amatory, and the scientific discourse, whether it was viewed with respect, fear, or irony, or outright contempt. We have already encountered numerous significant individuals from the late antiquity to the late eighteenth century and beyond who contributed to the topic of magic, both as participants and as customers, both as readers and listeners.

And we today? Have we entirely divested from magic and necromancy? For instance, for most of us not working in often elusive areas such as nano-technology, computer programming, micro-electronics, neuroscience, etc., a vast array of gadgets available on the market and countless processes and activities we can carry out today on a daily basis seem like magic. Were medieval magicians really so much different in what they were able to produce? Not everything practiced then was simply illusion. And not every scientific claim today can be fully trusted as ‘real’ or ‘factual.’ The truth often rests, and so here as well, in the middle.

In Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival* (ca. 1205) we learn, for instance, of a magical pillar created by the magician Clinschor on his storied “Schastel Marveile” (Miracle Castle). After Gawan has successfully met all the challenges, that is, defied all magic through his knightly prowess, he has liberated that castle and hence all those ladies. His mistress Orgeluse then explains to him the function of that pillar:

“Lord, this stone has shone by day and every night since I first became acquainted with it, for a radius of six miles into the surrounding country. Whatever happens within that compass, in the water and in the fields, can be seen in this column – it gives a true report. Be it bird or beast, stranger or forester, foreigner or familiar, they have been found therein. Its beam rangers over six miles. It is so solid and so intact that even with powerful cunning, neither hammer nor smith could ever harm it. It was stolen in Tabronit from Queen Secundille – against her will, as I believe” (*Parzival*, 298).²⁰¹

Speculum Lapidum,” *Mental Health, Spirituality, and Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 15 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 480–501; here 501. The *Speculum Lapidum* was reprinted, according to WorldCat, in 1533, 1609, 1610, 1717, and translated into Italian in 1565 and into English in 1750. See also Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural* (see note 46), 124–30.

201 Danielle Buschinger, *Le Graal dans les pays de langue allemande*. Essais sur le Moyen Âge, 61 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2017), 78–81; see also, Annemarie E. Mahler, “The Representation of Visual Reality in Perceval and Parzival,” *PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 89.3 (1974): 537–50; Timothy MacFarland, “Clinschor, Wolfram’s Adaption of the ‘Conte du Graal’: The Schastel Marveile Episode,” *Chrétien de Troyes and the German Middle Ages: Papers from an International Symposium*, ed. with an introd. by Martin H. Jones. Arthurian Studies, 26 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 277–94; Winder McConnell and Kevin Wolf, “Other-

I feel very tempted to recognize here a medieval laptop or a similar computer-based optical gadget that facilitates visual transmission over a long distance; for medieval people our world today would appear to be filled with magic everywhere, but they may be simply avatars of medieval imaginations, as the presence of numerous automata already in the pre-modern time indicates.²⁰² After all, mirrors and their reflexivity, as much as they are understood today clearly in physical terms, continue to defy the ordinary comprehension and seem to be almost magical in what they can project or deflect, profile or reveal, and this already in the Middle Ages.²⁰³

Moreover, many of those figures who appear in medieval and early modern literature, philosophy, or in religious texts who have been associated with magic, along with some of their attributes, such as Morgan le Fay, Merlin, the sword Excalibur, Malagis, and Dr. Fausten, magical dogs and other animals, mirrors, bodies of water, nixies, etc. continue to inspire our imagination until today and contribute strongly to our collective cultural identity – see, for instance, Tolkien's *Lord of the Ring* or J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter*. I cannot say anything about witches or demons today in any serious scholarly fashion, but it is undoubtable that such figures matter greatly in certain circles and in certain parts of this world because they appear to intrigue many people due to their unexplainable, magical powers.

Magic has always been feared, rejected, and admired, all depending on the circumstances and perspectives. Irrespective of the cultural framework, however, as our data has confirmed so far, magicians have regularly enjoyed tremendous respect, or have been demonized and rejected, and yet have also been admired or feared, depending on the conditions under which they could practice their art and the purposes with which they have pursued it. While Christians regularly re-

wordly Castles and Magic Pillars: Some Observations on Wolfram von Eschenbach's 'Schastel Marveile' and the Anonymous Fourteenth-Century 'Minneburg',” *Germanic Notes and Reviews* 42.1 (2011): 5–22; see also the contribution to this volume by Christopher R. Clason.

202 The Swiss writer Adolf Muschg adopted this motif already in his famous novel *Der rote Ritter: Eine Geschichte von Parzival* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1993) by identifying the Grail as a laptop. For optics in the Middle Ages, see Suzanne Coklin Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Dana E. Stewart, *The Arrow of Love: Optics, Gender, and Subjectivity in Medieval Love Poetry* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2003). For medieval automata, see E. R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots* (see note 183).

203 Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance*, trans. from the German by Gordon Collier (1973; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Nancy M. Frelick, *The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Specular Reflections*. *Cursor mundi*, 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

ferred to miracles as phenomena created by God, as we can read, for instance, in Heinrich Kaufringer's comments at the beginning of his stunning verse narrative (*mære*), "The Hermit and the Angel" (ca. 1400),²⁰⁴ magicians operated mostly through their own power, unless they evoked the devil for their plans. Little wonder that there was such an acerbic competition between the Church and the world of magicians.

Finally, it is my pleasure to express thanks for all the help we received in making the symposium possible, which subsequently became the basis for the volume which grew out of it. Not every paper delivered there was ultimately translated into a contribution, either because it was already committed to another project or because some other circumstances made it impossible, but there are also two articles that were contributed later specifically for our project by other colleagues in Germany and Austria. Financial support came from the Departments of German Studies, Spanish and Portuguese, Religious Studies & Classics, the Dean's Office of the College of Humanities, SILLC, the School of Anthropology, and from UAMARRC. Of course, all the participants made the symposium possible in the first place, so here we have, once again, the great opportunity to enjoy the results of an enormous collective effort to produce the latest research on a fundamental theme characterizing medieval and early modern culture.

As many times before, I would like to dedicate this book to my wife and best friend, Carolyn. In addition I would like to use this opportunity also to express my gratitude and respect for my colleague Steve Martinson, who was the interim department head of German Studies at The University of Arizona when this book entered its final stage in Spring of 2017. To have a supportive administrative head is simply invaluable for research, especially if the head is such a great scholar as Steve is, particularly in the field of German literature and philosophy from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He knows well how much labor and love go into the creation of any scholarly book.

I am also indebted to my colleague and friend Christopher R. Clason, Oakland University, Rochester, MI, not only for his fine contribution to this volume, but also for a critical reading of this Introduction. My co-editor of the series "Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture," Marilyn Sandidge, Westfield State University, has been an intrepid fellow warrior in our field of scholar-

204 Albrecht Classen, *Love, Life, and Lust in Heinrich Kaufringer's Verse Narratives*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 467 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014): "God does so many miracles that no one can ever count them all, as we learn clearly in Scripture: . . . The human mind cannot grasp the wonders that God works, and no one can ever grasp it all," 1.

ship and deserves much gratitude for many kinds of support needed when it became necessary. I also appreciate the help offered by my colleague Anne Marie Scott, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, in the case of two contributions. But what would this book be without the studies by the large number of colleagues from far and wide across the globe? I would like to salute them all for their hard work, their inquisitiveness, and patience with my endless nagging as an editor. It almost amounts to magic to achieve the desired accuracy everywhere, both in terms of content and the relevant scholarship, especially when there are so many international colleagues involved whose native language is not English (myself included). I like to think that my magical wand has helped me to reach that goal, as in all previous volumes of our series. Finally, a true salute to the University of Arizona Library for its really excellent collection, the many first-rate librarians, and the superb service by the Interlibrary Loan department.

Warren Tormey

Magical (and Maligned) Metalworkers: Understanding Representations of Early and High Medieval Blacksmiths

Introduction: Understanding the Blacksmith's Marginalized Centrality

A compelling and essential character in classical and early medieval literature, the blacksmith occupies a subordinate position within the class systems of the Olympic pantheon and, later, the Germanic and Nordic warrior ethos. He is vital to the labor and commerce of his immediate community but also peripheral to the centers of power, inhabiting a workplace often depicted as marginal, noisome, noxious, and reminiscent of the underworld domains of the condemned. No witch or alchemist, he nevertheless possesses arcane, quasi-magical knowledge that often assumes transgressive, if not directly heretical, forms with his abilities to transform matter, disrupt social hierarchies, and connect to a storied if transient past. The blacksmith is therefore an iconic literary figure, one often ascribed a foundational, mythic stature by a full field of medieval poets and commentators who recognize his essential but complicated role as the fabricator of the tools that enable a culture's survival and creator of the very icons and armaments that confirm its class hierarchies, serve in its most important rituals, and resolve its most violent conflicts. In this role he asserts his essentiality to that culture as a potentially disruptive force within it, working within his marginalized domains, generating frequent suspicion, and demanding continual scrutiny and subjection.

Emerging from the Homeric traditions in the form of Haphaestus and serving Virgilian ends as Vulcan, the literary blacksmith arises from the marginalized domains of classical epic as a figure who is shunned, occasionally feared, frequently revered, and consistently if cautiously maligned. Despite this treatment he is eternally tolerated and relied upon, figuring in the themes and images of disparate works across the medieval corpus. In *Beowulf* (eighth century) the mythic figure of Wayland the Smith, a distant scion of Vulcan, is invoked. In this role he serves to enhance the epic stature of those heroes wielding his celebrated weapons and donning his well-crafted armor to do battle with demonic,

Warren Tormey, Middle Tennessee State University

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-002>

larger-than-life antagonists who threaten the foundations of the communities with their violent actions and subterranean treasure hoarding.

The blacksmith and his craft also merit significant treatment in the poetic and prose *Eddas*, the *Sagas* of the Icelandic tradition, the writings of the Christian Church fathers, and multiple forms of medieval romance and lyric. Beyond his service as a renowned and loyal adjunct to the heroic warrior, the blacksmith is elsewhere depicted as a magical agent of fortune and fate, a temperamental craftsman who knows his value and is best not crossed, and, especially within a field of ecclesiastically oriented narratives, a noisome and overly prideful nuisance residing in the fiery, din-filled margins.

In her classic study, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England*, Hilda Ellis Davidson writes that “the sword was closely associated with much of what was most significant in a man’s life – family ties, loyalty to his lord, the duties of a king, the excitement of battle, the attainment of manhood, and the last funeral rites.”¹ Intimately connected with swordsmithing and weaponry, and figuring in the complex social meanings associated with these artifacts, the literary blacksmith serves an analogous role to crafters of medieval narrative by conveying and conferring social capital in multiple ways. Commenting on “the difficulties of its making,” Davidson writes that “a certain mystery hung over the creation of a good sword, and that poets associated such weapons with gods and giants and long-dead heroes of the past.”² With this observation she also affirms the essentiality of the social and symbolic capital brought by the literary blacksmith to multiple medieval genres. The blacksmith’s works conferred heroic stature by forging mythic connections to the past, and with his labors he strengthened the bonds between heroes and their causes, created conflict and facilitated resolution, and provided a ready trope to serve within larger spiritual metaphors. Just as the story and history of the sword establish its mythic authenticity, so does the character of the blacksmith lend his enigmatic mythos to multiple medieval narrative structures, including epic, saga, romance, exemplum, devotional literature, and lyric.

Critics of later decades have attempted to unpack the mythos associated with blacksmithing in fuller detail. For example, Rodney Hilton has remarked on the social relevance of blacksmithing outside of strictly chivalric contexts, noting that despite the utilitarian character of the labor and maintenance performed by the rural blacksmith, “[t]he ironsmith’s forge was a focus of village life,

1 H. R. Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 215.

2 Davidson, *The Sword* (see note 1), 216.

and over and above this, the mysteries of his craft gave him an almost magical prestige.”³ David Hinton’s more recent observation situates the labors of blacksmiths in a nexus between rigidly practical and magically forbidden realms, as “when they poured liquid metal into moulds and produced something totally different, or took ingots and forged them into objects, they were practising a closed and hidden art.”⁴ These remarks confirm that like medieval poets and other commentators, modern critics are also prone to find notes of a magical and subtly forbidden aspect in blacksmithing and the metalworking arts.

However, the presumption of the smith’s eternally lofty stature has been challenged more recently by Alaric Hall, who argues that within literary evidence “the fact that supernaturally empowered figures are smiths does not mean that smiths are necessarily supernaturally empowered.”⁵ Later scholars, including Nicola Masciandaro and Lisa H. Cooper, offer useful contributions to the assessment of the social significance of metalworking, both noting its mystique and highlighting the problematic “aura” surrounding artisanal production, and thus helping to situate the social capital of metalworking arts within larger class dynamics and tensions and within nascent systems of economic exchange. Masciandaro describes the means by which the medieval consumer’s status-seeking habits, expressed as commodity in displays of superior wealth, seeks reconciliation with the means of production that generate that wealth.

Here he references Hilton’s earlier observation in noting that “[t]he ‘almost magical prestige’ of artisanal production was less a supernatural aura than the merit accorded to conspicuous production by a society dominated by small producers” and also a “social recognition of the value of work in the heightened form of conspicuous industry.”⁶ Speaking to the emergence of this increasingly influential vocational subculture, Cooper describes its value as a transformational metaphor, one lending additional moral and spiritual credence to the metalworking arts. Here she observes that

[a]ppropriate artisanal humility would necessarily include recognizing God as a master craftsman, particularly since he – and his son – are frequently represented in the Bible

3 Rodney Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), 35

4 David A. Hinton, “Anglo-Saxon Smiths and Myths,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 80.1 (1998): 3–21; here 16.

5 Alaric Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England. Matters of Belief, Health, Gender, Identity*. Anglo-Saxon Studies, 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 33.

6 Nicola Masciandaro, *The Voice of the Hammer: The Meaning of Work in Middle English Literature* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 42.

and in later medieval tradition as smiths who judge, punish, reward, and ultimately transform the human soul with hammer, tongs, and fire.⁷

In this way our modern critics also confirm what medieval writers likewise recognized: that blacksmiths stand ominously between demonic and biblical realms, practicing dark arts but also forging metals into purer and more appropriate forms, just as God forged souls into more optimal states of being. Thus crafters of multiple forms of medieval literature understood the value in capturing and exploring the transgressive and transformative characteristics ascribed to the blacksmith and his labors.

The “magic” ascribed to this mythic and occasionally maligned literary figure is therefore rooted in his many and varied social roles and in the fundamental nature of his work. Essential to a community’s survival, he resides at its margins where he fabricates both the tools of everyday utility and the icons that express social power. In short, he works in service of those in lower and equal castes and is essential to those in the higher strata whose positions depend upon and are confirmed on his labors; and so he is both a crucial enabler of sustenance (if not prosperity) and a potential threat to social cohesion.

In contrast with other literary figures residing on the margins (i.e., the magician, the witch, the alchemist, the elf, or the demoniac, to name a few), and despite his frequently transgressive nature, he is seldom a complete outcast; but within his fiery domains he stands upon an ethical precipice, valued and often romanticized despite his ongoing potential for disruption. As represented by poets and other writers we see in those mythic, often uneasy depictions the recognition of the powers of the blacksmith’s own progressive, proto-scientific efforts; in his creative endeavors we discern the real presence of the smith’s magical aura, as perceived by a field of commentators throughout the medieval period. Ultimately, an exploration of his various narrative functions serves to highlight that problematic nature and to explain the long shadow that blacksmith characters cast across the literature of medieval Europe.

7 Lisa H. Cooper, *Artisans and Narrative Craft in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 96.

Enabling Redemption, Authenticating Heroic Stature, and Validating Class Standing

Within his underworld domains of classical literature the blacksmith figures in the narrative element of *catabasis* – as in the *Aeneid* of Virgil (ca. 29–19 B.C.E.), where Vulcan supplies a magical shield that strengthens the resolve of the hero Aeneas as he heads into decisive battle in Book VIII. In his medieval incarnations, the character of Vulcan is portrayed in more varied roles. For example, he takes on ominous dimensions when inhabiting the hellish underworld within the twelfth-century visionary Latin verse poem *Visio Tnugdali*. This poem was widely translated, serving as the basis for a field of German adaptations in the late twelfth-century, and was also Anglicized in a fourteenth-century Middle English translation as the *Vision of Tundale the Knight*. All versions of this story show the clamorous environs of Vulcan’s smithy figuring graphically in the redemptive measures by which the sinner Tundale is made pure.

As classical motifs were adapted to medieval audiences, we see the smith’s role eternally enduring and evolving. In Irish myth the master swordsmith Goibniu, known in Welsh myth as Govannon and perhaps distantly related to the Gallo-Roman blacksmith Gobannus, crafts magical weapons wielded by heroes in battle and also brews a magical mead that grants eternal life to the deserving. In romance literature, the mythic blacksmith likewise lends authenticity to the various quests of the heroes. For example, the blacksmith Trebuchet serves a comparable if more incidental role in *Percival*, the Fisher King romance of Chrétien de Troyes (ca. 1170), crafting a sword that shatters at an untimely moment in combat following – and perhaps connected to – Percival’s failure to extend appropriate sympathy to the wounded Fisher King. Trebuchet assumes a greater role in Book V of Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival* (ca. 1205),⁸ which also chronicles the hero’s encounter with Anfortas, the wounded Fisher monarch whose suffering Parzival understands but, advised against showing excessive curiosity, refrains from addressing directly. Here the blacksmith is credited with having made the magical sword that bears his name, and his cousin Sigune explains to Parzival how it will magically repair itself when shattered by the mag-

⁸ German edition: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, 6th ed., trans. and ed. Karl Lachmann, introd. Eduard Hartl (1833; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1926, rpt. 1997); see also the Studienausgabe, *Mittelhochdeutscher Text nach der sechsten Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann, Übersetzung von Peter Knecht, Einführung zum Text von Bernd Schirok* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998). English edition: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, trans. A. T. Hatto (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980).

ical spring waters of a fountain *Lac* near Karnant, thereby eternally enabling its possessor in his quest for the grail:

lieber neve, geloube mir,
 sô muoz gar dienen dîner hant
 swaz dîn lîp dâ wunders vant:
 ouch mahtu tragen schône
 immer sælden krône
 hôhe ob den werden:
 den wunsch ûf der erden
 hâstu vollecliche:
 niemen ist sô rîche,
 der gein dir koste mege hân,
 hâstu vrâge ir reht getân.

[“Dear cousin, believe me: your hand shall serve all the miracles that within your life found therein; you will always bear the holy crown, and the majesty which is exalted above all nobles; What one can only win on earth, will be due to you through eternity; no one is rich enough that he himself shall glorify his treasure before you, if you have done what the question rightly demands.”]⁹

In this instance we observe Trebuchet’s lofty stature as possessor of a mythic knowledge that conjoins the mysteries of metalworking with an awareness of other ethereal truths. Through Sigune’s timely advice, he passes on to Parzival the ennobling knowledge that will bring about Anfortas’s recovery, thus allowing the grail quest to continue. As in the examples of *Beowulf* and the *Sagas of Gisli* and the *Volsungas* (considered below), we also note here a pattern of sword shattering occurring at a crucial narrative juncture and serving larger thematic purposes.

Blacksmithing also figured elsewhere within the Romance genre. As shown in the many versions of the *Romance of Alexander*, it was ascribed ethical dimensions associated with those being groomed for positions of social power. Two thirteenth-century versions of this story within the Middle High German corpus – the ten-book *Alexanderroman* of the Austrian poet Rudolf von Ems (ca. 1240), and the translated version by Ulrich von Etzenbach (ca. 1270–1286), which “closely follows”¹⁰ the Latin version of Walter of Châtillon – make brief allu-

⁹ Middle High German text from *Parzival*, ed. Lachmann (see note 8), 258 (Stanza 254, lines 20–30). English translation mine.

¹⁰ Christine Hehle, “Boethius’s Influence on German Literature to 1500,” *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*, ed. Noel H. Kaylor Jr. and Philip Edward Phillips. Brill’s Companion to the Christian Tradition, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 288–90; here 289, identifies the definitive textual versions of the two works under consideration here in an extended discussion of the

sions to blacksmithing as a component in the training of a warrior king. A slightly later version, the fourteenth-century Seifrit's *Alexander* (ca. 1350), adapted from multiple versions of the Latin *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni*,¹¹ likewise portrays the blacksmith's labors in complimentary terms, as connected to themes of service and leadership. One English version of this story, the fourteenth-century *Kyng Alisaunder*, portrays a metalsmith as a courtly figure whose labors are commissioned directly by royalty.¹²

Derived from earlier stories, a sixteenth-century account of the childhood of the epic hero Sigfried, *Das Lied vom Hürnen Seyfrit*,¹³ also depicts blacksmithing as an important adjunct to courtly environs. Here it serves briefly but importantly in the education of an obstreperous young prince, the son of King Sigmund of Niderland, who proves unsuited to courtly life despite his aspirations for kingship. Sent out on his own, the young Seyfrit takes up with a disreputable blacksmith who finds him so unmanageable and incompetent that he dispatches him to a nearby forest in pursuit of charcoal, in hopes that the disruptive young prince will fall prey to a dragon residing there:

Der Schmied gedachte sicher,	der Wurm gäb ihm den Tod.
Als er nun kam zur Linde,	er schuf dem Wurme Not:
Alsbald tät ihn erschlagen	der junge kühne Mann.
Da dacht er an den Köhler	und ging zu ihm in den Tann.

resonance of the late-Roman philosopher. These are: Rudolf von Ems, *Alexander, Ein höfischer Versroman des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Victor Junk, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1928/1929); and Ulrich von Eschenbach, *Alexander*, ed. Wendelin Toischer (1888; Hildesheim: Olms, 1974).

11 *Seifrits Alexander: Aus der Straßburger Handschrift*, ed. Paul Gereke. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 36 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1932); *Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni (Der lateinische Alexanderroman des Mittelalters). Synoptische Edition der Rezensionen des Leo Archipresbyter und die interpolierten Fassungen J1, J2, J3 (Buch I und II)*, ed. Hermann-Josef Bergmeister. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 65 (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1975). See Hehle, "Boethius's Influence on German Literature" (see note 10), 287.

12 *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. G. V. Smithers. EETS OS 227, 237 (1951, 1957; London: Oxford University Press, 1961 and 1969)

13 *Das Lied vom Hürnen Seyfrit*, ed. and illustrated by Siegfried Holzbauer (Klagenfurt: Weiser, 2001). An earlier edition, with an excellent critical introduction, is *Das Lied vom Hürnen Seyfrit*, ed. Kenneth Charles King (Manchester: University Press, 1958). A useful list of extant illustrations, prints, manuscripts, and editions can be found at: <http://www.advancedpoetx.com/HS7WM/HTML/SEYFRID3.HTM> (last accessed on Jan. 18, 2017).

["The smith was certain that the dragon would kill him. As he came toward the linden tree, he remembered the dragon. Immediately the bold young man thought of the charcoal and went further into the forest."]¹⁴

His sense of duty confirmed, Seyfrit passes his first test. Soon thereafter he encounters and then dispatches other dragons and reptilian creatures, then burning their carcasses in a massive pyre. He then drenches himself with their liquefied remains, hardening his skin and making himself "horned," invulnerable save for a small unreachable spot on his back. After the fashion of the dragon-slayer Siegfried in the *Nibelungenlied*, Seyfrit later meets his death when wounded on that exposed spot. However, in the wake of Seyfrit's brief but ill-fated service to the disreputable blacksmith he begins a journey that enables him to "forge" within himself the qualities that prove well-suited to the noble and heroic warrior.

In the process by which Virgil's *Aeneid* assumes its various medieval forms, the figure of Vulcan is reinvented in works of medieval heroic romance by asserting his own social capital, in lending authenticity to the armor and weapons imagery, and in enhancing the moral imperatives of the hero's quest. His most prominent portrayal in this role is in the *Eneide* (also *Eneit*) composed by the twelfth-century poet Heinrich von Veldeke. An otherwise obscure twelfth-century Flemish writer of lyric poems and a single saint's life, Heinrich's work represents a retelling of the compendious French *Roman d'Eneas*.¹⁵ Vulcan also makes cameo appearances elsewhere within the Middle High German corpus, appearing for example in the early thirteenth-century version of *Tristan und Isolde* by Gottfried von Strassburg (ca. 1210),¹⁶ and in another adapted, slightly later verse poem *Barlaam und Josaphat* by Rudolf von Ems (ca. 1225–1230), a romance tale featuring two Christian hermits.¹⁷ This medievalized version of the Olympian

14 New High German Text transcribed from *Das Lied vom Hurnen Seyfrit*, ed. King (see note 13), 106 (Stanza 6). English translation mine.

15 Heinrich von Veldeke: *Eneide, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*, ed. Otto Behagel (Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1882).

16 Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, nach dem Text von Friedrich Ranke neu herausgegeben, ins Neuhochochdeutsche übersetzt, mit einem Stellenkommentar und einem Nachwort von Rüdiger Krohn. 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Reclam 1980). Access to multiple early edited editions of Gottfried's works is accessible via: <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=Gottfried%2C%20von%20Strassburg%2C%2013th%20cent> (last accessed on Jan. 17, 2017). One standard English translation is: Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, trans. and ed. Arthur Thomas Hatto (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960).

17 *Baalam und Josaphat von Rudolf von Ems*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer. *Dichtungen des deutschen Mittelalters*, 3 (1843; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965). Accessible online via: <https://archive.org/details/barlaamundjosaph00rudouoft> (last accessed on Jan. 18, 2017). A list of complete manu-

smith also appears in the *Kaiserchronik*,¹⁸ an anonymous, mid-twelfth century historiographic chronicle, and in two works relating to the history of Troy, the early thirteenth-century *Liet von Troye* of Herbot von Fritzlar,¹⁹ and Konrad von Würzburg's late thirteenth-century *Der Trojanische Krieg*.²⁰ Here Vulcan serves a conventional purpose within the romance genre, accentuating the hero's noble stature first by signaling the mythic origins of his bejeweled battle implements, and secondly by confirming the historical connections between the ancient pagan and the Christianized Germanic worlds.

As a literary figure within the Middle High German romance tradition, his role is best represented in his brief appearance in the thirteenth-century *Flore und Blanscheflur* of Konrad Fleck (ca. 1220).²¹ Absent from the late thirteenth-century Middle English and older French versions of this romance, Vulcan twice merits mention here (in lines 1580 and 2029). In the latter reference he is paired with the elusive Orphanus, or "the orphan," a figure presented as an armorer here but elsewhere identified as a mythic jewel in the Roman Emperor's crown. Both are invoked to lend mythic authenticity to the ornate, finely wrought armor donned by the noble young hero as he continues in his ongoing quest to reunite with his beloved.

In short, the classical figure of Vulcan emerges as a perpetually mutating figure of significance into the Middle Ages, even as his influence extends across the continent to lend credence to the various heroic quests of medieval romance. He is invoked in multiple contexts to lend his ancient Olympian mythos to swords and armor, serving as a link to a glorious classical past in ways that reflect the aspirations of a chivalric order eager to assert its own social prominence. His ongoing presence in this medievalized form points to the literary creation

scripts and fragments is accessible via: <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/321> (last accessed on Jan. 18, 2017).

18 *Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, ed. Edward Schröder. Deutsche Neudrucke: Reihe Texte des Mittelalters, MGH, Deutsche Chroniken 1.1 (1892; Berlin: Weidmann, 1964). Accessible online via: <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/schroeder1892?sid=3b7a0ddcae0361-fa3c7ca8b0df63463d> (last accessed on Jan. 8, 2017).

19 *Herbot's von Fritslâr liet von Troye*, ed. Karl Frommann. Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur, 5 (1837; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1966). Original edition accessible online via: <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10105557.html> (last accessed on Jan. 8, 2017).

20 Konrad von Würzburg. *Der trojanische Krieg*, ed. Adelbert von Keller. Litterarischer Verein, 44 (1858; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1965).

21 Konrad Fleck, 'Flore und Blanscheflur': *Text und Untersuchungen*, ed. Christine Putzo. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters (MTU), 143 (Berlin, Munich, and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015).

of a mythos associated with the smith, his work, his workplace environs, and his historical presence. Working on behalf of both cultural and ecclesiastical elites who guide the processes of creation of both economic and social capital, medieval writers of all sorts confirm the value of his labor, demonstrating within this varied field of depictions an “official” embrace of the blacksmith despite his occasionally transgressive habits and nature.

The Tradition of Tolerated Transgression

Beyond his service within these Germanic traditions, the poetic and prose *Eddas* from Old Norse myth likewise engage the smith in ways that more directly show this official embrace despite his transgressive tendencies. Within these disparate, residually pre-Christian traditions the blacksmith is a more disruptive character, portrayed in ways that express his social capital by emphasizing his skills and stressing his capacity to upset the social order through acts of defiance if not brutal deeds of vengeance. One peculiar smith of note in Old Norse myth is the dwarf Brokkr from the *Skáldskaparmál* in Snorri Sturluson’s early thirteenth-century *Prose Edda*.²² Maker of golden arm-rings (*Draupnir*) and Thor’s Hammer (*Mjólnir*), Brokkr contentiously asserts to the trickster-god Loki the superior skill of his own and his brother Etri’s craftsmanship in comparison with the Sons of Ivaldi, makers of the ship *Skíðblaðnir* and the spear *Gungnir* that Loki pridefully claims as his own. Loki’s henchmen disrupt Brokkr’s efforts to demonstrate his craftsmanship, even as the dwarf blacksmith eventually shows his skills to be superior, thus muting his braggart challenger.

The tradition of the weaponsmithing dwarf, laboring on the margins in the service of nobility, clearly links the Old Norse, Germanic, and Anglo-Saxon epics. It also figures in episodes in the poetic *Edda* of the tenth and eleventh centuries – most notably, the *Voluspa* and *Grimnismol*. These latter stories provide a vision of Aelfheim, the elfin underworld of Norse myth in which the motifs of blacksmithing are conjoined with dwarfish characters residing within elusive underworld domains. The smith’s uneasy and potentially dangerous relationship

22 Snorri Sturluson. *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, ed. Anthony Faulkes (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1998). Accessible via: <http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Edda-2a.pdf> (last accessed on Jan. 7, 2017). See also Faulkes, “The Sources of *Skáldskaparmál*. Snorri’s Intellectual Background,” *Snorri Sturluson. Kolloquium anlässlich der 750. Wiederkehr seines Todestages*, ed. Alois Wolf. Scripta-Oralia, 51 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993), 59–76. See also: https://notendur.hi.is/~eybjorn/ugm/sources_of_skaldskaparmal.pdf (last accessed on Jan. 7, 2017).

with his social superiors is shown most vividly by events within the *Volundarkvitha*, the most prominent of the stories of the poetic *Edda*, and arguably, of the whole medieval corpus, to highlight the smith's disruptive character. Here the lamed Volund, perhaps a distant scion of Vulcan, is lured into unwilling service before achieving brutal and debilitating revenge upon his captor, King Ninuth. Taking flight in the aftermath of his vengeance, he settles across the sea within Wayland's Smithy, a mythic, pre-historical burial mound in Ashbury close to the boundary demarcating Berkshire and Oxfordshire.²³ Thus Anglicized as Wayland the Smith (also Weland, Volund, Velent),²⁴ this scion of Volund appears elsewhere as a mythic figure in Anglo-Saxon literature, first meriting mention in the *Deor's Lament* and also referenced as a famous goldsmith in King Alfred's late ninth century verse translations from the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius. Here he replaces the Roman figure of Fabricius referred to in the Latin *Consolation's* Metrum VII, a poetic interlude in Book II.²⁵ Wayland also appears in

23 For a useful history on the folkloric traditions and archaeological activity associated with this site, see Lotte Motz, *The Wise One of the Mountain: Form, Function, and Significance of the Subterranean Smith*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 379 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1983), 131–37.

24 Of the contributions of Volund (or Weland) to the Anglo-Saxon perceptions of weapons and metalworking as depicted in *Beowulf*, editor C. L. Wrenn explains the historical origins of the character of the noted mythic blacksmith (see *Beowulf: With the Finnesburg Fragment*, ed. C. L. Wrenn. 3rd. ed. [1953; Exeter, UK: Exeter University Press, 1973]). He observes that “[w]ith the conquest of parts of Southern Germany by the Celts in the sixth century B.C.E., and their introduction of iron weapons, etc. to the Germanic peoples, we have the beginning of that association of iron with magic symbolized in the magician-hero Weland, who has left traces in High German, Scandinavian, and English poetry [...]” (54–55). Wrenn also provides useful details about the magical aspects of the character himself: As “‘magician-hero’ Weland may [also] still be remembered in England in references to his story on the early Northumbrian Franks Casket, a carving in a Leeds parish Church, or Wayland’s smithy, still to be seen on the Berkshire downs. The word *weland* simply means ‘an artificer’ (from *wel, ‘art’ or ‘artifice’). His story is told in a lay (*Volundarkvitha*, ‘Weland’s lay’) in the Old Norse Poetic *Edda*, a late saga (*Thidreks-saga*, ‘Theodoric’s saga’); and partly in the Anglo-Saxon *Deor*. Any weapon of an excellence no longer to be equalled, inherited from an earlier and more skilled age, is apt to be described in O.E. heroic poetry as wrong ‘*giganta geweorc*’ (1562) or ‘*eald-sweord eotenisc*’ (1558) or as the work of Weland (as at 1.455 and in *Waldere* 1.2)” (54–55).

25 “Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent, quid Brutus aut rigidus Cato?” Latin text derived from *Consolatio Philosophiae*, ed. Wilhelm Weinberger. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (CESL), 67 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1935), accessible via http://faculty.georgetown.edu/jod/boethius/jkok/2_m7_t.htm (last accessed on Feb. 10, 2017). Alfred’s Anglo Saxon translation from *King Alfred’s Version of the Consolation of Boethius*, trans. Walter John Sedgfield (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900). Metrum X, lines 33–34: “Hwær sint nu þæs wisan Welandes ban þæs goldsmiðes þe wæs geo mærost”

Waldere, an Anglo-Saxon epic poem in two fragments detailing the heroic exploits of Walter of Acquitaine. In this role he fashions the mythic sword *Mimming*, described as essential to the hero's vocation of battle and vital to his dying gloriously in combat after a dedicated life within the gift-giving economy by which the lord maintains his loyal *comitatus*. More notably, Beowulf's breastplate is described in line 406 as "smithes orthancum" ("the skill-work of smiths"), and Beowulf himself refers to his breastplate in line 455 as "Welandes geweorc" ("the hand-work of Weland").²⁶ Despite his contentious depiction within the Old Norse tradition, Wayland endures with an intact reputation and celebrated skills within these recurring depictions in Anglo-Saxon literature.

Also appearing within the Old French *chanson de geste* tradition, Wayland is credited with having fashioned the mythic sword *Froberge* wielded by the renowned knight-hero Renaud de Montauban. The blacksmithing trio of Galas, Munifican, and Ansias also figures within this tradition of epic sword smithing as fabricators of the swords wielded in the *Song of Roland*. Versions of Wayland the mythic blacksmith figure intermittently within the traditions of Middle High German literature in mostly incidental ways, as he appears in a series of thirteenth-century chivalric poems connected with the Dietrich legend that variously involve gardens, dwarves, and quests for vengeance: *Alphart's Tod*, *Laurin*, *Biterolf und Dietlieb*, and *Walberan*.²⁷ Here he serves a secondary role, that of the magical smith whose weapons figure in the exploits of each story's heroes. From this evidence it is possible to conclude that his later popularity – which resulted in this fuller, more detailed depiction in subsequent centuries – is traceable less to his original significance within the medieval Germanic traditions. Instead, it is more a result of the gradual appropriation of the *Eddic* traditions and

("Where now are the bones of wise Weland, the goldsmith who was once most famous?"); lines 35–37: "Forþy ic cwæð þæs wisan Welandes ban, forðy ængum ne mæg eorðbuendra se cræft losian þe him Crist onlænd" (Why do I speak of these bones of the Wise Weland, why might any earth-dweller not forsake the skill which to him Christ taught?); lines 42–43: "Hwa wat nu þæs wisan Welandes ban, on hwelcum hi hlæwa hrusan þeccen?" (Who knows now these bones of wise Weland, in which grave are they are covered with earth? – Modern English translation mine). Anglo-Saxon Metrum 10 accessible via: <http://faculty.virginia.edu/OldEnglish/aspr/a6.10.html>, or http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/ascp/a06_10.htm (both last accessed on Feb. 8, 2017).

²⁶ See *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. Fredrick Klaeber, 3rd ed. with first and second supplements (1922; Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1950). All remaining quoted passages from *Beowulf* are taken from this edition.

²⁷ For these references, see the Middle High German Conceptual Database, accessible via: <http://mhdadb.sbg.ac.at:8000/>, German or English version. Log-in: guest. Search under "Wieland" or "Wielant" (last accessed on Jan. 20, 2017).

Saga narratives to a larger body of Germanic folklore, where in the centuries after the Middle High German period the blacksmith assumed a fuller place in the pantheon of mythic characters.²⁸

The smith's mythic stature is also complicated when the swords he crafts shatter in battle, as when Beowulf's storied sword *Hrunting* fails him at a key moment in combat against Grendel's mother. In *Parzival*, as in *Beowulf*, the sword-shattering motif serves a catalytic purpose in the narrative to transform the reputation of the protagonist, whose heroism endures (and is ultimately strengthened) despite his failing weapons. Elsewhere, the motif of the shattered sword casts doubts on the skills and motives of the smith himself, as in the late thirteenth-century Icelandic *Volsunga Saga*, when Sigurd the Dragonslayer must outwit his manipulative foster-father, the dwarf Regin.²⁹ A master swordsmith by reputation, Regin bestows on the young hero a series of faulty swords that crumble upon contact as Sigurd faces the prospect of battle with the dragon Fafnir. His suspicions aroused, Sigurd insists that Regin reforge *Gram* (also called *Balmung*), the famous sword first forged by Volund (Wayland) and rescued from the mythic tree *Barnstokker* by the hero Sigemund. Stronger than Regin's crumbling pseudo-swords, *Gram* enables Sigurd, the posthumous son of Sigmund, to slay Fafnir, and in his subsequent partaking of the slain dragon's blood and heart he assumes greater supernatural powers.³⁰ Moreover, these examples demonstrate that within three major traditions – the classical, Old Norse, and Old Icelandic – blacksmiths are regularly marginalized as dwarfish and lame, laboring in underworld domains in the service of higher lords while also assailing their privileged status.

28 Wayland's literary reputation reached perhaps its greatest degree of popularity in the nineteenth century as a result of revived interest in Germanic folkloric traditions. The centerpiece in the Wagner libretto *Wieland Der Schmied*, he was also portrayed fully within Karl Joseph Simrock's modern German translations of the *Nibelungenlied*, and of the lyrics of the renowned Middle High German Minnesinger Walther von der Vogelweide. Built around the heroic figure Dietrich von Bern, the first two books of Simrock's collection, the *Amelungenlied*, portray the exploits of Wieland and his son Wittich.

29 The most recent English translation is *The Saga of the Volsungs: The Norse Epic of Sigurd the Dragon Slayer*, trans. Jesse L. Byock (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002). The most recent standard Icelandic text version (with English translation and notes) is *Volsunga saga: the saga of the Volsungs*, ed. and trans. by Kaaren Grimstad, 2nd ed. (2000; Saarbrücken: AQ-Verlag, 2005).

30 In drinking the slain dragon's blood Sigurd becomes more equipped to resist the duplicitous Regin, who had asked to dine on the slain Fafnir' dragon's heart. Thus fortified, Sigurd is newly able to hear the voices of birds who inform him of Regin's malice and instruct him to kill the duplicitous smith.

Long suspected to reside under mountains and within rocks according to pre-Christian Germanic folklore, dwarfs have long been associated with underworld realms and thus the mining and metalworking ventures associated with these amorphous spirit worlds. One such example of a dwarf-blacksmith who likewise endures as an ambiguous figure is that of Alberich in the late thirteenth-century *Thiðrik's Saga*,³¹ whose pattern-welded sword *Ekkisax* assumes “wyrmfah,” or serpentine characteristics.³² Dwarf king, master forger, and quasi-magician, Alberich also appears as the presumed father of Ortnit, the eponymous hero of the thirteenth-century Middle High German heroic epic. Though stripped of his blacksmithing skills he remains a major figure in the *Nibelungenlied* as a hoard-keeping dwarf king of the underworld who yields his magic *Tarnkappe* in battle to Siegfried. Thus the warrior-hero gains superhuman strength (i.e. “zwelf manne sterche,” or “the strength of twelve men” – stanza 335, line 3), providing him with the strategic means to triumph in his many battles:

ovch was div selbe tarnhvot	also getan
daz darinne worhte	ein ieslicher man
swaz er selbe wolde	daz in doch Niemen sach

[Also that same mantle had such wondrous properties, that when wearing it any single man might do anything he wished, such that no one might see him (Stanza 338, lines 1–3)].³³

31 See notes on *Thiðrik's Saga* from Davidson, *The Sword* (see note 1), 160–62: “There is little information in Old Norse sources about the forging of a sword-blade. The most detailed if slightly fantastic account comes from *Thiðrik's Saga*, compiled in Norway in the thirteenth century but containing some early material from both German and Scandinavian tradition. This saga has much to tell concerning three famous swords, Nægling, Mimming, and Ekkisax, and the making of one of these weapons (Mimming) is described. First Velent the smith made a sword in seven days, and tested it by cutting a piece of felt floating on the river. The king who had ordered the sword was well-satisfied, but Velent said...that the sword would need to be better. After completing a second and a third sword, each increasingly superior to the earlier one, Velent completes a shining and magnificent final sword. This sword the king was very eager to possess, but Velent carried it off again on the plea that he had to make belt and accoutrements for it, and he rapidly made a far inferior sword which resembled the other in appearance and gave this to the king.”

32 See Davidson, *The Sword* (note 1), 130, 136, 167.

33 For these references see the Middle High German Conceptual Database, accessible via: <http://mhdadb.sbg.ac.at:8000/>, German or English version. Log-in: guest. Search under “tarnkappen” (last accessed on Feb. 20, 2017). Line transcribed from *Nibelungenlied* (Hs. B); English translation mine.

At odds with but ultimately complimentary to the hero's quests, Alberich has an analogue in the character of Laurin, another dwarfish and problematic trickster within the Middle High German tradition, one shown in the *Laurin* romance as also capable of cloaking himself in invisibility. Alberich also appears as a minor character in other works within the Middle High German corpus, including the *Rolandslied*, *Biterolf und Dietlieb*, *Alexander*, and *Walberan*,³⁴ meriting mention as a mythic figure who inhabits disparate worlds simultaneously. Thus he represents one of many transitional figures shared within the traditions of both Norse and Germanic folklore.

In seeking to “demonstrate the utility of Old Icelandic/Old Norse literature in reconstructing various social aspects of ironworking during the Viking Age,” Mark Hall establishes that “the saga literature is a valid starting point for reconstructing manufacturing techniques and social aspects of the Viking Age iron industry.”³⁵ Beyond their supernatural links and associations, explains Hall, smiths in the Norse and Icelandic sagas are distinguished by their gender, method, and willingness to test their work (in the case of the sagas, most commonly a sword) before an audience to confirm its structural soundness. Such scenes, including those in the *Volsunga Saga*, point to the frequent shattering of inferior swords as an indication of the smith's questionable integrity. Based on the evidence drawn from the body of literature he examines, Hall concludes that blacksmithing was an occupation that, though confined to men, was practiced by those in all social segments, from slaves to landowners, and that literary evidence “demonstrate(s) its utility in reconstructing the smithing industry of the Viking Age.”³⁶

Select examples confirm these points, suggesting that beyond its mythic associations blacksmithing also had more routine dimensions and social aspects. In the contentious climate of feuding, effrontery, and violence that shapes the course of action in the thirteenth-century Icelandic *Njál's Saga* (or “the Story of Burnt Njál”), we see the lawyerly Njál Þorgilsson's adventures together

34 For these references see the Middle High German Conceptual Database, accessible via: <http://mhdadb.sbg.ac.at:8000/>, German or English version. Log-in: guest. Search under “Alberich” and “Albrich” (last accessed on Jan. 20, 2017).

35 Mark Hall, “Viking Age Ironworking: The Evidence from Old Norse Literature,” *The Written and the Wrought: Complementary Sources in Historical Anthropology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz*, ed. Mary D'Agostino, Elizabeth Prine, Eleanor Casella, and Margot Winer. Kroeber Anthropological Papers, 78 (Berkeley, CA: Kroeber Anthropological Society 1995), 195–203; here 195.

36 Hall, “Viking Age Ironworking” (see note 35), 202.

with his bellicose warrior compatriot Gunnar Hámundarson.³⁷ Throughout the saga Gunnar wields his *atgeir*, a magical weapon that shares both spear-and sword-like characteristics, is designed to penetrate armor, and is shown to whistle or to sing in anticipation of the coming bloodshed when about to strike.³⁸

However, in chapter 22 Njál advises Gunnar to pose as an itinerant smith named Huckster Hedinn as part of a larger course of deception. This ruse implies that even hypermasculine figures with a predilection for conflict would have the skills to pass as competent blacksmiths while also needing occasionally to do some basic maintenance on their magical battle implements. Likewise, in the fragmented *Egil's Saga*, another thirteenth-century work recounting events supposed from centuries earlier, we see the impulsive hero Egil's father, Skalla-Grimr, living for a time in peaceful retirement as a blacksmith-farmer.³⁹ Again, this seemingly incidental detail suggests the proliferation of routine blacksmithing skills among agrarian laborers.⁴⁰ Later, however, Skalla-Grimr provokes conflict with the future king Erik Blood-Axe. Blithely returning a battle-axe offered as a token gift, Egil's angry father blithely deems it inferior to the more appro-

37 Of the modern English translations the most recent is: *Njal's Saga*, trans. Robert Cook (1997; London: Penguin, 2001). The standard ON edition is: *Brennu-Njal's saga*, ed. Einar Olafur Sveinsson. Islenzk fornrit, 12 (Reykjavik: Hið Islenzk fornritafélag [Old Icelandic Text Society], 1954). For a current and informative article on the ongoing manuscript research related to this work, see Jerel Lai, "Investigating the Manuscripts: The Saga of Burnt Njáll," *Iceland Magazine* (May 12, 2015): Accessible online via: <http://icelandmag.visir.is/article/investigating-manuscripts-saga-burnt-njall> (last accessed on Feb. 6, 2017).

38 See <http://spangenhelm.com/less-commonly-known-viking-weapons-atgeir/>. Another example of the singing weapon is found in the Irish story of Conaire Mór, accessed via: <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095630210> (both last accessed on Jan. 20, 2017). See especially Kane Njord, "Norse Armor and Weaponry." *The Vikings: The Story of a People*. 2nd ed. (Yukon, Canada: Spangenhelm, 2015).

39 Among the many English translations of this work, the most recent edition is *Egil's Saga*, trans. Bernard Scudder (1997; London: Penguin, 2004). For original Old Norse edition with useful English preface, please see: *Egils Saga*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson (University College London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2003). Accessible via: http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Egla/Egils_saga.pdf (last accessed on Jan. 24, 2017).

40 Nancy Wicker, "The Organization of Crafts Production and the Social Status of the Migration Period Goldsmith," *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeberg: Papers Presented at a Conference at Svendborg, October 1991*, ed. P. O. Nielson, K. Randsborg, and H. Thrane (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag Universitetsforlaget i København, 1994), 145–50; here 146, cites a series of Scandinavian "period finds" that "may indicate that some smiths produced both fine and coarse metalwork or practiced other trades as well." In the article's later stages Wicker differentiates between the various forms and types of metalworking, distinguishing, for example, between the blacksmith and the silversmith or between the maker of jewelry and higher-status weapons (like swords) and more utilitarian objects like tools and lower-status implements of battle.

priate gift of a sword, which would be due to him in return for his long period of support and loyalty to the aspiring king. Later, with Skalla-Grimr's passing his son Egil includes several commemorative objects in his grave, including his blacksmithing tools. This series of details serves to confirm the "representational importance" of blacksmithing within the family identity conveyed in the *Egil's Saga*.⁴¹ Finally, the figure of Thorgrim Nef, a sorcerous blacksmith, brings discord and bloodshed into the *Gisli's Saga* by refashioning the shattered but magical sword *Grasida* into a murderous implement of death, one used throughout the story to reinforce the spell cast over the accursed Gisli's progeny.⁴²

Ultimately, throughout the sagas we see singing spears and sorcerous blacksmiths contrasting regularly with less dramatic scenes showing blacksmithing in less dramatic, more utilitarian, but equally significant portrayals. On the whole, these literary representations depict both the blacksmith's service to the higher classes and also his intermittent conflict with them. This conflict is expressed as much in acts of overt defiance as in the dwarf-blacksmith's trickster habits and in his occasionally selective use of his best metalworking skills. Thus these portraits establish the attitude of reluctant tolerance held toward this recurring figure, who, despite his frequently contentious nature, lends his mythos and utility to the noble heroes to whom his labors are essential.

On the Boundaries of Faith

Within proto- and early-Christian literary traditions the blacksmith is also a bifurcated figure. The smith also figures in more ominously spiritualized contexts,

⁴¹ For this reference and term I am thankful to Davide Zori of Baylor University, who graciously shared his M.A. Thesis to provide these references: "The Interpretive Value of Nails, Rivets, and Clench Bolts for Viking Age Economy and Ritual," University of California at Los Angeles, 2004. One standard English translation is *Egil's Saga*, trans. Bernard Scudder (London: Penguin, 2004). A recent edition in Icelandic is *Egil's Saga*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson (2003; Exeter: Short Run Press Ltd., 2013). Accessible via: http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Egla/Egils_saga.pdf (last accessed on Feb. 8, 2017).

⁴² Of the modern English translations of this work, one standard version is that of Martin S. Regal, "Gisli Sursson's Saga," found in *The Sagas of the Icelanders* (New York: Penguin, 2000), 496–557. The standard Icelandic edition is: *Gisla saga Súrssonar*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, *Vestfirðinga sögur*. Íslenzk fornrit, 6 (Reykjavik: Hið Íslenzk fornritafélag [Old Icelandic Text Society], 1943), 1–118. For easily accessible (though not necessarily modern versions of these works in both English and Icelandic, see: http://sagadb.org/gisla_saga_surssonar.en and <https://astrofella.wordpress.com/tag/thorgrim-nef/> (both last accessed on Feb. 8, 2017).

such as in the “Pagan Lay Against Elfshot,” a proto-Christian healing prayer for a malady of Germanic origins that appears in section 135 of the *Lacnunga*, a tenth-century medical guide representing Anglo-Saxon healing remedies and various healing treatments of non-Mediterranean origins. Here the smith is once again connected with both dwarfism and the working of iron, which is portrayed as the invasive agent against which the healer applies his remedies. Seen by critics variously as both complicit in the malady and as agents of recovery,⁴³ the elfin smiths serve an ambiguous role within this prayer, in which their iron barbs are identified as the cause of the patient’s affliction. The smith is a more directly antagonistic figure within the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis* (*The Voyage of Saint Brendan*, ca. late ninth- or early tenth-century). This account depicts the sixth-century saint’s magical journey across rocky coastlines and vast seas and includes his surviving an assault suffered when sailing by an island inhabited by demonic blacksmiths, who attempt to pelt him with fiery slag.⁴⁴

⁴³ See J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine: Illustrated Specifically from the Semi-Pagan Text ‘Lacnunga’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 174–75. As shown in its increasingly detailed repetition of the phrase “out, little spear,” the prayer presumes the characteristically pre-Christian Germanic notion of illness as a sort of penetration by a malevolent outside force. The initial verses address the patient, expressing the hope for recovery in the removal of an invading agent that afflicts the body. Following the first refrain “Ut, litel spere, 3if her inne sie,” the next round of verses refers to “mighty women” (“mihtizān wif”; see Grattan and Singer, 174) who, in sending “whizzing darts” (“3yllende 3aras,”; see Grattan and Singer, 174) are cast as the agents of the patient’s affliction, against which the healer returns a “flying shaft” (“fleozende flane,” 174) in defense. Another refrain follows, after which the prayer makes reference first to a single smith fashioning a knife and then to a group of six who craft the invading battle-spears that prompt the patient’s affliction. In *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, however, Alaric Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 5) offers extended consideration of the role of smiths in various Saxon herbal remedies (112–18), challenging the view that within the context of the prayer the smiths contribute to the harm done to the patient. Instead, they serve deliberately as an “allusion” which “creates tension” (113) within the linguistic structure of the poem, reaffirming its overall coherence and contributing to its rhetorical power as a healing agent.

⁴⁴ Read by some hopeful commentators as an early “discovery” of the American continent by a European explorer, this account occurs in the *Navigatio*’s Chapter 23. An English translation by Father Denis O’Donoghue, *Brendaniana: St. Brendan the Voyager in Story and Legend* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan 1893), is accessible via: <https://archive.org/details/brendanianastbr00odo-goog>. A condensed account is accessible via: <http://markjberry.blogs.com/StBrendan.pdf> (both last accessed on Feb. 12, 2017). See now *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Representative Versions of the Legend in English Translation with Indexes of Themes and Motifs from the Stories*, ed. W. R. J. Barron and Glyn S. Burgess (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

Later, the blacksmith is mentioned favorably by Theophilus Presbyter,⁴⁵ a monastic chronicler of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries whose *De diversis artibus* depicts a phase of metalworking when the craft, as practiced within monastic contexts, possessed sacred dimensions applicable to larger ecclesiastical functions and rituals.⁴⁶ However, the blacksmith also becomes more overtly disconcerting to the Christian world as shown in the case of Tundale, where his work environment recalls, in its fiery clamor, the realm of demons. Secondly, in his metalworking knowledge he possesses a sort of sorcerous magical wisdom in the various dimensions of his art – as creator of tools, weapons, jewelry, coinage, and other signifiers of social capital – that are potentially at odds with monastic discipline. This aspect of his work was disconcerting to early Christian commentators, such that *St. Benedict's Rule* articulates regulations⁴⁷ – perhaps also veiled admonitions – that speak against the craftsman's habit of developing of excessive pride. These cautions implicitly confirm the blacksmith's centrality within larger elements of monastic structure – labor, agriculture, ritual, service, early industry, and wealth generation – and the church's reluctant tolerance of that reality. Despite their cautious recognition of his essential labors, these church fathers confirm in their writings that in serving outside his “fit” duties, the monastic blacksmith also stands a potentially disruptive force.

These reservations seemingly inform Bede's suspicions against blacksmithing, expressed in an account in Book V, Chapter XIV of *Ecclesiastical History*. Here the venerable author describes a brother who “*tolerabatur tamen ab eis longanimitate ob necessitatem operum ipsius exteriorum; erat enim fabrilis arte singularis*” (“they bore with him patiently for the sake of his outward service, for he was an exceptionally skilled craftsman”).⁴⁸ However,

⁴⁵ A possible pseudonym for the early twelfth-century German monastic, metalworker, and goldsmith Roger of Helmarshausen. See Lynn White Jr., “Theophilus Redivivus” *Technology and Culture* 5.2 (Spring 1964): 224–33.

⁴⁶ One Latin/English edition is: *Theophili, qui et Rugerus, presbyteri et monachi, libri III. De diversis artibus: seu, Diversarum atrium schedula*, trans. Robert Hendrie (London: J. Murray, 1847). Standard full text edition accessible via: <https://archive.org/details/theophiliquietr01hendgoog>; also see <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/theophilus.html> for preface to books 1 and 3). A reading of this work confirms some of the functions served by the monastic blacksmith (both last accessed on Jan. 19, 2017).

⁴⁷ See Masciandaro, *The Voice* (see note 6), 42.

⁴⁸ Latin and English from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 502–03. Colgrave and Mynors first translate the term “fabrilis” as “Craftsman” but later translate the term ascribed to this individual, “faber,” more specifically as “smith” (505). Anglo-Saxon translators of the pas-

[s]eruiebat autem multum ebrietati, et ceteris uitae remissionis inlecebris; magisque in officina sua die noctuque residere, quam ad psallendum atque orandum in ecclesia audiendumque cum fratribus uerbum uitae concurrere consuerat.

[(h)e was very much addicted to drunkenness and the other pleasures of a loose life; he used to remain in his workshop day and night, rather than go to the church with the brothers to sing psalms and pray and listen to the word of life.]⁴⁹

In this depiction the smith stands as a seemingly lost soul, one preoccupied with the delights of this world and neglectful of his obligations to service within it. In the example of this unworldly brother, Bede notes that

“Unde accidit illi . . . quia qui non uult ecclesiae ianuam sponte humiliates ingredi, necesse habet in ianuam inferni non sponte damnatus introducti.”

[It happened to him . . . that he who is not willing to enter the church gate humbly of his own accord, is bound to be carried against his will to the gates of hell, a damned soul.]⁵⁰

Bede draws great significance from the smith's example, noting that he was “tenebrosae mentis et actionis” (“a man of dark mind and dark deeds”)⁵¹ who, at the point of death, “uidit aperta Tartara, uidit damnationem diaboli et sequacium eius; uidit etiam suum infelix inter tales carcerem” (“saw hell opened and the damnation of the devil and his followers; [and] saw his own place of imprison-

sage are less ambiguous about the nature of that craft, explaining that this individual was “syndryglice in smiþcræfte wæl gelæred” and would remain “in smiðþan dæges 7 nihtæs.” Modern English Translators follow the example of the Anglo-Saxon version in portraying the craftsman unambiguously as a blacksmith. See, for example, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. Thomas Miller, EETS vol. 2 (London: Trübner, 1890), accessed via <https://ia600701.us.archive.org/20/items/oldenglish-versio02bede/oldenglishversio02bede.pdf>: 242–44; and <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112050774360;view=1up;seq=503> (both last accessed on Feb. 12, 2017). Miller's earlier Modern English translation, a useful complement to that of Colgrave and Mynors, is also accessible via: http://www.yorku.ca/inpar/Bede_Miller.pdf: 196–97 (last accessed on Feb. 12, 2017). Later commentators follow the lead of these early translators in identifying the craftsman specifically as a blacksmith. In assessing this account, for example, H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963; London: Longman's, 1962, 1970, 1981, and 1991; and London: Routledge Press, 2014), here 108, reports that “Bede tells of an unworthy brother, a man of dark thoughts and deeds, whose drunkenness and devotion to his smithy rather than to church were tolerated only because he was such a skilled smith.” Again, we see here the idea that smith's occult proximity and other transgressive qualities are tolerated because he creates items of wealth and utility.

⁴⁹ Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (see note 48), 502–03.

⁵⁰ Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (see note 48), 502–05.

⁵¹ Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (see note 48), 504–05.

ment among them.”)⁵² Seduced by the fires of his own smithy and the recognition and pleasure that such labors brought to him, the condemned smith is thus banished to the eternal fires of damnation. Dramatically amplifying Benedict’s earlier admonitions, Bede then relates how this story “ac longe lateque dif-famatum multos ad agendam et non differendum sclerum suorum paenitudinem prouocauit” (“spread far and wide and roused many people to do penance for their sins without delay”)⁵³ and concludes with the hope that “utinam exhinc etiam nostrarum lectione litterarum fiat!” (“the reading of this account of ours have the same effect.”)⁵⁴ In casting the smith’s deathbed condemnation as an object lesson, Bede underscores the climate of reluctant tolerance toward the monastic smith, his vulnerability to diabolic influences within his smithy and, in a larger sense, his important but clearly marginal stature within the monastic power structure.

Through the lens of early Christianity this less-than-flattering picture of the blacksmith persists, captured first in the dialogue of Aelfric’s *Colloquy* where a series of Anglo-Saxon tradesman engage in a contentious exchange over the relevance of their respective duties.⁵⁵ Speaking in the voice of a lawyer moderating

52 Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History* (see note 48), 504–05.

53 Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History* (see note 48), 504–05.

54 Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History* (see note 48), 504–05.

55 Anglo-Saxon version: *Aelfric’s Colloquy*, ed. G. N. Garmonsway (London: Methuen’s Old English Library, 1938), accessed via: <https://www.kul.pl/files/165/history%20of%20english/texts2009/aelfriccolloquy-translation.pdf>; 8; Modern English translation: *Aelfric’s Colloquy*, trans. from the Latin by Ann E. Watkins. Accessed via: <http://www.kentarchaeology.ac/authors/016.pdf>; 10–11 (both last accessed on Feb. 12, 2017). This dialogue, created as a teaching tool for Anglo-Saxon students of Latin, offers a potentially revealing glimpse into the stature of the respective occupations profiled. The cook serves as the most cantankerous lynchpin of this dialogue, asserting the primacy of his occupation in comparison with a plowman, carpenter, lawyer and blacksmith. The cook, piqued by what has to be termed a tactless claim by the teacher-moderator who controls the debate, asserts his primacy among those around him, for whom he provides sustenance and nourishment, claiming that “Ic hæbbe smiþas, isene smiþas, gold-smiþ, seoloforsmiþ, arsmiþ, treowwyrhtan ond manegra oþre mistlicra cræfta biggenceras” (“Who are my friends? Well, they are smiths, black smiths, farriers, goldsmiths, silver smiths, bronze smiths, wood workers, and many other skilled craftsmen”). The cook then acknowledges the value of good counsel, prompting the teacher to question the lawyer about the most important secular skills. Outlining the contributions of each occupation, the lawyer first portrays the blacksmith’s primacy to various skills including those of the plowman, fisherman, coulter, and tailor. He then portrays the blacksmith’s art in less than flattering terms by subordinating his work to that of the plowman: “Sop witodlice sægst, ac eallum us leofre ys wikian mid þe yrþ-lince, þonne mid þe, forþam se yrþling sylð us hlaf ond drenc; þu, hwæt sylst us on smiþþan þinre buton isenne fyrspearcan ond sweginga beatendra slecgæa ond blawendra bylga? (“it is much better for all of us to be hospitable to you, ploughman, than to you, blacksmith, because

this dialogue, the blacksmith persists in asserting the primacy of his vocation in response to the others, coming off as comparably defensive and moderately cantankerous: in tune with some of his interlocutors, he also stands out in contrast to others showing more even tempers. However, Aelfric's familiarity with blacksmithing is also evident in his *Life of St. Swithun*, the dream vision of a "faithful blacksmith," a descriptive detail reinforcing the perception that blacksmiths were among those brethren most susceptible to error. Informed by this vision the blacksmith witnesses a miracle while moving the saint's stone coffin, one that confirms the deceased Bishop of Winchester's identity, and one that enables the smith to act upon the Saint's repeated commands. His faith confirmed, the smith helpfully relocates Swithun's remains within the church at Winchcombe, allowing the angelic saint to encourage the Bishop Æthelwold's efforts to enhance the faithfulness of backsliding monks.⁵⁶

Another attitude of uneasy tolerance toward blacksmithing is found in the miracles of another Anglo-Saxon monk, the former and renowned blacksmith and craftsman St. Dunstan, depicted in a series of anonymous *Lives*.⁵⁷ His story hints at the uneasy perception held toward blacksmithing as expressed by Bede and hinted at above: that even within the Godly space of the monastic hermitage, the hot, loud and clamorous smithy is perhaps more vulnerable to Satan's incursions. The dutiful blacksmith, disturbed in his monastic workspace by an unruly visitor, soon recognizes his unwelcome guest as the devil. Their encounter is direct and contentious, and ends when Dunstan brazenly subdues his intrusive and acquisitive guest and brings him to heel by seizing the devil's nose

the ploughman provides us with bread and food: but what do you give us in your work except shining steel and the noise of clanging hammers and puffing bellows"?) Serving as the voice of reason and balance in a way contradicting the less reputable state of his profession in the twenty-first century, the lawyer asserts the significance and interrelation of each of the professions, thus bringing this instructional dialogue to a close.

56 Additional information on St. Swithun is found at <http://aclerkofoxford.bln.htmllogspot.com/2012/07/some-miracles-of-st-swithun> (last accessed on Feb. 10, 2017). Aelfric's *Life of St. Swithun* appears with his *Lives of the Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, 2 vol., EETS, os 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881–1900; London: Trübner, 1966), 441–71, accessible as ebook via: <http://archive.org/stream/aelfric-slivesofs00aelfuoft#page/440/mode/2up> and <http://www.indiana.edu/~dmdhist/swithun.html> (both last accessed on Feb. 10, 2017).

57 For these two references I am thankful to Christiana Heckman of Augusta College. The recent edition of *The Early Lives of St. Dunstan*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), replaces the standard *Vita S. Dunstani*, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Rolls Series, 1874), 3–52.

with the blacksmith's tongs. This scene is rendered vividly in an image in The British Library's MS Harley 315.⁵⁸

Both confirming the blacksmith's vulnerability in his monastic forge to such incursions and his necessarily exceptional ability to resist the devil's ever-present influence, these tales find visual equivalents in the hellish, fiery imagery of select late medieval works of art. The early fifteenth-century French manuscript, *Trés Riches Heures*, completed for Jean, Duc de Berry by the Limbourg brothers, provides one vivid example in the image of "Hell" (108r), in which muscular demons work bellows on a forge burning the souls that feed the fiery spume of Satan. Another series of early fifteenth-century images, disturbingly surreal, are credited either to the influential Flemish painter Hieronymus Bosch or his artistic followers.⁵⁹ One example, inspired by the aforementioned work *Visio Tnugdali*, captures the tumult of a fiery, forge-like space; a fuller field of "Last Judgment" images and other assorted depictions of Hell are more distantly evocative of the blacksmith's forge in underscoring the darkish, chaotic and fiery clamor of the underworld.

The intense association between blacksmithing and monasticism is also confirmed in scripture where the blacksmithing arts are depicted with similar ambiguity, cited as an agent in the construction of false gods but depicted more favorably as patterned after the biblical precedents shown in the verses of Numbers 31:22, Isaiah 40:22, and Ezekiel 22:10.⁶⁰ As modeled after these vers-

⁵⁸ This image from BL MS Harley 315, fol. 15^v is accessible from the British Library's *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* via: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts>. See also: Deborah Thorpe, "Heated Words: The Politics and Poetics of Work in 'A Complaint Against Blacksmiths,'" *Parergon* 32.1 (2015): 77–101; here 20, accessed via: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4861241/pdf/emss-67486.pdf> (both last both accessed on Feb. 12, 2017).

⁵⁹ Bosch's work is accessible via: <http://boschproject.org/#/> (last accessed on May 16, 2017).

⁶⁰ Within the biblical tradition the art of blacksmithing appears early, its first mention found in Genesis 4:22. Tubal Cain, the grandson of Cain, later emerges from these Semitic origins as a semi-divine figure held in masonic lore as working in close conjunction with the Masonic order, later becoming identified with Celtic traditions. Exodus 31, verses 3 thru 5, make reference to Bezalel, who, as is explained by the Lord to Moses, is "filled...with the Spirit of God, with wisdom, with understanding, with knowledge and with all kinds of skills to make artistic designs for work in gold, silver and bronze," and to perform other sundry woodworking and stonemasonry crafts. In later books, metalworking of various kinds – the working of iron and bronze, as well as gold- and silversmithing – becomes identified with the crafting of idols and the creation of false gods. We see hints of this trend in Numbers 31:22 where metals are equated with the Laws commanded by the Lord unto Moses, but more directly in various chapters in the Book of Isaiah. In 40:19 and 44:12, for example, the metalworking craftsman labors to the point of fatigue in crafting graven idols that aspire to the image of God but falter in their insignificance in the face of His divine potency. In Isaiah 54, the prophet explains that the fledgling Hebrew church,

es, blacksmithing assumes comparably metaphoric dimensions in devotional literature, with the blacksmith's extraordinary faith again standing out, a pattern demonstrated in the stories associated with Saint Eligius, the Royal Goldsmith, first a servant of Kings Chlotar II and Dagobert, and later serving as Bishop of Noyon. Described as "the inspirer of many precious medieval religious artefacts in gold and enamel . . . , [Eligius] became the patron saint of the medieval auri-faber who was often also a moneylender."⁶¹ His godly qualities lightly veiling these less appealing commercial endeavors, this patron saint of craftsmen evolves to assume quasi-divine characteristics in *Die Goldene Schmiede*, a late thirteenth-century meditative visionary panegyric by the aforementioned Konrad von Würzburg,⁶² that likens the purification of the soul to the purification of metals as wrought by a god-like metalsmith.

In addition to his symbolic importance in classical epic and his imagistic resonance in the hellish environs depicted in the writings of the early Christian church fathers, the blacksmith figure and his labors also resonate significantly in the Anglo-Saxon, Finnish, Nordic, and Germanic folkloric traditions. These tales both demonstrate the essential nature of the smith's craft and point to his occasionally transgressive and potentially contentious – but always essential – relationship with his social superiors. To examine his role more closely, the remainder of this essay will focus on specific works that feature the smith's most magical and maligned qualities simultaneously – *Beowulf*, the Finnish *Kalevala*, and the *Volundarkviða* – and will make brief reference to other works where appropriate to highlight key details. I will conclude by considering the significance of a pair of late medieval English poems that capture the smith's changing stature in the later medieval world. These works portray him as a diminished mythic figure, one more fully integrated into the commercial fabric of his world, and one

assuming fuller form, requires defense against its enemies, whose threatening designs on the faith require the skills of the smith to make their weapons. Yet the prophet also reveals that the smith, possessor of arcane skills to fashion battle implements, is still the creation of God, and is likewise subordinate to his infinite power. Finally, absent a blacksmith throughout the land, the Israelites remain beholden to the Philistines as chronicled in 1 Samuel 13: 19–22, who require charges of two thirds of a shekel from each Israelite farmer "to sharpen his plow-share, his mattock, his axe, and his hoe"

⁶¹ Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 122. Eligius is also defined as the "Patron saint of goldsmiths, other metalworkers, and coin collectors" (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_Eligius, last accessed on Feb. 10, 2017).

⁶² *Die Goldene Schmiede des Konrads von Würzburg*, ed. Edward Schröder. 2nd ed. (1840; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926). A list of extant manuscripts and fragments is accessible via: <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/207>. Last accessed on Jan. 8, 2017.

whose knowledge and skills assume less supernatural, more familiar, and more utilitarian dimensions.

Upon Closer Examination – Three Key Examples

In *Beowulf*, the poet goes to great lengths to demonstrate the relevance of the blacksmith's arts to the heavily Germanicized warrior ethos that is evident throughout the poem, but his efforts are most prevalent in its early stages. As Beowulf and his Geatish retainers respond to Hrothgar's summons and arrive on the shores of Danish lands, the poet goes into great detail in lines 209–51 to describe how impressively attired and resplendent the disembarking warriors appear in their “beorhte frætwe, guðsearo geatolic” (“brightly-shining mailcoats, well-wrought battle gear,” lines 214–15). Throughout the first two thirds of the poem, the poet emulates the Homeric pattern in reiterating how Beowulf's arms and armor connect him to a mythic past of metalworking, battle, and warfare.⁶³

63 The poet's fixation on the arms and armor of Beowulf and his retainers actually borders on the obsessive in these early stages of the narrative. Reaching Danish shores, the new arrivals are greeted by a Scylding watchman who notes their “beorhte randas, fyrdsearu fuslicu” (“brightly-gleaming shield-bosses and excellent accoutrements,” lines 231–32), and concludes that these visitors are “searohæbbendra, byrnum werede” (“warriors, a company in mailcoats,” lines 237–38). Beowulf smoothly allays the suspicions of the wary coastline sentry, who declares his lord's battle-prowess to his armored visitors. Explaining the purpose of their visit, Beowulf and his retainers are then led to Heorot as the poet again describes the visitors in glowing terms. He highlights their ornately decorated helmets, which feature “Eoforlic scionon ofer hleorbergan gehroden golde, fah ond fyrheard,” (“boar's image shining, over gold-ornamented face-guards, fierce (looking) and fire-hardened,” lines 303–05).

The narrator's seemingly inordinate preoccupation with the arms and armor of Beowulf and his men is brought into fuller focus as they are escorted into Heorot. Making their way along a stone-paved path,

When used in defense against monsters, dragons, tyrants, and other forces of darkness, the hero's weapons underscore the ultimate eternity and steadfastness of the celestial domains. As in classical epic, a weapon's sacred qualities exist within in its mythic history and divine associations. In *Beowulf*, Homeric, Virgilian, Germanic, and Christian epic motifs conjoin in depictions of weapons that also serve as both agents and symbols of service to community, to empire,

heard hondlocen, song in searwum, in hyra gryregeatwum Setton sæme rondas regnhearde bugon þa to bence, guðsearo gumena; sæmanna searo, æscholt ufan græg; wæpnum gewurþad.	Guðbyrne scan hringiren scir þa hie to sele furðum gangan cwomon. þe side scyldas, wið þæs recedes weal; – byrnan hringdon, garas stodon, samod ætgædere, wæs se irenþreat
[. . . and the hard, hand-locked sang in their harness, in their war gear, they set bright broad-shields shields specially tempered bending then to benches, beaten hard by warriors; the weapons of sea-men grey-tipped ash-wood. were armed well with weapons.] (lines 321–31 – my translation)	the war-coats shone gleaming rings as they stepped along arriving at the hall to the side, against the wall they sat, rows of ringed-breast coats they stood their spears, these they stacked together, these iron-shirted men

The nuanced character of this description emerges more fully in the lines that follow. Hrothgar's herald, noting the impressive bearing of Beowulf and his men, equates their impressive armor with worldly achievement. In so doing, he sets into motion an important pair of contrasting ideas that jointly express one of the poem's central themes. Legendary weapons and armor, along with other objects of worked metal, capture and represent a vital form of social capital within this warrior ethos, a symbolic value associated with glory and worldly achievement. These values stand for the transitory and temporal values associated with worldly realms and stand in contrast to the greater rewards of the hereafter. Preoccupied with this contrast, the poet uses weapons, armor, and metals as symbols that enable him to develop this theme fully.

and to God.⁶⁴ Less directly, this early focus on weapons highlights interconnected themes of service, heroism, earthly transitoriness, and celestial eternity, all captured in the bearing of Beowulf and his retainers and their impressive war implements. In a subsequent passage some eighty lines later, Beowulf greets Hrothgar for the first time. In the very line before Beowulf speaks, the poet again highlights his armor, referring to his “searonet,” or corselet, as “smithes orcanum” (“the work of wonder-smiths,” lines 405–06). The focus on weaponry becomes somewhat ironic here, as Beowulf then declares that he will fight Grendel without the benefit of weapons, for “Dryhtes dome” (“the Lord’s judgment”), apparently to lend greater ethical (and perhaps divine) justification to his efforts to rid Heorot of its greatest tormenter. However, should the bloodthirsty hell-fiend take his life, Beowulf requests that his “beaduscruda betst” or (“best battle corselet,” line 453) be returned to his lord Hygelac. This gift, bestowed by his Geatish lord Hrethel is “Welandes Geworc” (line 455), or the work of Weland, the famed smith of *Eddic* verse. According to the ethos of Germanic heroism, this famous corselet must remain “in the family” should Beowulf meet his unfortunate but justly fated end at Grendel’s hands.

With Beowulf’s choice to forego the use of his sword, the poem’s initial preoccupation with arms and weapons becomes more reserved as he struggles to defend Heorot. Even so, metallic imagery also figures prominently in Beowulf’s battle with Grendel, just as it will factor into both of his later battles, firstly with Grendel’s mother and later with the Dragon. This first battle assumes the form of a quasi-apocalyptic struggle for the ages, with the very fate of Heorot hanging in the balance. Describing this struggle, the poet highlights Grendel’s hell-bent fury as captured by his violent bursting through the tempered, iron-bound entrance (“Dura sona onarn, fyrbendum faest” – “the iron-bound door, bound fast by fire,” lines 721–22) before devouring his first victim.

Some fifty-three lines later, as the antagonists’ struggles set the very foundations of the hall to tremble, the poet reveals how its upper gables are held fast with “irenbendum searopuncum besmipod” (“iron-bonds, skillfully worked by smiths,” lines 774–75). These images of finely wrought metal, holding steadfast even when stressed to the limit, reinforce the apocalyptic urgency of the struggle

⁶⁴ Klaeber, *Beowulf* (see note 25), here 145, describes the reverence toward the smith’s works as a common feature in the traditions of Germanic, Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon literature: “If a weapon or armor in Old Germanic literature was attributed to Weland, this was conclusive proof of its superior workmanship and venerable associations. The figure of this wondrous smith – the Germanic Vulcanus (Hephaistos) – symbolizing at first the marvels of metalworking as they impressed the people of the stone age, was made the subject of a heroic legend, which spread from North Germany to Scandinavia and England.”

between good and evil, which pervades all of Beowulf's battles. As the metal-worked joints, doors, and beam-fittings strain under the intensity of the struggle, these passages further solidify the connection between metals, metalworking, and the melding of classical, Germanic, and Christian traditions within the apocalyptic battles that are characteristic of the epic form. Later, as Beowulf prepares to do battle with Grendel, he dons a helmet described as "worhte waepna smith, wundrum teode" ("the work of the weapon smith, maker of wonders," line 1453).

Finally, as the triumphant Geat returns from battle having slain both Grendel and Grendel's mother, he presents Hrothgar with a rune-inscribed golden sword hilt that is described as the "wondersmitha geweorc" ("the work of the wonder-smith," line 1681), and bears the stories of earlier battles and adventures.⁶⁵ Ul-

65 The consequences for this second and more impressive victory are shown in the images inscribed on the sword's hilt, which provide a vision for the historical destiny of Heorot. Significantly, the images are not used according to Homeric and Virgilian pattern to express the historical vision of glorious empire; rather, they underscore the transitory qualities of the world and the eternity of God's domain. If the *Beowulf* poet's understanding of Christianity is partial and seemingly incomplete, he does fully grasp the importance of subordinating worldly achievements to divine glories. The sword-hilt's mythic character is shown in the fact that it was both the weapon of "harum hildfruman," an "old battle-chief," and also the "enta ærgeweorc," or "the ancient work of Giants" (line 1679). As Hrothgar inspects his storied gift from the conquering warrior, he notices the images on this "wundorsmitha geworc," ("work of wonder-smiths," line 1681), upon which is inscribed a prophetic vision of a violent end at the hands of a Christian God. This violent end is described as follows: So...

fyrngewinnes,	wæs or writen
gifen geotende	syðþan flod ofsloh,
frecne geferdon;	giganta cyn,
ecean Dryhtne; him	þæt wæs fremde þeod
þurh wæteres wylm	þæs endelea
Swa wæs on ðæm	Waldend sealde.
þurh runstafas	scennum sciran goldes
geseted ond gesæd,	rihte gemearcod,
irena cyst ærest wære,	hwam þæt sweord geworht,
	wreoþenhilt ond wyrmfah. (1688–98).

timately, in *Beowulf*'s most intense moments of battle and in scenes where he experiences his greatest battle glories, weapons, armor, and iron bonds are stressed beyond their limits. Against the forces of evil, violence, time, fate, and destiny, the poem's various swords, goblets, armor, and rings fail, deteriorate, or are immolated. The mythic blacksmith's glorious labors, like the grand warrior's brave exploits, are thus diminished, and with this theme the poet subordinates the ambitions of the material world to the ultimate powers of God's eternal domain, their temporality underscoring God's eternity.

Having minimal thematic connection with the narratives of conquest and demise depicted in *Beowulf*, the *Kalevala* nevertheless merits examination because of the comparable degree of prominence given by this epic to the blacksmith Seppo Ilmarinen,⁶⁶ the "craftsman" and "eternal smith," whose labors supersede

[. . .	was [it] ere written
of ancient strife	when the flood slew
the giants,	the rushing sea
bringing about their terrible end.	That was the fate of those foreign people
to eternal God.	To them God gave
this final reward	through the surging waters.
Also inscribed on this	sword-guard of bright gold
in runic letters	rightly marked
Set down and told,	by whom that sword had been made,
The best of iron	first was first created
With twisted hilt and	with serpentine ornamentation.]
	(lines 1688–98 – my translation)

The sword-hilt's inscriptions are significant for several reasons. Firstly, the image depicts the fate of the non-believers, who, unlike Noah, perish by flooding because of God's wrath. Secondly, the sword serves as the document of its own creation, functioning in this context to connect the mythological past with the (more) historical present. That this record occurs on a battle weapon is fundamental to its historical imperatives, for, as shown in the *Aeneid* and on the shield of Achilles, battle weapons reflect the divine mandates upon which kingdoms are established. Significantly, *Beowulf*'s gift immediately precedes Hrothgar's admonitions about the transitory nature of worldly fame, an extended lesson bringing in examples from the historical past to underscore his points (1700–84). However, Hrothgar's message to *Beowulf*, given at the hour of his greatest triumph, exhorts him to be wary of worldly glories and attainments, events signified in the heroic rituals of gift-exchanges. In this way, the motif connects *Beowulf* with classical and Germanic epics, even as it subverts the gift-giving rituals depicted in them. As the gift is made subordinate by Hrothgar's exhortations that *Beowulf* value eternal ideals above tokens of worldly glories realized, the gift exchange ritual serves to affirm the poem's Christian dimensions. Indeed, in these scenes one notes the subversion of classical ideals within developing motifs of Christian epic.

⁶⁶ See *The Kalevala: or Poems of the Kaleva District*. Compiled by Elias Lönnrot, ed. F. P. Ma-goun (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). Despite its incomparability with the

even those of the mythic Wayland. Creator of the sun and moon, Ilmarinen's skilled metalwork eventually earns him the hand of the illustrious storied bride of the North Farm. Etymologically, the *Kalevala* has associations with blacksmithing terminologies from the closely related Baltic languages, and this association underscores the associations between the epic character of the poem and the

more "literary" epics considered in this study, this collection of works nevertheless attempts to portray a stage in a culture's developing national identity; more importantly, however, it demonstrates the associations between metalworking and the health and economic prosperity of the larger agrarian society it represents. This work is of a different character than its counterparts in other traditions, and editor F. P. Magoun explains that "[a]ny talk about a national heroic epic is bound to evoke thoughts of the Greek *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Old French *Chanson de Roland*, or the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied*, all of which possess a more or less unified and continuously moving plot with actors who are wealthy aristocratic warriors performing deeds of valor and displaying great personal resourcefulness and initiative" (xiii).

However, Magoun emphasizes that "the *Kalevala* is really nothing like these (other epics)." Instead, he argues, this Finnish epic "is essentially a conflation and concatenation of a considerable number and variety of traditional songs, narrative, lyric, and magic, sung by unlettered singers, male and female," who resided (as their progeny presumably still does) in the Northern regions of Finland (xiii). The songs were collected from unlettered Finnish bards in two stages by one Elias Lönnrot, a medical doctor and scholar of Finnish language and folklore, whose travels enabled his exposure to the more rural regions of his native land. The first version appeared in 1835 and the second, published in 1849, increased the amount of material twofold. Like many nineteenth-century belletristic efforts, Lönnrot's ambitions were to provide a focus for "the national consciousness then fast developing among the Finns, who had been growing restive under their Russian masters. To some extent, the *Kalevala* thus became a rallying point for these feelings . . ." (xiv). The story itself, "a sort of poetical museum of ancient Finno Karelian peasant life" (xiv), is episodic in nature and meanders through the adventures of three major characters. The first is Ilmarinen; the second is Vainamoinen, the "eternal sage," whose adventures oddly recall those of both Adam and Prometheus; and the third is Lemminkäinen, the young lover whose amorous pursuits demonstrate his recklessness as much as his great passion. Just as Homeric scholars puzzle over the origins of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, scholars and editors of the Finnish epic likewise consider "whether the Finnish people or Lönnrot is to be regarded as the maker of the *Kalevala*." Editor Magoun argues that the "homogeneous epic is the work of Lönnrot. But Lönnrot put the *Kalevala* together not as a real scholar or literary artist but as a singer of traditional songs" (354). In this way, explains Magoun, scholars are to see the epic as a reflection of the Finnish national consciousness to the extent that only Lönnrot's contributions amount to "a few hundred linking verses" (355). The poem's narrative structure is not as ordered as the Homeric poems or its events oriented toward some ultimate battle. However, it does achieve a degree of coherence through the "consistency of the personal characterizations . . . the animistic-magic underlying tone of the view of nature, and above all the epical verse form, with its alliterative runs and variations or parallelisms" (358). Ultimately, Magoun equates the *Kalevala* with other epics by stating its relationship to the national identity of the Finnish people, arguing that "certain typical fundamentals of the Finnish national character are outlined in the *Kalevala*'s great personal characterizations" (359).

vital significance of metalworking within the culture it reflects.⁶⁷ Indeed, the story's emphasis on homespun charms, ointments, folk remedies, and other treatments for assorted maladies testifies to the magical dimensions ascribed to a field of native craftsmen, and the tacit tolerance of the potentially disruptive blacksmith within that culture.

As in other classical and Germanic epics, the blacksmith's figure is highlighted in the *Kalevala* and can be said therefore to occupy a position of importance as a crucial, god-like fabricator of materials essential to the survival of his world. The "eternal smith," Ilmarinen, is introduced in Book 9, shortly after the aged sage Vianamoinen explains the origins of iron. The metal is borne of divine "Nature Spirits" and given human form as three virgin maids, whose breast milk spills onto the earth, each representing the source of a different variety of iron: from the first comes bar iron; from the second, steel; and from the third, iron ore.⁶⁸ Newly created, the anthropomorphized iron endures in the swampy fens of the North Country and is eventually combined with fire to produce tools and weapons. With the raw materials of his craft now available, the "eternal smith" is born to fashion this material into forms usable by humankind, and with Ilmarinen's birth the poem clearly reveals an uneasiness with the varied and unpredictable possibilities that are bestowed upon the mythic fabricator of this buried iron. Using his inborn skills Ilmarinen places it into a forge and liberates it from the bog's confinements, fashioning a variety of tools and weapons soon shown to be insufficient until he discovers an important tempering agent, a liquid containing lye and honey. Thus tempered, the worked iron becomes an agent of cultivation as well as an agent of destruction.

Following this account of iron's introduction to the world, the poem then includes a series of charms against its potential abuses, thus revealing further the poem's ambiguous attitude toward both metals and the smith's work. The poem provides charms against death by deceit and in battle⁶⁹ and then presents a series of charms for stanching blood, for medical ointments, for talismanic protections, and for effective bandaging.⁷⁰ Collectively, these details imply that in the Finnish epic consciousness, the creation of iron occupies a position comparable to that held by the opening of Pandora's box in classical mythology. More importantly, these details, though representing the characteristic reservations shown in all epics toward the blacksmith and his work, also equate those labors with practical medical skills because of their common existential, and perhaps

⁶⁷ See Magoun, ed., *The Kalevala* (see note 66), 393–94.

⁶⁸ See Magoun, ed., *The Kalevala* (see note 66), Poem 9: lines 29–104 (47–48).

⁶⁹ See Magoun, ed., *The Kalevala* (see note 66), Poem 9: lines 271–342 (50–51).

⁷⁰ See Magoun, ed., *The Kalevala* (see note 66), Poem 9: lines 271–546 (50–54).

even mythical value in preserving and maintaining human life and health. Equated here with the transformative efforts of the healer, these passages reflect the recurring attitude of uneasy tolerance toward the smith and his labors.

Ilmarinen's most important and most ambiguous act occurs in Book 10, where as one of a series of prescribed labors he fashions a mysterious symbol of prosperity called a *Sampo*, which inevitably brings conflict to the narrative. Here, following his initial appearance, he is encouraged by Vainamoinen to woo the Maid of the North Farm, a site representing a vision of Viking prosperity. It lies in proximity to the so-called Domain of Death, a vision of the subterranean locus that replicates the epic pattern of combining metalworking with the underworld. This juxtaposition replicates the pattern in Homeric epic that contrasts the underworld with images of agrarian pastoralism and prosperity. Ilmarinen is introduced to the maid by Vainamoinen, the eternal sage; to win the bride, Ilmarinen must fashion this mysterious *sampo*, "pictured as a three-sided mill, one side or face grinding out iron, one salt, and one money, all in unlimited amounts." It serves as "a producer and symbol of prosperity" in this mythic agrarian world and becomes, according to Magoun, "central to much of the action of the *Kalevala*."⁷¹ It is appropriate and significant that the blacksmith is its agent and creator, and in this role Ilmarinen and his labors replicate the pattern of highlighting the smith's importance to the health and prosperity of the proto-economic world of the epic.

With the help of slave and serf subordinates and despite a series of false starts, Ilmarinen's labors bear fruit. The *sampo* eventually emerges, much to the maid's delight.⁷² Nevertheless, she is reluctant to respond to his romantic entreaties, and his efforts to win her are further frustrated by the intrusions of Lemminkainen, the "wreckless lover." This figure, another of the epic's central characters, becomes the blacksmith's principal rival in the sections that follow, demonstrating a juxtaposition between the symbol of industrious (if potentially disruptive) labor and the irresponsible braggart. While the braggart is eventually dispatched, bested because of his inability to perform some basic agrarian duty, Vainamoinen, the "eternal sage," then becomes the Ilmarinen's rival for the maid's affections. Ultimately, however, the smith's value is apparent after he performs a series of tasks reminiscent of the twelve labors of Hercules and essential to the health of the North Farm, including plowing a snake-infested field, catch-

71 See Magoun, ed., *The Kalevala* (see note 66), 400.

72 See Magoun, ed., *The Kalevala* (see note 66), poem 10, lines 353–432 (59–60).

ing wild animals within Death's Domain, and snatching a dangerous fish from the subterranean river.⁷³

The maid eventually agrees to wed Ilmarinen. Their wedding is an extended affair, and it takes several books to describe the preparations and festivities. Eventually, the smith and his bride assume residence at Ilmarinen's abode in the Kaleva district and enjoy a period of bliss and prosperity. However, she is later killed by wild beasts, and the distraught smith unsuccessfully tries to recreate his bride out of gold and silver. Recognizing that his period of wedded bliss is over, Ilmarinen is prompted by Lemminkainen and Vianamoinen to try to retrieve the *sampo* from North Farm. An extended conflict between the two regions follows, and the enraged mistress, the smith's former mother-in-law, tries to bring harm to Kaleva through a series of spells and curses. Each attempt is defended by the efforts of Vainamoinen, whose songs from his magical harp supersede the mistress' vengeful curses. The events of the conflict cause the *sampo*'s destruction, and its pieces are cast by Vainamoinen throughout the Kaleva district, prompting a new period of peace and prosperity. This suspension of conflicts is presaged by the epic's closing books, which end the narrative with the conflicts resolved and the world in harmony. The smith and his labors are central to both the disruption of that world and this restoration of order, and the epic strives to highlight his precarious importance to the agrarian world of Finnish myth. Ultimately, in this crucial labor this mythic blacksmith initiates behaviors that lead both to favorable and ominous consequences, and so is true to the form of Haphaestus, Vulcan, Wayland, and other epic "culture heroes" who enable humans to survive, endure, cultivate, make war, and establish class standing. With the reluctant if tacit tolerance of their social superiors, these mythic blacksmiths continually transform social hierarchies as they confirm their own essential and potentially disruptive natures.

In the various versions of the *Volundarkvitha* the blacksmith hero Volund, described as the son of the Finnish king Wade, is known for his great skill in metalworking, learned the art from dwarves from a northern region variously described as either Iceland or Lapland.⁷⁴ In short, the narrative establishes how

⁷³ See Magoun, ed., *The Kalevala* (see note 67), Poem 19, lines 33–356 (123–28).

⁷⁴ Volund is especially regarded as a maker of fine jewelry, and it is helpful to offer a short summary of basic narrative of the *Volundarkvitha* here. According to the story he lives with his two brothers and their Valkyrie wives, who have been brought to Ulfdalir from the shores of lake Ulfsjar to live with their betrothed. After seven years of bliss, the three Valkyrie women long to return to their homes, and they disappear one day. Although the distraught brothers go to find them, Volund stays to fashion his wife his Allwise a few pieces of ornate jewelry, confident that his artistry is powerful enough to lure her back home. Meanwhile, the Swed-

Volund's metalworking skills, brutally appropriated by the Swedish King Ninuth, also provide the means to realize and signify his vengeance. Foregoing the first available opportunity to escape, Volund instead achieves retribution to a degree that stands as equal, if not disproportionate to, the wrongs done to him. Wondering where his absent sons have disappeared to, Ninuth summons his lamed and captive smith to voice his suspicions. Having done away with Ninuth's progeny, Volund refashions their skulls as bejeweled goblets, enduring symbols of his vengeance as fashioned with his metalworking skills. Ultimately, Volund achieves his greatest vengeance when he dupes Ninuth's unsuspecting daughter Bothvild and has his way with her, effectively replacing Ninuth's royal progeny with his own seed.

In this way the aggrieved smith vindictively proclaims how he has disrupted the royal lineage and, thus avenged, he dons the pair of wings his brother had made for him and escapes from his captivity. From his confinement in the land of the Swedes, the liberated smith then flies across the sea to England, taking up residence in the Berkshire region within the aforementioned mythic space called Wayland's Smithy. His mythic lineage thus enhanced, he comes to assume an active role in the folklore of that region in particular, and his fame is such that

ish king Ninuth, aware of Volund's skilled craftsmanship, learns that the smith waits alone in Ulfdalir and comes with his men to Volund's home to capture him and to appropriate the smith's works as his own. The smith is out hunting when the intruders arrive, and as they look around his shop and are amazed by the splendor of his works, Ninuth is particularly taken with some rings that Volund has fashioned and takes the most ornate one for himself. Later, he presents it to his daughter Bothvild. When a weary Volund returns from his day of hunting he falls asleep, making him easy prey for the concealed intruders who lie in wait for him. Awakening, he finds himself fettered by his Swedish detainers. The bound smith is then brought to Ninuth's castle and is brutally lamed and banished to Saevarstath, a nearby island, rendered unable to escape. There he serves the king as a slave laborer, using his smithing talents according to Ninuth's whims, all the while plotting his revenge against his captor.

The smith manages to find one of his long lost brothers, who fashions for him a pair of wings that he might use to escape when an opportune moment presents itself. But Volund, preoccupied with thoughts of revenge, bides his time in King Ninuth's service. One day the king's sons steal out to Saevarstath in a bout of youthful mischief. They are amazed by the smith's works, and the seething Volund lures them back the next morning by promising to show them even greater splendors. When the next day comes the smith lies in wait for the two sons, who, dazzled by Volund's works, make easy targets for his plotting. He lops off their heads and fashions their skulls into elaborate golden goblets which he gives to the king's wife. From their teeth, he makes a brooch for Ninuth's daughter Bothvild, who has taken to showing off the ring her father had earlier stolen from Volund's shop, and has accidentally damaged it. Pleased with her brooch and eager to meet its maker she also sneaks out to Saevarstath, also hoping to get the ring fixed. There the plotting smith plies her with beer and, with her resistance diminished, he has his way with her and leaves her carrying his child.

he becomes a recurring figure of significance in the literature of the Anglo-Saxons as well.

Ultimately, in highlighting the smith's labors the *Volundarkvitha* demonstrates the essential nature of his craft, and underscores his uneasy and potentially dangerous relationship with his social superiors. The *Edda's* portrayal of metalworkers and metalworking resonates in the literature of the Anglo-Saxons, and several characters also surface in the *Niblungenlied* of the Germanic myth. Thus it becomes feasible to envision a shared cultural milieu which permeated all three societies, and is represented in their epic literature.⁷⁵ The *Beowulf* poet thus aligns with the *Eddic* verses in his attitudes toward the smith and toward metallurgy, and his comments on sword-smithing and weaponry conform to historical patterns of cultural interaction. In these disparate but overlapping traditions the blacksmith assumes mythic dimensions as an agent of its development and a potential threat to its order – a sort of worldly magician who, in possessing and employing arcane knowledge to serve a world that he never fully occupies, underscores his own problematic centrality to that world.

Diminishing Mythos, Changing Stature

The smith's mythic and ominous stature would undergo multiple transformations in a process of decline as the early modern economy approached. Firstly, this transition is captured in the re-casting of Volund, the skilled but vengeful figure in the *Volundarkvitha* who assumes a diminished, more benign form after his flight to England and Berkshire as an elusive and quirkily folkloric craftsman and tender of the legendary smithy that bears his name. Here he comes to replicate various Nordic and Baltic myths in joining the less threatening tradition of the *Grinkenschmied*, or the folkloric “invisible smith,”⁷⁶ replacing horseshoes and performing unseen and utilitarian labors under the cover of

⁷⁵ Editor's note: We would also have to consider the enormous respect for and even worship of special swords in other heroic epics all over medieval Europe, such as in the Old Spanish *El Poema de Mio Cid* or in the Old French *Chanson de Roland*. There is much potential to expand this valuable research by Tormey into other areas of early medieval Europe. See, for example, Friedrich E. Grünzweig, *Das Schwert bei den “Germanen”: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zu seinem “Wesen” vom Altertum bis ins Hochmittelalter*. *Philologica Germanica*, 30 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2009).

⁷⁶ See Lotte Motz, “The Craftsman in the Mound,” *Folklore* 88.1 (1977): 46–60. See also: Motz, “Wise One of the Mountain” (see note 23), 23–66 (esp. 60–62).

night in exchange for a small fee. Discussing the implications of this transition in the later stages of Anglo Saxon England, David A. Hinton observes that

[a]s for Weland, his story re-emerges in post-medieval Berkshire with folk speaking of him as a mere blacksmith, who would shoe a horse left overnight at his smithy – downgraded, recast, but still with something of the magical about him. Successors to the smiths of the Anglo-Saxon world were much more prosaic figures, yet an aura of the supernatural may still have hung invisibly around them.⁷⁷

Viking age goldsmiths were recognized as important components within the economies of various royal houses,⁷⁸ and also merited mention in the early seventh-century legal codes of King Æthelbert of Kent which stipulate that select blacksmiths in early Anglo-Saxon England were protected by a *leodgeld*, a monetary sum that reflects their importance.⁷⁹ The later seventh-century codes of King Ine of Wessex reveal that smiths were bound to the households of their overlords, likewise underscoring their significance.⁸⁰ As a recurring literary figure in the intervening centuries, the blacksmith was invoked to enhance the self-perception of audiences of chivalric romance, eager for affirmations of their own prestige and social capital. Even so, he was regarded with reluctant caution by church fathers, whose writings cast him as at odds with monastic structures and seem to sense the proto-commercial dimensions of his craft.

Finally, his depictions consistently reflect the veiled suspicion held by writers in all genres, who recognized in the magical qualities of his art his comparable capacities for disruption of the social order. By the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-centuries select legal and guild records confirm that, at least in denser urban districts, the storied reputation of metalworking was diminishing as its craftsmen became increasingly enmeshed in urban economies.⁸¹ This change of perception took place not because metalworkers – from the loftiest merchant-goldsmith to the most humble and utilitarian ironworker – were any less essential to the cohesion of their communities. Rather, it is because they

⁷⁷ See Hinton, “Smiths and Myths” (see note 4), 21.

⁷⁸ See Birgit Arrhenius, “Why the King Needed His Own Goldsmith,” *Laborative Arkeologi* 10–11 (1998): 109–11.

⁷⁹ See Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England* (See note 48), 108. A modern English translation of Æthelbert’s Code is available at: http://www.law.harvard.edu/faculty/cdonahue/courses/lhsemelh/materials/Mats2D_2F.pdf (last accessed on Feb. 12, 2017).

⁸⁰ See Hinton, “Smiths and Myths,” (see note 4), 10.

⁸¹ See Susan Mosher Stuard, *Guilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 146–81.

served increasingly specific and integrated – and therefore, more highly regulated and better understood – roles within those specializing economies

In England, for example, protectionist organizations like the Goldsmith's Guild of St. Dunstan and the Worshipful Company of Farriers emerged from obscure origins as fraternal orders to figure powerfully in trade relationships. Fixtures within the bustling economic culture of medieval London, their essential missions were underscored in their alignment with various Patron Saints who served to underscore the moral imperatives believed to align with their commercial endeavors.⁸² With the development of trade economies came transformations in urban geography, such that metalworkers of all kinds – farriers occupying spaces just outside city gates to accommodate entering horse traffic, gold- and silversmiths occupying specific districts (especially the Goldsmith's row in Cripplegate) within the city's geography⁸³ – are mentioned in varying legal contexts within London's vibrant late-medieval economic scene.⁸⁴ Less directly, tradesmen of all kinds depended on an increasingly available fuel, the noxious, sulfur-infused sea-coal transported from England's northern districts to power that city's industrializing urban center, further sullyng the reputations of fuel-hungry metalworkers as among its most conspicuous polluters. And so the smith's transgressive character assumed more banal, routine aspects even as his labors contributed to increasingly sophisticated trade relationships and so mandated the ongoing, uneasy scrutiny and reluctant "pass" from political, social, and ecclesiastical authorities.

By the fourteenth-century, this transition is evident as the blacksmith is portrayed in literature in ways unthinkable two centuries earlier. Two English poems from this era confirm these changes in the blacksmith's stature, portraying him overtly as a figure of ridicule. The first is an obscure exemplum titled "The Tale of

82 In addition to St. Eligius (also St. Eloy) and St. Dunstan, other saints associated with metalworking include Sts. Barbara, Clement, Clodald (also St. Cloud), Conleth, and Leonard. For an excellent overview of the formation and development of the early guilds, see Gary Richardson, "Craft Guilds and Christianity in Late-Medieval England: A Rational Choice Analysis," *Rationality and Society* 17.2 (2005): 139–89.

83 Accessed via: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603/pp290-303>. See *British History Online*, Version 5.0 www.british-history.ac.uk (last accessed on Feb. 10, 2017).

84 See, for example, the "French Chronicle of London: Edward II" and the "Calendar of the Early Mayor's Court Rolls," accessed via: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-mayors-sheriffs/1188-1274/pp248-267>, and <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/mayor-court-rolls/1298-1307/pp46-91>. See *British History Online*, Version 5.0 www.british-history.ac.uk (last accessed on Feb. 10, 2017).

the Smith and His Dame,”⁸⁵ and the second an alliterative work, “A Complaint Against the Blacksmith.” The latter poem, read by Deborah Thorpe as a call for enhanced legislation in the form of enhanced noise regulation and quality control,⁸⁶ offers a direct criticism of the smith and his work in a diatribe against the “socially irresponsible and irritating”⁸⁷ practices associated with blacksmithing, especially nighttime labor. Ultimately, both works speak to what Thorpe refers to the trend toward “moral vilification”⁸⁸ of blacksmithing that was underway at the dawn of the early modern world, offering unflattering portrayals that reveal his diminishing social capital. The divide between the mythic blacksmith of earlier centuries whose magical and renowned labors support a glorious warrior class, and the routine tradesman of the late medieval world, defined by guild membership, sometimes caricatured in poetry, and subjected to

85 Accessible as ebook via: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=6mgpeiPUOfgC&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA201>. Last accessed on Feb. 10, 2017.

86 See Thorpe, “Heated Words” (note 58), here 3. “A Complaint Against the Blacksmith” (fourteenth century, anonymous) also appears in Frances and Joseph Gies, *Cathedral, Forge, and Waterwheel: Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages* (New York: Harper Collins 1994), 203. The poem, included below, is also discussed at http://www.engr.psu.edu/mtah/articles/roots_colonial_iron_technology.htm (last accessed on Jan. 8, 2016).

Swart smutted smiths, smattered with smoke,
 Drive me to death with din of their dints;
 Such noise on nights ne heard men never.
 What with knaven cry and clattering of knocks!
 The crooked caitiffs cryen after coal! coal!
 And bloweth their bellows till their brain bursteth.
 Huf! puf! says the one; haf! paf! says the other;
 They spitten and they sprawlen and they spellen many spells.
 They gnawen and gnashen and they groan all together,
 And holden them hot with their hard hammers.
 Of a bull-hide be their barm-fells;
 Their shanks be shackled for the fiery flinders;
 Heavy hammers they have that are hard to be handled,
 Stark strokes they striken on a steely stock,
 Lus! bus! las! das! snore they by the row,
 Such doleful a dream that the devil it to-drive!
 The master loungeth a little and catcheth a less,
 Twineth them twain and toucheth a treble,
 Tik! tak! hic! hac!, tikit! taket! tyk! tyk!
 Lus! bus! las! das! . . . Christ give them sorrow!
 May no man for brenn waters on night have his rest?

87 Thorpe, “Heated Words” (see note 58), 3.

88 Thorpe, “Heated Words” (see note 58), 5.

legislative regulation, was increasingly evident by the late fourteenth-century. Seen in less flattering terms and occasionally as nuisances despite their ongoing contributions to increasingly complicated economies, these works show blacksmiths as unfavorable and disreputable figures, bereft of the magical associations formerly associated with their craft.

Conclusion

Within disparate portraits throughout literature from the Early and High medieval periods, the blacksmith's labors regularly assume magical dimensions even as his transgressive nature is frequently on display. He creates the legendary weapons and armor used by mythic warriors and the goblets and ornaments that confirm noble stature or complete godly rituals; but he also resides in remote, occasionally subterranean domains where those labors might be revealed as duplicitous, incompetent, or at times associated with dark, magical arts that make him vulnerable to satanic incursions. Yet with his essential utility he remains a necessary figure, perpetually tolerated despite the problematic aspects of his art.

For these reasons the blacksmiths of early and high medieval European literature occupy multiple spaces within a larger social fabric. In the magical wisdom the blacksmith is perceived to possess he holds the power both to confirm and destabilize class relationships with the various dimensions of his art – tools, weapons, jewelry, coinage – in which we see the icons that demarcate social privilege and underscore his own social capital. In serving outside his “fit” duties of service to the warring and noble classes or to the church, or by producing inferior implements that compromise the hero's quest, the blacksmith's stature itself becomes compromised. Strongly associated with the underworld realms that are essential to multiple genres, the blacksmith occupies sites that in their imagistic representation are much like his art itself: marginal, indecipherable to outsiders, mythic in its connection to a storied past, ethically ambiguous, occasionally inclined toward transgression, yet essential to the sustenance of his community.

If an ambiguous and disruptive figure within the classical, Norse, and Germanic traditions, he becomes more overtly disconcerting to the Christian world, his forge recalling the underworld realms of demons in its fiery clamor. Tolerated despite his problematic nature, he is sometimes deserving of magical stature; at other times he is maligned in ways that reflect the ever-present anxieties of medieval writers and poets, who are uncannily prone to associate the blacksmith and his work with a forbiddingly ephemeral if not directly satanic netherworld. In descriptions of the famous weapons and armor he fabricates, in accounts of

his important and frequent heroic deeds and efforts, and in his untimely failures and efforts of deception, few literary figures enjoyed more varied representation than the medieval blacksmith.⁸⁹

89 The author wishes first to thank the editor of this volume, Dr. Albrecht Classen, who suggested multiple important resources, and whose patience and feedback throughout the writing process were invaluable; additional thanks are due to Dr. Anne Marie Scott, Northern Arizona University, who served as a third reader of this essay, and whose comments on a late draft provided additional helpful direction as the work approached completion.

Chiara Benati

Painted Eyes, Magical Sieves and Carved Runes: Charms for Catching and Punishing Thieves in the Medieval and Early Modern Germanic Tradition

From a contemporary point of view, magic and justice belong to two completely separate spheres of human activity. This distinction is not so clear-cut in the Middle Ages, when criminal case investigations and judicial processes often involved ordeals and other trials (e.g., by combat) requiring divine intervention to ascertain the truth and to prove the innocence or the guilt of the accused.¹ This contribution focuses on all these rituals involving supernatural help against theft on the basis of a wide corpus of medieval and early modern Germanic charms.²

1 On the various kinds of ordeal as judicial trial in general, see Wolfgang Schild, "Gottesurteil," *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*. Vol. 2: *Geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit – Konfiskation*, ed. Albrecht Cordes, Heiner Lück, Dieter Werkmüller and Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2012), col. 481–91; W. Müller-Bergström, "Gottesurteil," *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. Vol. 3: *Freen – Hexenschuß*, ed. Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929), col. 994–1064, and Sarah Neumann, *Der gerichtliche Zweikampf: Gottesurteil – Wettstreit – Ehrensache*. *Mittelalter-Forschungen* 31 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2010), 112–17.

2 On charms and their transmission, see Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); Michael L. Rodkinson, *History of Amulets, Charms and Talismans: A Historical Investigation into Their Nature and Origin* (New York: n.p., 1893); Lea T. Olsan, "Charms, Incantations, and Amulets," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert E. Bjork. Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 570–71; Heather Stuart and Fred Walla, "Die Überlieferung der mittelalterlichen Segen," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 116.1 (1987): 53–79; Ernst Hellgardt, "Die deutschen Zaubersprüche und Segen im Kontext ihrer Überlieferung (10. bis 13. Jahrhundert). Eine überlieferungsgeschichtliche Skizze," *Atti Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti, Classe di Lettere, Filosofia e Belle Arti* 71 (1995): 5–62; Russell Poole, "Charms and Incantations," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms – Methods – Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Vol. 2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 1700–05; Albrecht Classen, "Old High German Missionary Activities by Means of *Zaubersprüche*—Charms: Anthropological-Religious Universals in the Early Middle Ages," *Kościół w dobie chrystianizacji (Churches in the Era of Christianization)*, ed. Marian Rędkowski. *Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne* III (Szczecin/Stettin: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Department of Archaeology, 2016), 77–88.

Chiara Benati, Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-003>

These rituals can, according to their purposes, be divided into three groups: 1) those aimed at preventing theft from taking place; 2) those aimed at stopping the thief and recovering the stolen property; and finally 3) those aimed at identifying and – in some cases – punishing the person responsible for the crime.

1 Charms Aimed at Preventing Theft

The best remedy against theft is obviously preventing it from taking place. In the Middle Ages and still in a more recent past protection against thieves could be obtained in various ways, such as, for example, having recourse to the defensive force of certain materials (e.g., steel, chalk, but also bread and salt),³ stones (e.g., topaz),⁴ herbs (e.g., victory onion, Lat. *Allium victorialis*)⁵ which must be brought along, worn, or placed near the precious goods needing protection. Other rituals required painting religious – pagan or Christian – symbols or writing magical formulas onto a specific part of a house in order to prevent it from being burglarized. So, for example, drawing, on Christmas Eve, three crosses on the boards of the upper floor could impede theft.⁶ The same goal could be achieved with runic signs beseeching pagan deities such as Odin and the giants or with the representation of Thor's hammer, Mjölñir.⁷ Similarly, the inscription of the *nomen magicum* *Nichtskosemich*, possibly a malapropism of the name of Saint Nicasius, onto the walls of the house or the invocation of Saint Dismas,

3 See also W. Müller-Bergström, "Dieb, Diebstahl," *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. Vol. 2: *C.M.B. – Frautragen*, ed. Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1929), col. 197–240; here 201–07; Leopold Höfer, "Wiener Kinderglaube. Ein Beitrag zu 'Volksglaube und Volksbrauch in der Großstadt'," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (previously *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde*) 32 (1927): 29–44; 78–93, here 85, where knives are thrown into the door; and Johann Georg Schmidt, *Die gestriegelte Rockenphilosophie, Oder Aufrichtige Untersuchung derer von vielen superklugen Weibern hochgehaltenen Aberglauben* (Chemnitz: In der Stößelischen Buchhandlung, 1759), 15–16.

4 See also Carl Meyer, *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters und der nächstfolgenden Jahrhunderte* (Basel: Druck und Verlag von Felix Schneider, 1884), 57.

5 See also Adolf Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*. 3. Bearbeitung von E. H. Meyer (Berlin: Wiegandt & Grieben, 1900), 101.

6 See also Ernst John, *Aberglaube, Sitte und Brauch im sächsischen Erzgebirge: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Volkskunde* (Annaberg: Grafersche Buchhandlung (Richard Liesche), 1909), 153.

7 See also Ólafur Davidsson, "Isländische Zauberzeichen und Zauberbücher," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 13 (1903): 150–67 and 267–79; here 279.

the Good Thief crucified by the side of Christ on Calvary, were thought to be effective to protect from theft.⁸

Some of these formulas and symbols are referred to in the medieval and early modern Germanic charms taken into consideration in this study. The motif of the two thieves crucified together with Jesus – Gesmas and Dismas⁹ – is present in a series of Middle and Early Modern English charms aimed at protecting properties. London, British Library, Add MS 36674, a collection of texts relating to magic and witchcraft from the papers of various astrologers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹⁰ contains, on fol. 89, for example, both a vernacular rhymed and a Latin charm of this kind:

This charme shall be said at night or against night about y^e place or feild or about beasts without feild, & whosoever cometh in, he goeth not out for certaine.

On 3 crosses of a tree
3 dead bodyes did hang,
2 were theeves, y^e 3d was Christus,
on whom our beleife is;
Dismas & Gesmas

8 See also Rolf Lieberwirth, “Diebstahl,” *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*. Vol. 1: *Aachen – Geistliche Bank*, ed. Albrecht Cordes, Heiner Lück, Dieter Werkmüller and Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2008), col. 1047–53; Müller-Bergström, “Dieb, Diebstahl” (see note 3) and Dietrich Heinrich Kerler, *Die Patronate der Heiligen: ein alphabetisches Nachschlagebuch für Kirchen-, Kultur- und Kunsthistoriker, sowie für den praktischen Gebrauch des Geistlichen* (Ulm: Heinrich Kerler, Verlags-Conto, 1905), 65.

9 For the legend of the two thieves crucified, the one on the right, the other on the left of Jesus, see the apocryphal *Arabic Gospel of Infancy* in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*. Vol. 1: *Evangelien und Verwandtes*, ed. Christoph Marksches, Jens Schröter, and Andreas Heiser (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 972, where they are called Titus and Dumachus. In chapter 23 the apocryphal text narrates how, during the flight into Egypt, the Holy Family was attacked by robbers in a lonely place in the desert and on how Titus was moved to compassion and suggested to Dumachus to let them go. Seeing this, Jesus prophesied that in thirty years he would be crucified together with them, Titus on his right and Dumachus on his left and that Titus would precede him into heaven. Moreover, Dysmas (alone or with Gistas, in version B) is mentioned in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, where the Penitent Thief appears also at the end of the narration of Christ’s Descent to Hell; see also *The Apocryphal Gospels. Texts and Translations*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Zlatko Pleše (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 419–89. On the motif of the Penitent Thief and on its fortune in medieval England, see also Patrizia Lendinara, “Furto, incantesimi e perdono,” *Le leggi degli Anglosassoni. XIII Seminario avanzato in Filologia germanica*, ed. Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza and Renato Gendreau. Bibliotheca germanica. Studi e testi, 33 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2013), 145–94.

10 For a description of the manuscript content, see http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS032-002055150 (last accessed on Feb. 13, 2016).

Christus amidst them was;
 Dismas to heauen went,
 Gesmas to heauen [hell] was sent.
 Christ yⁱ died on yⁱ roode,
 for Maries loue that by him stood,
 & through the vertue of his blood,
 Jesus save vs & our good,
 within & without,
 & all this place about,
 & through the vertue of his might,
 lett no theefe enter in this night,
 nor foote further fro
 this place that I upon goe,
 but at my bidding there be bound to do
 all things that I bid them do,
 starke be their sinewes therewith,
 & their lims mightless,
 & their eyes sightless,
 dread & doubt
 en[v]elope about;
 as a wall wrought of stone,
 so be the *crampe* in the tone,
crampe & crookeing
 & fault in their footing,
 the might of the Trinity,
 haue those goods & me,
 In y^e name of Jesus, holy benedicite
 all about our goods bee,
 within & without,
 & all place about,
 then say 5 pater nosters 5 aves, & 1 creed in honorem 5 *plagarum* Christi & 12 *Apostolorum*.¹¹

Disparib^s meritis pendent tria corpora ramis
 Dismas & Gesmas medio divina potestas
 Alta petit Dismas. infelix infima Gesmas
 Hæc versus di[s]cas ne furto ne tua perdas.¹²

11 See also J. M. McBryde Jr., “Charms for Thieves,” *Modern Language Notes* 22.6 (1907): 168–70; here 169.

12 Another version of these Latin lines can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MS 1378 on fol. 62, at the end of a vernacular rhymed protection charm *Agaynst thy Enemyes*: “Dismas et Gismas, medioque divina potestas: Summa petit Dismas; infelix ad infima Gismas. Nos et res nostras, salvet divina potestas. Finis.” See also McBryde, “Charms for Thieves” (see note 11), 169 and *A Descriptive, Analytical, and Critical Catalogue of the Manuscripts bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Windsor Herald, also of some*

Jesus autem transiens p medium illorum ibat, irruat super eos formido & pavor in magnitudine, brachii tui, fiant imobilæ quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus quem possedisti + Christus vincit + Christus regnat + Christus imperat + Christus hunc locum & famulum tuum ab omni malo protegat & defendat. Amen & dic Euangelistum S. Joannis et pater nosters 5. Aves 3. Creed.¹³

[For different reasons three bodies hang from the branches
Dismas and Gesmas and, in the middle, the divine power;
Dismas asks something noble, the miserable Gesmas something extremely mean.
Say (learn) these lines if you do not want to be robbed or to lose your things.¹⁴]

additional mss. contributed by Kingsley, Lhuyd, Borlase, and others, ed. William Henry Black (Oxford: at the University Press, 1845), col. 1063–64.

13 See also McBryde, “Charms for Thieves” (see note 11), 168. Another version of this charm is preserved in Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 5. 48, fol. 10v: “Disparibus meritis pendent tria corpora ramis / Dismas et Gesmas medio divina potestas / Summa petit dismas sed tendit ad infima iesmas + / Nos et res nostras servet divina potestas + / Irruat super eos formido et pavor: in magnitudine brachii tui + fiant immobiles quasi lapis donec pertranseat populus tuus domine donec pertranseat populus tuus iste quem possidisti + introduces eos et plantabis in monte hereditatis tue firmissime Habitaculo tuo quod operatus es domine + Ihs autem transiens per medium illorum ibat + sic et me transire iubeas securum et pereant + hos versus dicas vel portas super te nec te tua perdas + Christus vivit + Christus vincit + Christus regnat + Christus imperat + Christus me N. ab istis furibus et latronibus et ab omnibus malis defendat. Amen.” (“On account of disparate merits, three bodies hang from boughs Dismas and Gesmas, and Divine Power in the middle Dismas reaches toward the highest heaven, but Gesmas stretches toward the deepest hell + Let Divine Power protect us and our possessions + ‘Let fear and dread fall upon them, in the greatness of your arm + Let them become immovable just as a stone, until your people, O Lord, pass by, until this your people, whom you have possessed’, + you will bring them in and plant them in the mountain of your inheritance, very firmly in your habitation, which you have made, O Lord + but Jesus, passing through the midst of them, went his way + in such a way also command me to pass by secure and let them be destroyed + if you should say or carry upon you these verses neither yourself nor your possession would you lose + Christ lives + Christ conquers + Christ reigns + Christ rules + Let Christ, me – *Nomen* – from such thieves and robbers, and from all evil (things), defend. Amen.”) See also Jack R. Baker, “Christ’s crucifixion and *Robin Hood and the Monk*: A Latin Charm Against Thieves in Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.5.48,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 14.1 (2008): 71–85.

14 The Latin formula which follows is a collage of biblical quotations and other liturgical phrases, some of which are used in a number of charms and blessings. The first sentence *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat* is borrowed from Luke 4:30 “But passing through the midst of them, He went His way” and appears in various protection charms, mainly for traveling, but also against bladed weapons, enemies, murderers, criminals in general and, obviously, thieves. On this, see also Claude Lecouteux, *Dictionnaire des Formules magiques* (Paris: Édition Imago, 2014), 186–87. The following passage – *irruat super eos formido et pavor in magnitudine brachii tui, fiant imobilæ quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus quem possedisti* “Fear and dread fall upon them; by the Greatness of Your arm they are as still as a stone, until

Particularly meaningful is the prose introduction to the English verse charm, since it both gives instructions on how and when to perform the ritual and guarantees the effectiveness of this preventative remedy by saying that whoever manages to enter the field or other property, which is protected by this spell, will not be able to leave it. In this respect, this very text does not aim simply at completely preventing burglary, but, in case someone has broken into a property, also at preventing the thief from escaping and, possibly, at punishing him. Characteristic of this kind of charms, which are also called “night spells,” is the fact that they must be recited “at night or against night,” that is when thieves are more likely to hit.

Another recurrent Christian motive is the mention of Christ’s nativity in Bethlehem. See, for example, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 693, fol. 193rb (early fourteenth century, possibly between 1311 and 1314):

God was iborin in Bedlem;
 Iborin he was to Ierusalem,
 Ifolewid in þe Flum Iordan,
 Þer nes inemned ne wolf ne þef.
 Crist and Seinte Trinite, Crist in Seinte Trinite,
 Child with wolf *and* þef ous *and* alle oure au[h]te
 And alle Godes crafte,
 Seint Huue and Seint Luc
 Withinne woves *and* withoute;
 Seine ous alle aboute,
 [Cr]ist *and* Seint Iohan þe Baptist.
 Þat þou ne me ^Psmite
^PNe ^Pþu ^Pne ^Pb[i]þte!
^Pþou ^Pstond ^Psti^Plle ^Pal^Ps a ^Pston,
^PStarc ^Pal^Ps a ^Pded ^Pmon!
^PStond ^Palle ^Pwey^Pstil^Ple
^PTil^Ple ^Phich ^Phab^Pbe ^Pydou ^Pmi ^Pwil^Ple!¹⁵

Your people pass over, O Lord, until the people whom You have purchased pass over.” – is a quotation from Exodus 15:16 used in the liturgy of the Maundy Thursday. This quotation is followed by the initial – and most famous – words of the Christian hymn known as *Laudes regiae*: *Christus vincit! Christus regnat! Christus imperat!* and by the invocation asking protection for people and places.

15 The text is edited in this way in T.M. Smallwood, “‘God was born in Bethlehem ...’: The tradition of a Middle English Charm,” *Medium Aevum* 58 (1989): 206–23; here 207. The motif of Christ’s birth – without any mention of Bethlehem – and the reference to wolves and thieves are also present in a tenth-century Old High German (Bavarian) charm aimed at protecting sheepdogs, which is known as *Wiener Hundesege*n and is preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 552, fol. 107r: “Christ uuart gaboren er uuolf ode diob. do uuas *sancte* Marti Christas hirti. Der heiligo Christ unta sancte Marti der gauuerdo uualten hiuta dero hunto,

Bethlehem is mentioned here together with other two significant places in Christ's earthly life, which occur in other charms: Jerusalem – the place of his passion and death¹⁶ – and the Jordan River, where he was baptized and revealed as the Son of God. The latter is a traditional motif in remedies against bleeding.¹⁷

dero zohono, daz in uuolf noh uulpa za scedin uuerdan nemegi, se uuara se geloufan uualdes ode ueeges ode heido. Der heiligo Christ unta *sancte* Marti de frumma mir sa hiuto alla hera heim gasunta." (Christ was born before wolf or thief. At that time St. Martin was Christ's shepherd. May holy Christ and St. Martin take charge today of the dog and the bitch, so that neither wolf nor she-wolf may harm them, wherever they run, by wood or by way or by heath. May holy Christ and St. Martin grant me that they all come home unscathed today). See also Eleonora Cianci, *Incantesimi e benedizioni nella letteratura tedesca medievale (IX–XIII sec.)*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 717 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2004), 207–10; Verena Holzmann, "Ich beswer dich wurm vnd wyrm..." *Formen und Typen altdeutscher Zaubersprüche und Segen*. Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie, 36 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2001), 189; Robert Priebisch, "An Old English Charm and the Wiener Hundese-gen," *Academy* 49 (1896): 428; Monika Schulz, "Von Hunden, Dieben, (Wer-)Wölfen und Hexen," *vindærinne wunderbærer mære: Gedenkschrift für Ute Schwab*, ed. Monika Schulz. *Studia Medieualia Septentrionalia*, 24 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2013), 439–80. Protecting sheepdogs from wolves and thieves is the aim of a Latin blessing which can be found in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 40, fol. 74b (tenth century): "In nomine domini nostri creati! crescite et multiplicamini. / Christus uos deducat et reducat. / Ante fuit Christus quam lupus; / Christus interpretatur saluator. / Lupus interpretatur diabolus. / Christus liberet canes istos alias bestias de dentibus luporum. / de manu latronum. Et ab omnibus inimicis. / Et per intercessionem beati Eustachii. It cum pace. amen." (Created in the name of Our Lord, be fruitful and multiply! May Christ lead you and bring you back. Christ existed before the wolf. Christ signifies the Saviour; the wolf signifies the Devil. May Christ free these dogs and other animals from the teeth of wolves, from the hand of thieves, and from all enemies. For the intercession of St. Eustachius. Go in peace. Amen). See also Holzmann, "Ich beswer dich" (see above), 190.

16 Bethlehem and Jerusalem are frequently present in a triad with Nazareth and recalled in healing charms and blessings. On this, see also Monika Schulz, *Beschwörungen im Mittelalter. Einführung und Überblick*. Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 2003), 82.

17 The biblical basis for this tradition is represented by the episode narrated in Joshua 3:14–17: "So when the people set out from their tents to pass over the Jordan with the priests bearing the ark of the covenant before the people, and as soon as those bearing the ark had come as far as the Jordan, and the feet of the priests bearing the ark were dipped in the brink of the water (now the Jordan overflows all its banks throughout the time of the harvest), the waters coming down from above stood and rose up in a heap very far away, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan, and those flowing down towards the Sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, were completely cut off. And the people passed over opposite Jericho. Now the priests bearing the ark of the covenant of the Lord stood firmly on dry ground in the midst of the Jordan, and all Israel was passing over on dry ground until all the nation finished passing over the Jordan." The analogy underlying the use of this Biblical reference in blessing to staunch blood is quite clear: the blood flow has to stop, as the waters of the river Jordan stood still, in order to let the Israelites pass. With

The final section of the charm, which stands apart and could have existed independently of the rest of the text and which shows an elementary form of cryptography, in which the letter *p* – or possibly a Greek *ρ* – is prefixed to (almost) every

time, however, the reference to this Old Testament episode became less clear and the standstill of the Jordan's flow started being ascribed to other causes. In some blessings, for example, the motif of the Jordan is connected with the most famous New Testament episode involving the river: Christ's baptism by John. In these texts the water of the river is said to have stood still because of Jesus' intervention, which was solicited by John, who needed the water to stop in order to be able to baptize him. See for example Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 264, fol. 12r: "Christus vnd Sant Johannes gingen zu dem Jordan. Do sprach Jhesus, der gudt man: dauff du mich Johannes. Er sprach: ich enmage, herr. Der bach fleust zu sere. Vff hube Cristus sein handt. Also müs dem menschen geschehen" (Christ and Saint John went to the Jordan. Jesus, the good man, said. 'John, baptize me'. He answered: 'Lord, I cannot. The river is flowing too quickly. Then Christ lifted his hand. So it must it happen to people), or fol. 14r: "[. . .] Do sprach vnser lieber herre Jhesus Cristus: worumb dauffstu nit? Da sprach der gudt Sant Johannes baptist: sie, lieber herre meinster mein, Nun fleust der Jordan. Vff hub unser lieber herre Jhesus Cristus sein gödtlich handt vnd thet sein segen über den Jordan, das er gestünde. Also gestand dir N. dein vngerechtes bluet . . .]" (So said our dear Lord Jesus Christ: "Why don't you baptize?" The good John the Baptist answered: 'My dear Lord and Master, the Jordan is flowing.' Our dear Lord Jesus Christ lifted his divine hand and blessed the Jordan, so that it stood still. So be your bleeding stopped, N.). In some other blessings the motif is connected with the staff Moses used to divide the waters of the Red Sea (Exodus 14:16: "Raise your staff and stretch out your hand over the sea to divide the water so that the Israelites can go through the sea on dry ground."), which becomes a rod, which is thrown into the river by the Virgin rather than by Moses. On this, see also Oskar Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt*. Palaestra. Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen und englischen Philologie, XXIV (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1903), 24–35. While the analogy underlying the recourse to this motif in charms against bleeding is evident, as pointed out in Smallwood, "God was born" (see note 15), 207 "the odd train of thought that links Christ's birth and baptism with the claim that at the baptism 'neither wolf nor thief was named [or spoken of]', and with a plea for material protection, can only be understood through some knowledge of earlier charms." In my opinion, the missing link between the Jordan imagery and its use against thieves could be represented by a Middle Low German blessing aimed at guaranteeing protection against weapons, preserved in Stockholm, Kungliga bibliotek, Cod. X 113, fol. 34v: "Vnse leue vrowe de schot eyne rode in de Jordanen. / De rode de vntstunt. / So mote alle wapen gud / weder myn vlesch vnde myn blod / in godes namen, amen" (Our dear Lady threw a rod in the Jordan. The rod stood still. So may all weapons be good toward my flesh and blood. In the name of God. Amen...). See also Agi Lindgren, *Ein Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arzneibuch aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Acta universitatis stockholmiensis. Stockholmer germanistische Forschungen, 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), 125. This Middle Low German text could, in fact, represent an intermediate stage of the tradition of the Jordan motif, in which the analogy with the river standing still is still present, even though it is not referred to a flowing liquid, but to a weapon. The next phase of the evolution of this motif could be identified in the generalization of its protective value from a specific (weapons) to a generic threaten also including wolves and thieves.

syllable,¹⁸ contains a direct address to the thief (or wolf) telling him to stand still and not to attack.

As highlighted by Smallwood,¹⁹ from the Paris charm derives a series of other Middle and Early Modern English formulas. The closest derivative is represented by the charm in London, British Library, MS Sloane 2584, fol. 73v (late fourteenth century):

God was ybore in Bethleem
 And baptized in Flum Iordan;
 Perinne was no þef
 But God himself þat was ful lef.
 God *and* seint Trinite,
 Saue alle þing þat is me lof
 Wiþinne þis hous *and* withoute,
 And alle þe way aboute!

I beteche God today *and* tonyzt [. . .] þat He kepe vs *and* oure hom from alle manere of wyckede enemys *and* þeues, be þe grace *and* by þe power of þe Trinite, Fader *and* Sone *and* Holy Gost, *and* by þe power of oure lady Seynte Marie.

ȝif any þeues þe wey take,
 Þat þei stande stille as eny stake,
 As euere þer was any ybounde
 And as euere was þe mulston!

Iesu of Nazaret, kyng of Iewys, be *with* vs now *and* euere. Amen.²⁰

The verse parts of this “First Derivative”²¹ seem to be a reworking and simplification of the Paris charm, in which some elements such as the reference to Jerusalem and the equivalence between thieves and wolves have been lost. The central prose lines, on the other hand, appear to be a scribal intrusion not belonging to the original formula.

More or less contemporary to this first reworking, the Paris charm underwent another modification, which is labelled by Smallwood as “Second Derivative,” which survives in at least eight different manuscripts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century:

- A. Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd vi 29, fol. 85v (1380–1410 ca.)
- B. London, British Library, MS Sloane 962, fol. 51r (1390–1420 ca.)

¹⁸ See also Smallwood, “God was born” (see note 15), 208.

¹⁹ Smallwood, “God was born” (see note 15), 209.

²⁰ Smallwood, “God was born” (see note 15), 209–10.

²¹ See also Smallwood, “God was born” (see note 15), 209.

- C. London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, MS 542, fol. 15r (1410–1440 ca.)
- D. London, British Library, MS Add. 33996, fol. 113r (1420–1450 ca.)
- E. London, British Library, MS Harley 1600, fol. 30r–30v (1420–1450 ca.)
- F. London, British Library, MS Sloane 393, fol. 183v (1480–1520 ca.)
- G. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1447, fol. 34v (1490–1530 ca.)
- H. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. B. 1, fol. 14r (1570–1600 ca.)

In all these eight copies the text of the charm shows only minor spelling differences, while words and word-order are extremely consistent, which suggests they had been transmitted mainly in written form, possibly as a consequence of the proliferation of written collections of medical prescriptions which took place around the fifteenth century, since seven out of eight of these manuscripts contain medical prescriptions as well as healing charms. In the Cambridge manuscript the charm appears as follows:

In Bethlem God was boren; betwene two bestes to reste he was leyde. In þat stede was neyper thef ne man bote þe holy Trinite. Þe ilke selue God þat þer was borne defende oure bodys *and* oure cateles fro theues *and* alle oper maner mescheues *and* harmes where so we wende, be londe or be water, be nyght or be day, be tide or be tyme. Amen.²²

If compared with the Paris charm and its First Derivative, this version appears further simplified: the motif of Christ's birth in Bethlehem has survived as a preface to an appeal for protection against thieves, while the references to the Jordan River and to the wolf have disappeared. The latter omission could be explained with a socio-economical evolution, which made it less likely to ask protection for cattle than for other goods, so that the reference to the wolf could have come to seem out of place.²³ Nevertheless, these simplified versions coexisted as an alternative tradition to other ones, where the formula "neither wolf nor thief" and / or the reference to Jesus' baptism in the Jordan were preserved.²⁴ Some of the later

²² Smallwood, "God was born" (see note 15), 211–12.

²³ See also Smallwood, "God was born" (see note 15), 212.

²⁴ See, for example, the early seventeenth century London, British Library, MS Sloane 2628, fol. 6r: "In Bethlem God was borne; betwene [two] beastes to rest he was layd. In þat steed was neyper wolfe nor theefe but þe Holy Trinity. Pat selfe same God þat theare was borne..." and London, British Library. MS Sloane 3851, fol. 132r: "In Bethelme was Jesus borne / And christned in the flood Jordan. / Betweene two beastes was he laide. / In that steede was neither wolfe nor theefe / But the blessed Trinitie. / The selfe same God that ther was borne / defend me and my goods from harme. / In the name of the Father" See also Smallwood, "God was born" (see note 15), 212–13.

manuscript witnesses of this charm show a completely new attitude toward these forms of popular belief: charms of this kind are no longer recorded because they were considered potentially useful, but rather because educated people were fascinated by the occult and the numinous. For this reason, they were often re-written in a new style, fused with other formulas of the same kind or collected along with other versions of the same text.²⁵

Thieves are grouped in with wolves in a fourteenth-century Old Danish-Latin charm preserved in Copenhagen, Universitetsbibliotek, AM 187 8vo, fol. 55v:

*Item Om thu wilt, at thiufæ tachæ æy thit fæ oc æy ransmæn oc æy ulwæ tachæ thæt, tha scrifh thættæ ofæn dymnæ træt, thær the gangæ wt: Domine, qui creasti equos, porcos, boues, uaccas et oues in adiutorium hominum, crescant opera tua, et defende animalia tua de dentibus luporum et de manibus inimicorum. cristus illa + ducat, cristus illa + reduc at et per intercessionem sancti eustachj defende illa de lupis et latronibus, amen.*²⁶

[If you do not want thieves or wolves to take your cattle, then write this formula onto the door post through which they go out: Lord, you who have created horses, pigs, oxen, cows and sheep in order to help men, may your creatures grow. And defend your animals from the teeth of the wolves and from the hands of the enemies. May Christ drive + them and bring them + back and, for the intercession of St. Eustachius, protect them from wolves and thieves. Amen.]

The Latin Christian formula begging God's protection on cattle in virtue of their creation is introduced by a short Danish note stating the aim of the ritual and explaining how to perform it. The peculiarity of these instructions is represented by the fact that the actual formula must be written²⁷ – or possibly carved – onto the stall door post.

Another Christian motif typical of preventative charms is that of Christ meeting the thief and dissuading him or her from stealing, which appears in a series

²⁵ See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 243, fol. 36v: “O God, þat in Bethel-lem was borne / And layd to rest in an oxe-stall, / Defend our bodies *and* our goods / And cattell from thefts *and* mischeefs all; / And from all harmes and evell way, / By land or water, by night *and* day.” Another manuscript showing this attitude towards the collection of charms is London, British Library, MS Sloane 3846 (mid- and late seventeenth century), which contains five versions of the same charm against thieves. See also London, British Library, MSS Sloane 3847, 3849 and 3851. See also Smallwood, “God was born” (see note 15), 221.

²⁶ *Det arnamegnæanske håndskrift Nr. 187 i oktav, indeholdende en dansk lægebog*, ed. Viggo Sâby (Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1886), 97.

²⁷ On the magical value of writing as such, see also Wolfgang Hartung, “Die Magie des Geschriebenen,” *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Ursula Schaefer. ScriptOralia, 53 (Tübingen: Narr, 1993), 109–25, and Schulz, *Beschwörungen im Mittelalter* (see note 16), 18–20.

Diafr fækk af semskum manni skālar þess[ar] í [. . .]landi.
 En Værmundr fāði rūnar þessar.
 Fugl vælva slæit falvan: fann gauk ā nās au[k]a.

[“Djarf got these scales in ...land from a Samish (or perhaps Semgallian) man. And Vermund carved these runes. The bird ripped apart the pale robber; one saw how the corpse-cuckoo (i.e. raven) swelled.”]²⁹

The image of the bloated carrion-bird swelling after devouring the robber’s corpse and the foreshadowing of the potential thief’s fate contained in the last part of this inscription should, in fact, represent a deterrent for anyone ever considering stealing the copper box. In this respect, the Sigtuna curse seems to belong to the tradition of written deterrents to thieves, which are – in joking form – still attested in modern times and, for example, recorded by children in their schoolbooks.³⁰

A Latin poem to deter any attempt to steal the book can, on the other hand, be found in the colophon of the second book of Bald’s *Leechbook* (ninth century):³¹

Bald habet hunc librum cild quem conscribere iussit;
 Hic precor assidue cunctis in nomine Christi.
 Quod nullus tollat hunc librum perfidus a me.
 Nec vi nec furto nec quodam fame falso.
 Cur? Quia nulla mihi tam cara est optima gaza.
 Quam cari libri quos Christi gratia comit.³²

29 Mindy MacLeod and Bernard Mees, *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), 226–28, and Otto von Friesen, “Runinskrifterna på en koppardosa, funnen i Sigtuna augusti 1911,” *Formvånnen. Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research* 7 (1912): 6–19.

30 See, for example, the Swedish rhymes “Den som denne boken stjäl, honom går det aldrig väl” (The one who steals this book will never be fine), “Den som denna boken tager, han blir hvarken fet eller mager” (The one who steals this book will not be thick or thin) and “Den som denna boken nappar, han skall stå på helvetets trappa med röd rock och blanka knappar” (The one who grabs this book will stand on the stairs of Hell in a red coat with white buttons). See also von Friesen, “Runinskrifterna” (see note 29), 15.

31 On this Old English medical compilation, see Warren Tormey, “Treating the Condition of ‘Evil’ in the Anglo-Saxon Herbals,” *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 19 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, forthcoming); see also Daniel Pigg, “Bald’s *Leechbook* and the Construction of Male Health in Anglo-Saxon England,” in the same volume.

32 *Leechdom, wortcunning and starcraft of Early England. Being a collection of documents, for the most part never before printed, illustrating the history of science in this country before the Nor-*

[“Bald owns this book, which he ordered Cild to write.
Here I earnestly pray all men, in the name of Christ,
that no treacherous person take this book from me,
neither by force, nor by theft, nor by any false talk.
Why? because the best treasure is not so dear to me
as my dear books, which the grace of Christ attends.”]³³

The description of the terrible destiny reserved to cattle-thieves is also present in some Old English charms,³⁴ which, however, do not simply aim at preventing theft, but also at recovering the stolen goods or at identifying the person responsible for the crime and will, therefore, be dealt with in the following sections of the present work.

2 Charms Aimed at Stopping the Thief and Recovering the Stolen Property

Once a theft has taken place, the victim's main concerns are recovering the stolen goods and finding out who the thief is, in order to punish him. The first step toward both these goals is often represented by being able to stop the robber's escape by means of a binding spell, usually aimed at detaining him overnight. Some of these binding spells have recourse to the formula “stand still as a stone/stake,” which already occurred in some of the above-discussed preventative charms.³⁵

man Conquest. Vol. 2, ed. Rev. Oswald Cockayne (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), 298.

33 MacLeod and Mees, *Runic Amulets* (see note 29), 228.

34 See, for example, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, 206: “[. . .] Eall he weorine swa fyre wudu weornie, / swa breðel seo, swa þystel, / se ðe þis feoh oðfergean þence / oððe ðis orf oðehtian ðence.” (“May he quite perish, as wood is consumed by fire, may he be as fragile as a thistle, he who plans to drive away these cattle, or to carry off these goods”). See also G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), 211.

35 See, for example, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 693, fol. 193rb or London, British Library, MS Sloane 2584, fol. 73v, but also Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 163, fol. 15v (mid fifteenth century): “Coniuracio contra latrones / Almyghty god in trenite / fadir and sone and holy gost / as wis as y be leve in the / for thi grace and for thy myght / save vs lord bothe day and nyght / fro al enemyes and from al theves / and from alle þt beth vn trewe / Ihesu in thy vertu / of thy m^ght and of thy ryght arme / save vs lord from al harme / I coniure them in the vertu of the fadir / and the sone and holy gost / in hym in euer vertue most / in the be gynnyng and in the endyng / and by the vertue of alle thyng / by the vertue of the erbe stone and grasse and tree / and by alle the vertue þt euer may be /

The imperative “stand still in the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Passion, Death and Resurrection until I tell you to go” is employed in a fourteenth-century English charm preserved in London, British Library, MS Sloane 2584, fol. 73v, which is preceded by four Latin lines taking up the motif of the two thieves crucified together with Christ:³⁶

Pro larronibus & inimicis meis

Disparibus meritis pendent tria corpora ramis

Dismas & Gesmas medio divina potestas

Alta petit dismas, infelix ad infima gesmas

Nos & res nostras servet divina potestas.

Stande 3e stille in þ^e name of þ^e trinite & for þ^e passion of ihu crist & for his deþ & for his uparyse þⁱ 3e stille stonde til ich byde 3ou go. Tunc dicatur v pater nosters & V Aves iii (+).³⁷

[For thieves and enemies of mine

For different reasons three bodies hang from the branches

Dismas and Gesmas and, in the middle, the divine power;

Dismas asks something noble, the miserable Gesmas something extremely mean.

The divine power will take care of us and of our goods.

...

Then recite five Pater Noster and five Ave Maria three times.]

and by the vertue of euery masse / that euer was songe more or lasse / And if ther come eny forthe / vs to robbe or to slee / thei stande as styll as any ston / þt thei haue no power a way to gan / tille þt thei haue leue of me / Ihesu for the deite / Ihesu lorde graunte me this / as wysse as þ^u art in hevyn blisse / Amen.” and London, British Library, MS Sloane 2457, fol. 7v (early fifteenth century): “For metyng of theues saie thou this charm that suwip: / Lord God in Trinite / Fader and Sone and Holy Gost / Y-worschiped mote 3e euer be / And as wis as y leue an on God / That is in persones thre / And boren of a maiden clene and fre / So mote ich euer y-saued be / And by thi grace and by thi my3th / Saue me bothe day and ny3th / And in the uertu of thi rith arm / Saue and defende me fro al harm / And be the vertu of that hie masse / Pat euer was y-saide more and lasse / And bi alle the uertues of word ston gras and tre / And al other vertues that euer may be / That 3if ther ben any fon / A-boute me to roben or to slon / Pouwer uafe [sic] thei non a-wei to gon / Bot stille thei stonden as any ston / Til thei haue leue of me / As wis as þou hongedest on the Rode-tre / Ihesu Crist þou grante me this / As wis as thou art kyng in heuene blis. / Amen amen.” Curt F. Bühler, “Middle English Verses against Thieves,” *Speculum* 33 (1958): 371–72 and J. Daniel Vann, “Middle English Verses against Thieves: A Postscript,” *Speculum* 34 (1959): 636–37.

³⁶ See above.

³⁷ McBryde, “Charms for Thieves” (see note 11), 168.

In the sixteenth-century English blessing preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1378, fol. 61, the invocation to God to stop thieves and enemies in general (“those that seake my confusyon”) is associated to a series of biblical passages involving divine intervention to make something stand still:

+ As yⁿ lord dyddest stope & staye
 for thy chosen po^epell the red sea
 + the ragyng see waves lacking ther course
 tyll they had passed pharoos forse;
 and as at Josue his Invocation
 y^e son abode over gabaon,
 the mone abode & made hir staye
 in aialon that valleye;
 & as thy sone Jesus did appease
 the wynd & see & made them sease,
 when his disciples w^t fearefull spryte
 from his shape ded hym excyte;
 So lorde of hosts staye eche one
 of those that seake my confusyon;
 make them stonde
 as styll as stone,
 w^t owt corporall moving,
 Vntyll my stretched
 arme shall make
 a syne to them
 ther way to take
 As moyses stretched
 the Red sea moved
 to show his course
 as he hoved
 As thou lord arte
 the king of blesse
 lord messyas
 grante me this
 then saye
 Dismas et gismas medioque devina potestas
 Summa petit dismas
 Infelix ad Infima
 Gismas
 nos et res nostras
 Salvat devina
 potestas.
 finis³⁸

38 McBryde, “Charms for Thieves” (see note 11), 169.

The first of these biblical analogues for the effect desired is represented by the division of the Red Sea in Exodus 14:16 (“As y^u lord dyddest stope & staye / for thy chosen po^epell the red sea / the ragyng see waves lacking ther course / tyll they had passed pharoos forse”). The following four lines – “and as at Josue his Invocation / y^e son abode over gabaon, / the mone abode & made hir staye / in aialon that valleye” – on the other hand, refer to the battle in which the Israelites, led by Joshua, defeated the Amorites with the help of God, who stopped the sun in the sky for a whole day.³⁹ The third biblical passage referred to in this text is Jesus calming the storm (“& as thy sone Jesus did appease / the wynd & see & made them sease, / when his disciples w^t fearefull spryte / from his shape ded hym excyte”).⁴⁰ On the basis of these biblical precedents, the petitioner invokes God’s help to stop thieves and other enemies until, with his stretched arm, he will tell them to go. This very image of the petitioner’s stretched arm introduces a further reference to Moses’ division of the Red Sea.

39 See Joshua 10: 11–14: “As they fled from before Israel, while they were at the descent of Beth-horon the Lord threw large stones from heaven on them as far as Azekah, and they died; there were more who died from the hailstones than those whom the sons of Israel killed with the sword. Then Joshua spoke to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the sons of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, ‘O sun, stand still at Gibeon, And O moon in the valley of Aijalon.’ So the sun stood still, and the moon stopped, Until the nation avenged themselves of their enemies. Is it not written in the book of Jashar? And the sun stopped in the middle of the sky and did not hasten to go down for about a whole day. There was no day like that before or after it, when the Lord listened to the voice of a man; for the Lord fought for Israel.”

40 See Mark 4: 35–40: “On that day, when evening came, He said to them, ‘Let us go over to the other side.’ Leaving the crowd, they took Him along with them in the boat, just as He was; and other boats were with Him. And there arose a fierce gale of wind, and the waves were breaking over the boat so much that the boat was already filling up. Jesus Himself was in the stern, asleep on the cushion; and they woke Him and said to Him, ‘Teacher, do You not care that we are perishing?’ And He got up and rebuked the wind and said to the sea, ‘Hush, be still.’ And the wind died down and it became perfectly calm. And He said to them, ‘Why are you afraid? Do you still have no faith?’”; Luke 8: 22–24: “Now on one of those days Jesus and His disciples got into a boat, and He said to them, ‘Let us go over to the other side of the lake.’ So they launched out. But as they were sailing along He fell asleep; and a fierce gale of wind descended on the lake, and they began to be swamped and to be in danger. They came to Jesus and woke Him up, saying, ‘Master, Master, we are perishing!’ And He got up and rebuked the wind and the surging waves, and they stopped, and it became calm”; Matthew 8: 23–26: “When He got into the boat, His disciples followed Him. And behold, there arose a great storm on the sea, so that the boat was being covered with the waves; but Jesus Himself was asleep. And they came to Him and woke Him, saying, ‘Save us, Lord; we are perishing!’ He said to them, ‘Why are you afraid, you men of little faith?’ Then He got up and rebuked the winds and the sea, and it became perfectly calm.”

The final lines of this charm, in Latin, take up again the motif of Gesmas and Dismas, which makes explicit that this blessing is mainly thought to be used against thieves.

In another – later – English night spell a series of orthodox invocations to the Trinity, the Saints and the Four Evangelists is combined with an ambiguous reference to the devil:

Another night spell.

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.

I beseeche y^e holy ghost this place y^t heare is sett,
 wth y^e father & y^e sonne theeues for to lett,
 yf there come any theeves any of thes goods away to fett,
 y^e trinite be the^r before & doe them lett,
 & make them heare to abyde till I agayne come,
 through the vertue of y^e holy ghost, y^e father & y^e sonne
 Now betyde what will betyde
 through the vertue of all y^e saints heare you shall abyde,
 & by y^e vertue of mathewe mark luke & John,
 y^e 4 Evangelists accordinge all in one,
 y^t you theeves be bounde all so sore
 as St. Bartholomewe bounde the devell wth y^e heare of his heade so hore
 Theeves, theeves, theeves, stande you still & here remain
 till to morowe y^t I come agayne
 & bid you be gone in god or devels name,
 & come no more here for doubt or for further blame /
 then say In principio erat verbum, etc.⁴¹

The final direct address to the thieves, in fact, tells them to stand still on the spot until the following morning when the speaking first-person returns and orders them to go “in God’s or the devil’s name.” This phrase could suggest that a demoniac intervention is required,⁴² in order to chase away the thieves, which is in open contrast with the otherwise completely Christian context of a charm beginning with the Latin Trinitarian formula and ending with the incipit of the Gospel of John (“In principio erat verbum, etc.”).

⁴¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 243, fol. 36 (seventeenth century). See also McBryde, “Charms for Thieves” (see note 11), 170.

⁴² The reference to both divine and demoniac forces is also present in other charms. See, for example, the first of the two charms in Copenhagen, Universitetsbibliotek, AM 76 8vo, fol. 108v–109r, which will be dealt with below.

A slightly different approach to this theme can be found in the Middle High German charm included in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 373, fol. 9v (fourteenth century), since the main focus of this text is not so much stopping the thief and preventing him from escaping – as the Latin title of the charm seems to indicate – but rather bringing him back to the crime scene and, in this way, recovering the stolen goods:

Ad fugitivum. peda inpeda. prepeda. conpeda. prepedias Inpedias. Conpedias

Chvm wider in daz hvs
da du bist gegangen uz
daz heilige cruce bringe dich von sundert wider.
daz heilige cruce bringe dich von nodert wider.
daz heilige cruce bringe dich von wester wider.
daz helige cruce bringe dich von oster wider.
daz heilige cruce wart von sand elenen fvnden
also mvostv mir werden fvnden
vnd widerchomen
nv chvm wider min diep.
oder min chneht od swaz mir verstoln si
durh den svozen wech den der heilig crist gie
do er daz cruce ane sah.
Ich beswer erde vnd mere
bi dem vater vnd bi dem svn vnt dem heiligen geiste
daz si mir in bringen wider.⁴³

[For the fugitive. *peda inpeda. prepeda. conpeda. prepedias Inpedias. Conpedias.*⁴⁴

Come back into the house you have left. May the Holy Cross bring you back from the South. May the Holy Cross bring you back from the North. May the Holy Cross bring you back from the West. May the Holy Cross bring you back from the East. The Holy Cross was found by Saint Helena, in the same way you must be found and come back to me, come back, my thief! Or my servant or anything that has been stolen to me on the same sweet track which the holy Christ traveled when he looked at the Cross. I enchant earth and sea in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit so that they bring him back to me.]

The quadruple repetition of the phrase “May the Holy Cross bring you back” combined with the four points of the compass included in this charm is clearly

⁴³ Holzmann, “*Ich beswer dich* (see note 15), 145–46 and Elias Steinmeyer, “Ein Diebssegen,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 27 (1883): 311–12.

⁴⁴ This mock Latin formula is constructed on the verbs *impedio* and *prepedio* “to impede, block” and the adjective *compedus* “which binds the feet together” and plays on minimal morphological and phonological variations. See also Lecouteux, *Dictionnaire* (see note 14), 15.

reminiscent of a ritual used to recover stolen or lost goods. The reason why the Cross was attributed this property of being helpful to locate missing objects has to be sought in its own history and in the fact that it had been hidden and then recovered,⁴⁵ according to the legend, by Saint Helena.

The same approach is also present in a Danish charm aimed at impeding the thief's escape and transmitted in Copenhagen, Universitetsbibliotek, AM 819, 4to, fol. 2 (sixteenth century):

Will tw, ath en tyeff skall hindres oc ey borth kome, om han haffwer staleth fraa tegh, tha skulle tw giöre IIII koorss i IIII hiörner i dørneth, ther som han er vdgonginde, oc skriff tiisse efter srkiffne ordh i dören:

In nomine domini Abraham te alligat, Isaac te ten[e]at, Iacob te ostendat, sanctus Salamon, cuj *numquam* homo fugit te jnueniat! Oc sigh swa:

O tw hellige koorss, ther begraffweth i thet bierg Kaluarie, oc ther aff sancta Elena droningh vor fwdhen i the hellige beders aies villie, ther hwn tha badh, saa bedher ieg, at thet tyeff, som thet haffwer gwotz staleth paa then vey eller paa then march, eller aff huilchen stede som han nw i ær, ey aff ath kome, gonginde eller ridinde eller agende, men han skall vere dwellinde oc kome her ighen i thet stede, som han thet gwotz aff staleth haffwer. Och tw, hellige korss, lwcche hanum vey for, oc dag oc nath fortøwræ watneth, ath han ther ey offwer komer! O tw hellige Marcelliane, lede hannem i then dullhedh oc vthen vidskab her ighen at kome! O tw hellige her sancte Gabriel, lede hannem hiidh ighen, som tw liedhe sanctum Tobiam tiill sin fadres hwss, amen!

Wors herres Iesu Christi kors føræ hannem hiid af østhen! Amen pater noster aue Maria. Wors herres Iesu Christi korss, før hannem hiid aff nordhen! Amen pater noster aue Maria. Wors herres Iesu Christi koorss, før hannem hiid ighen aff vesthen! Amen pater noster aue. Wors herre Iesu Christi koorss, før hannem hiidh ighen aff søndhen! Amen pater aue. Then vey vor herre Ihesus Christus ginge tiill sin velsignede pinæ, før then tyeff hiidh ighen. Ieg maner edher, hemel, iordh oc vatne, ath I oss then tyøff ighen fører; ieg maner edher vedh fadher, sön, then helligandh, vedh thet hellige korsens vabene, ther Ihesus førde i sin hand, then tiid handh foer tiill hölwidi, ath I thet tyøff her ighen fører indhen en dag eller twoo.

Ladh saa sighe en messe aff thet hellige koorss, oc then messe skall vere ath søghen messe.⁴⁶

[If you want that a thief is hindered and does not escape, if he has stolen from you, then you should do four crosses in the four corners of the door from which he has gone out and write these following words onto the door:

⁴⁵ See also Lecouteux, *Dictionnaire* (see note 14), 109–10.

⁴⁶ Ohrt, *Danmarks Trylleformler* (see note 28), 408–09.

In the name of the Lord, may Abraham bind you, may Isaac hold you, may Jacob show your presence, may Saint Salomon,⁴⁷ to whom nobody ever escaped, find you! And say so:

Holy Cross, you that have been buried on the Calvary and have been found by Saint Helena the queen, who asked for that, so I pray you that the thief, who has stolen these goods, does not escape from the way, the field or from wherever he is now, neither on foot, nor riding or in a carriage. May he stop and come back to the place, where he has stolen these goods. And you, holy Cross, block his path and transform water into peat, so that he cannot escape! You, Saint Marcellian, bring him back here in secret and without witnesses! You, Saint Gabriel, bring him back here, as you did with Saint Tobit to his father's house, amen!

Our Lord Jesus Christ's Cross bring him here from the East! Amen, Pater Noster, Ave Maria. Our Lord Jesus Christ's Cross bring him here from the North! Amen, Pater Noster, Ave Maria. Our Lord Jesus Christ's Cross bring him here from the West! Amen, Pater Noster, Ave Maria. Our Lord Jesus Christ's Cross bring him here from the South! Amen, Pater Noster, Ave Maria. May the track, which our Lord Jesus Christ traveled toward his blessed passion, bring the thief back here. I conjure you, sky, earth and water, that the thief comes back through you; I conjure you in the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, of the weapon of the holy Cross, which Jesus brought in his hand when he went to Hell, that you bring back here the thief within a day or two.

Have a mass celebrated for the holy Cross, and the mass has to be sung.]

In both cases the quadruple invocation to the Cross is followed by an address to the very track that Christ traveled toward the Cross and his Passion asking it to bring back to the theft's victim both the criminal and the goods he has stolen.

The survival of this kind of ritual to bring back the thief together with the booty in the German language area is witnessed by a popular tradition recorded among the peasants in Pomerania:

Das Kreuz geschlagen:

'Wiederkehre der Dieb vor Aufgang der Sonne mit dem gestohlenen Gut.'

Vaterunser sprechen, das Kreuz schlagen:

'Wiederkehre der Dieb vor Mittag mit dem gestohlenen Gut.'

Vaterunser sprechen, das Kreuz schlagen:

'Wiederkehre der Dieb [vor Untergang der Sonne] mit dem gestohlenen Gut.'

Vaterunser sprechen:

'Das Kreuz Christi ward verborgen, ward wiedergefunden durch die Sankt Hellmann. – Also wahr muss der Dieb wiederkehren und sich wiederfinden mit dem gestohlenen Gut.'⁴⁸

⁴⁷ On the motif *Abraham te alligat, Isac te teneat, Jacob te ostendat*, see also Lecouteux, *Dictionnaire* (see note 14), 36. On Abraham in charms against thieves, see *infra*.

⁴⁸ Ulrich Jahn, *Hexenwesen und Zauberei in Pommern*. Baltische Studien ed. Gesellschaft für pommersche Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, 36 (Stettin: Herrcke und Lebeling, 1886; rpt. Nie-

[Put down the Cross: ‘May the thief come back with the booty before the sunrise.’ Recite the Lord’s Prayer, put down the Cross: ‘May the thief come back with the booty before noon.’ Recite the Lord’s Prayer, put down the Cross: ‘May the thief come back with the booty before the sunset.’ Recite the Lord’s Prayer: ‘Christ’s Cross was hidden and was recovered by Sankt Hellmann.’⁴⁹ In the same way must the thief come back and be retrieved with the booty.’]

The motif of Saint Helena and her retrieval of the Cross and the formula *Crux Christi reducat* (“May Christ’s Cross bring back”) are also employed in the group of Old English charms aimed at recovering stolen cattle without necessarily stopping the thief’s escape, which have been edited by Storms⁵⁰ under the numbers 11–15. Though usually labeled as “cattle-theft charms” and regarded as a homogeneous group, three different textual types can be distinguished among them, as argued by Hollis.⁵¹

The first of these is represented by the charm transmitted in the eleventh-century Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, p. 206 (Storms 15):

Ne forstolen, ne forholden nanuht þæs ðe ic age,
 þe ma ðe mihte Herod urne drihten.
 ...
 Ic gēpohte Sancte Eadelenan
 and ic gēpohte Crist on rode ahangen.
 Swa ic þence ðis feoh to findanne, næs to oþfeorganne,
 and to witanne, næs to oðwyrceanne,
 and to lufianne, næs to oðlædanne.
 Garmund, Godes ðegen,
 find þæt feoh and fere þæt feoh,
 and hafa þæt feoh and heald þæt feoh,
 and fere ham þæt feoh,
 þæt ne næfre næbbe landes þæt he hit oðlæde,
 ne foldan þæt he hit oðferie,
 ne husa þæt he hit oðhealde.
 Gif hyt hwa gedo, ne gedige hit him næfre.

derwalluf bei Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1970), 223. See also J. M. McBryde Jr., “Charms to Recover Stolen Cattle,” *Modern Language Notes* 21.6 (1906): 180–83.

⁴⁹ Corrupted form for Saint Helena. See also McBryde Jr., “Charms to Recover” (see note 48), 182.

⁵⁰ Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 202–17. See also Stephanie Hollis, “Old English ‘Cattle-Theft Charms’: Manuscript Context and Social Uses,” *Anglia. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* 115 (1997): 139–64, and Peter Dendle, “Textual Transmission of the Old English ‘Loss of Cattle’ Charm,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105 (2006): 514–39.

⁵¹ Hollis, “Old English” (see note 50), 141.

Binnan þrym nihtum cunne ic his mihta,
 his mægen and his mundcræftas.
 Eall he weornige swa fyre wudu weornie,
 swa breðel seo, swa þystel,
 se ðe þis feoh oðfergean þence
 oððe ðis orf oðehtian ðence. Amen.

["May nothing I own be stolen or concealed,
 any more than Herod could [steal or conceal] our Lord.
 I thought of St. Helena,
 and I thought of Christ hung on the cross.
 So I think I shall find these cattle and they shall not go away far,
 and I shall know where they are, and they shall not get lost,
 and I shall love them, and they shall not be led away.
 Garmund, servant of God,
 find those cattle and bring back those cattle,
 have those cattle and keep those cattle,
 and bring home those cattle,
 that he never has a piece of land to lead them to,
 nor a district to carry them to,
 nor buildings to confine them in.
 If anybody should do so, may it never come off successfully for him.
 Within three days I shall know his might,
 his force and his protecting powers.
 May he quite perish, as wood is consumed by fire,
 may he be as fragile as a thistle,
 he who plans to drive away these cattle,
 or to carry off these goods. Amen."]⁵²

This charm, whose first lines remind of a night spell designed for recitation by shepherds and herdsmen, is actually more appropriate for use when the animals are missing, in order to avert the possibility of theft. In this respect, it shows a significant functional difference from the other texts of the group, which are to be used once the theft has taken place and has been ascertained as such.

Despite its beginning in the form of a bidding prayer and the word *Amen* at the end, the charm is only superficially Christianized,⁵³ since the speaking first-person is not really begging for divine intervention, but is rather arrogating to himself the power to change the natural world through his performance. The references to Herod's attempt to conceal Jesus's birth, to Saint Helena and to

⁵² Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 209–11.

⁵³ See also Hollis, "Old English" (see note 50), 142–43; Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 215 and Felix Grendon, "Anglo-Saxon Charms," *The Journal of American Folklore* XXII (1909): 105–237; here 120 and 223.

Christ's crucifixion are, therefore, "merely incidental aids, which serve, through the practitioner's reflection on them, to bolster (or to justify in Christian terms) his confidence in the efficacy of his power."⁵⁴ The only external agent of power mentioned in the text is "Garmund,⁵⁵ servant of God," who is exhorted to find, keep, hold and bring back the cattle.

The final part of the charm contains, as I have mentioned before, a threat of retribution aimed at warning off the potential thief. Through the performativity of this charm, in fact, the property owner is the one in control, while the thief is the one in danger of withering and being consumed by fire.⁵⁶

Another charm transmitted in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, p. 206 (Storms 13) and the one in London, British Library, Harley MS 585, fol. 180b (Storms 14) represent the second textual type identified by Hollis.⁵⁷ This second type consists of a series of instructions for a performance, which has to be carried out as soon as the owner of livestock and other valuables becomes aware that a theft has occurred:

Dis man sceal cwedan donne his ceapa hwilcne man forstolenne. Cwyð ær he ænig oþer word cweðe:

Bethlem hattæ seo burh ðe Crist om geboren wes.

Seo is gemærsod ofer ealne middangeard.

Swa ðeos dæd wyrpe for mannum mære.

Per crucem Christi.

And gebide þe þonne þriwa east and cweð þriwa:

+ Christi ab oriente reducat.

And in west and cweð:

Crux Christi ab occidente reducat.

And in suð and cweð þriwa:

Crux Christi a meridie reducat.

And in norð and cweð:

⁵⁴ Hollis, "Old English" (see note 50), 143.

⁵⁵ The identification of this character is highly uncertain. On the one hand, Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 301, suggests – mainly on the basis of phonological evidence – that he could be the Welsh saint Garmon (Germanus). On the other hand, his role seems to indicate a conflation with a pagan entity. See also Karl Schneider, "Die strophischen Strukturen und heidnisch-religiösen Elemente der ae. Zauberspruchgruppe 'wið þeofðe'," *Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Theodor Spira*, ed. Helmut Viebrock and Willi Erzgräber (Heidelberg: Carl Winter – Universitätsverlag, 1961), 38–56; here 41–45, according to whom Garmund should be identified with the Old Norse god Freyr.

⁵⁶ See also Lea Olsan, "The Inscription of Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," *Oral Tradition* 14 (1999): 401–19; here 406.

⁵⁷ Hollis, "Old English" (see note 50), 144.

Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est.
 Judeas Crist ahengon, gedidon him dæda þa wyrstan.
 Hælon þæt ni forhelan ne mihton.
 Swa næfre ðeos dæd forholen ne wyrþe.
 Per crucem Christi.

[“This must be sung by the man who has been robbed of some of his goods. He must say before he speaks any other word:

Bethlehem is the name of the town where Christ was born.
 It is well known throughout the whole world.
 So may this act become known among men.
 By the cross of Christ.

And worship then three times to the east and say three times:

The cross of Christ will bring it back from the east.

And towards the west and say:

The cross of Christ will bring it back from the west.

And towards the south and say three times:

The cross of Christ will bring it back from the south.

And towards the north and say:

The cross of Christ was hidden and it is found.

The Jews hanged Christ, they treated Him in a most evil way.

So may this deed never be concealed.

By the cross of Christ.”]⁵⁸

Ponne þe mon ærest secge þæt þin ceap sy losod, þonne cweð þu ærest ær þu elles hwæt cwepe:

Bæðleem hatte seo buruh þe Crist on acænned wæs.

Seo is gemærsod geond ealne middangeard.

Swa þyos dæd for monnum mære gewurþe,

þurh þa haligan Cristes rode. Amen.

Gebide þe þonne þriwa east and cweð þonne þriwa:

Crux Christi ab oriente reducað.

Gebide þe þonne þriwa west and cweð þonne þriwa:

Crux Christi ab occidente reducat.

Gebide þe þonne þriwa suð and cweð þriwa:

Crux Christi ab austro reducat.

Gebide þonne þriwa norð and cweð þriwa:

Crux Christi ab aquilone reducað.

Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est.

Judeas Crist ahengon, dydon dæda þa wyrrestan.

Hælon þæt hy forhelan ne mihtan.

Swa þeos dæd nænige þinga ferholen ne wurþe,

þurh þa haligan Cristes rode. Amen.

58 Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 206–07.

["As soon as somebody tells you that your goods are lost, then you must say first of all, before you say anything else:

Bethlehem is the name of the town where Christ was born.

It is well known throughout the whole world.

So may this deed be known among men,

Through the holy cross of Christ. Amen.

Then worship three times towards the east and say three times:

The cross of Christ will bring it back from the east.

Then worship three times towards the west and say three times:

The cross of Christ will bring it back from the west.

Then worship three times towards the south and say three times:

The cross of Christ will bring it back from the south.

Then worship three times towards the north and say three times:

The cross of Christ will bring it back from the north.

The cross of Christ was hidden and it is found.

The Jews hanged Christ, they treated Him in a most evil way.

They concealed what they could not keep hidden.

So may this deed be concealed in no way,

through the holy cross of Christ. Amen."]⁵⁹

The two texts are extremely similar, possibly being copied from the same anti-graph, of which each of them retains some original element: the charm in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 still includes the Latin refrain *Per crucem Christi*, which was presumably present in the original, while it lacks the line *Crux Christi ab [septentrione] reducat*, which is essential to the symmetry of the ritual, that has been maintained in London, British Library, Harley MS 585 in the form *Crux Christi ab aquilone reducað*.

This textual type can be described as "an orthodox petition accompanied by liturgical gestures"⁶⁰ beginning with a comparison: the theft which has just taken place will be as widely known as Bethlehem is as Christ's birthplace. After this introductory statement, the actual ritual – addressed to the four corners of the world – to recover the stolen goods is described. The emblem and agent of this recovery is the Cross, the ultimate instrument of Christ's passion and, consequently, the symbol of his glory and, in this circumstance, of the triumph of divine truth over the concealments of the wicked.⁶¹ According to Storms,⁶² however, this ritual is only apparently Christian and preserves traces of old heathen worship practices toward the Mother Earth. In favor of this inter-

⁵⁹ Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 208–09.

⁶⁰ Hollis, "Old English" (see note 50), 145.

⁶¹ See also Thomas D. Hill, "The Theme of the Cosmological Cross in Two Old English Theft Charms," *Notes and Queries* NS 25 (1978): 488–90.

⁶² Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 213–14.

pretation Storms adduces a fifteenth-century Middle Dutch charm to recover a stolen object (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 697, fol. 27v):

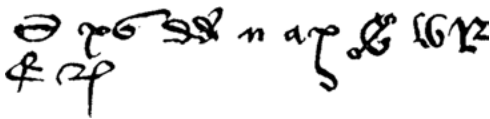
Omme te finden een dinc dat verloren es

Alstu eyet verloren hebs, so saltu ten eersten male aldus segghen: dat cruus Christi was gheborghen in der erden, ende het es vonden van sente Heleenen der coninghinnen bi den helegghen dienst des wonders, so moet dese verloren dinghen .N. vonden werden. Ende mettien so saltu di strecken up die erde in cruuswijs ten oesten wert ende dat ansicht in die erde, ende selt en cruce maken ende segghen: Cruus Christi, van oriënten moet weder bringhen den dief met desen verloren dinghen .N. (*en zoo nog driemalen herhaald voor zuiden, het westen en het noorden*) ende dan saltu seggen altoos ghestrect liggheende bliven: Ic mane di, erde, di den vader ende bi den sone ende bi den helegghen gheest ende bi den helegghen grave ons heeren, dattu den dief met desen verloren dinghen .N. up di niet en houts, maer dattu hem rechtevoert doet weder bringhen of doet comen eer hi eet of drinct, dattu hem vluchts omme doest keeren ende dese verloren dinc. N. weder bringhen. dan saltu sinen name scriven in een plate van lode ende snident overmids ontwe ende legghen deen deel boven an doverdore ende dander deel onder den droppel ende daer naer, alstu eerst moghes, so saltu doen segghen eene messe in die eere van Sente Alleenen der coninghinnen, ende sente Anastasius haers mans ende haeren kindren; probatum est.⁶³

[To find a lost object.⁶⁴

63 Jacob Verdam, “Over Bezweringsformulieren,” *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden* (1900–1901): 3–62; here 40–41. See also Willy L. Braekman, *Middeleeuwse witte en zwarte magie in het Nederlands taalgebied* (Ghent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en letterkunde, 1997), 316–27, who has highlighted that this charm is the result of the fusion of three different rituals (1. prostrating on the earth toward east, south, west and north; 2. inscribing the thief’s name on a lead plate, cutting it in two parts and putting them, as an amulet, over the door and under the threshold; 3. requesting a Mass to be offered for Saint Helene, St. Anastasius and their children), only the first of which corresponding to the one described in Storms 13 and 14.

64 Despite the title, this charm is actually aimed at recovering stolen goods. Other charms with a similar title do not actually mention that an object is missing as a consequence of theft. See, for example, Lindgren, *Ein Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arzneibuch* (see note 17), 101: “Wanner du wat verloiren heues, so saltu schrijuen dusse karactaren in nije lijnwant ind legen dat vnder dijn hoeuet, so komet hey dy voir in dyme slape:”



(If you have lost something, then you should write these characters on a new canvas and place it under your head and you will see it while sleeping); 150: “Heffstu wat vorlorn, so sprek sancte

When you have lost something, you must first say: The cross of Christ was buried in the earth, and it was found by St. Helena the queen, in the holy service of the miracle. Likewise this lost object N. must be found. Immediately afterwards you must stretch yourself on the earth in the form of a cross, in the direction of the east and with your face turned to the earth. Then you must make the sign of the cross and say: The cross of Christ must bring back the thief with this stolen object N. from the east. (The action is repeated to the south, west and north). While remaining stretched out on the earth you must say: I admonish you, earth, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and by the holy grave of our Lord, that you must not keep on you the thief with this stolen object N., but you must at once bring back the object before he eats and drinks; you must force him to return at once and bring back this object N. Then you must inscribe his name on a lead plate, cut it diagonally in two, and put one half over the upper door and the other half under the threshold. Afterwards you must see to it that as soon as possible a Mass is said in honor of St. Helena, the queen, of St. Anastace, her husband and of her children. It is proven.]

As in the Old English charms, the invocation to the Cross has to be pronounced toward the four points of the compass. The peculiarity of the Middle Dutch text, however, is represented by the fact that this invocation has to be pronounced while lying on the earth in the form of a cross. In Storm's interpretation the act of prostrating on the earth described in this text represents an acknowledgement of the Earth's power and, at the same time, a means to absorb part of that power and use it for achieving the effect desired, in this case for recovering the stolen properties. Furthermore, the address to the four corners of the world is not only motivated by the ignorance about the thief's whereabouts, but also by the wish of worshipping the Sun, who helps to locate the thief, who will be forced to bring back the booty before he can eat or drink anything, because the Earth will make life impossible for him.⁶⁵

The third textual type of the Old English cattle-theft charms is characterized by the sympathetic magic of the performance instructions, which prescribe singing the incantation over the bridle or shackles of a stolen horse and dripping

Vincentui v pater noster, den helghen dren konghen xv, allen glouighen zelen eyn vnde twintich de profundis, den helghen v wunden v pater noster, vser leuen frouwen vij aue maria. Dat do to der rechten medder nacht vp den knyen vnde ga dan to bedde. Wan du vp wakest, so ga an de stedde, dar du gebedet hefst, dar vindestu et." (If you have lost something, then address five Lord's Prayers to Saint Vincent, fifteen to the Holy Three Kings, twenty-one De Profundis to the souls of the worshippers, five Lord's Prayers to the holy five wounds of Christ and seven Ave Marias to the Virgin. Do this at midnight, on your knees and go to bed afterward. When you wake up, go to the very spot where you have prayed and you will find it).

⁶⁵ See also Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 214–15.

candle wax into the tracks of other livestock.⁶⁶ This very procedure suggests the recovery of the stolen goods is here of peripheral concern, while the main goal of the ritual is to arrest the thief. This textual type is represented by the charms indicated by Storms as numbers 12 and 11.

The text edited by Storms as number 12,⁶⁷ however, is not the complete charm, since the scribe of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 copied it from an antigraph, whose pages were disordered with the second leaf containing the charm placed back-to-front, which made him copy the conclusion of the charm immediately after the introductory performance instructions. The complete text can, therefore, be reconstructed as follows:

Gif feoh sy undernumen.

Gif hit sy hors, sing þis on his fetera oððe on his bridel.

Gif hit si oðer feoh, sing on þæt hofrec and ontend III candella,

dryp þriwa þæt weax. Ne mæg hit nan man forhelan.

Gif hit sy oþer orf, þonne sing ðu hit on IIII healfa ðin, and sing
ærest uprihte hit:

Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi periit et inuenta est.

Habracham tibi uias, montes, siluas[s], semitas, fluminas Andronas [con]cludat.

Isaac tibi tenebras inducat. Crux Iacob te ad iudicium ligatum perducatur.

Iudei Christum crucifixerunt: pe[s]simum sibimet ipsum perpetrauerunt.

Opus celauerunt quod non potuerunt celare.

66 Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 211–12 underlines that also in other cultures footprints are associated with charms and other rituals connected aimed at recovering cattle and/or at finding a thief. So, for example, the Zulus take the animals' dung and earth from their footprints and place them in the chief's vessel in order to recover strayed cattle, while in Japan, the owner of a house, which has been robbed by night, burns mugwort on the burglar's footprints – if they are still visible in the morning – hoping to hurt the robber's feet so that he cannot run far and can easily be arrested. See also James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*. Vol. 1: *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (London: Macmillan: 1911), 208–09 and Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*. Vol. 3: *Izinyanga Zokubula: or, Divination, as Existing among the Amazulu, in Their Own Words, with a Translation into English, and Notes by The Rev. Canon Callaway* (Natal, Capetown, and London: John A. Blair; Davis and Sons; J. C. Juta; Trübner and Co., 1870), 345–46. Mugwort is not used in this charm and instead of it we find candle wax. This is probably a Christian innovation, even though the use of this material could be considered original. Wax is dripped on the hoof-tracks of the stolen animals so that it sticks to their hoofs and prevents them from lifting up their legs. In this way, they will have to slow down and the owner will have better chances of following and overtaking them. At the same time, however, the candles have the symbolic function of lighting up the neighborhood and preventing the thieves from hiding the stolen goods.

67 Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 206–07.

Sic nec hoc furtum celat[um] nec celar[i] possit.
 Per dominum nostrum.
 And Petur, Pol, Patric, Pilip, Marie, Brigit, Felic.
 In nomine Dei et Chiric.
 Qui querit invenit.⁶⁸

[In case your cattle are stolen.
 If it is a horse, sing this on its shackles or on its bridle.
 If they are other animals, sing it on the footprints and light three candles, and let the wax
 drip three times. Nobody will be able to keep it hidden from you.
 If they are other goods, then sing it on your four sides, and first of all sing standing upright:

May the Cross of Christ bring it back. The Cross of Christ was lost and it has been found.
 May Abraham close to you the ways, the mountains, the woods, the paths, Andronas the
 rivers.
 May Isaac bring darkness upon you. May the Cross of Jacob lead you bound to judgement.

The Jews crucified Christ and perpetrated the worst thing upon themselves.
 The concealed what they could not conceal.
 So may this theft not be concealed.
 Through our Lord.
 And Peter, Patrick, Philip, Mary, Bridget, Felix.
 In the name of God and the church.
 Who seeks will find.]

From this charm (or from its archetype) derives the other one – Storms 11 – , which is transmitted *inter alia* in three legal manuscripts – Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190, fol. 130 (11th century); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 383, fol. 59r (twelfth century); Rochester, Cathedral Library, A. 3. 5, fol. 95 (twelfth century).⁶⁹ The performance instructions of the two charms do not show significant differences, apart from a specification, included in Storms 11, indicating as household goods (*inorf*) the “other goods” mentioned in Storms 12. As far as the formulas are concerned, on the other hand, the one in Storms 11 appears simplified and partly translated into vernacular, but – more significantly – it shifts the emphasis from the impossibility of concealing the crime to the cer-

⁶⁸ Hollis, “Old English” (see note 50), 146–48 and *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41*, ed. Raymond J. S. Grant (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1978), 5–15.

⁶⁹ Copies of this charm can also be found in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A, iii, fol. 106r (eleventh century) and in two seventeenth-century transcripts of Cambridge, MS 190 and of Rochester respectively: London, British Library, MS Harley 438, p. 128 and London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius C 2, fol. 66b. See also Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 204.

tainty of punishment.⁷⁰ Moreover, the final part of the incantation represents an ecclesiastical version of the threat / curse concluding Storms 15 and becomes a declaration concerning the moral and legal consequences of theft.

Given the manuscript tradition of this charm and its inclusion in legal manuscripts, these revisions can be read in the context of contemporary Old English legislation and interpreted as deliberate attempts to adapt the ritual to other texts of Anglo-Saxon law. In this respect, the substitution of the generic phrase *oþer orf* (“other goods”) with the legally-connotated term *inorf*⁷¹ (“household goods”) can be seen as “an attempt to introduce legal language into a hitherto non-legal ceremony”.⁷² Furthermore, the alteration of the ritual to embrace the recovery of household items parallels the development of Anglo-Saxon law,

70 See also Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 202–05: “Gyf feoh sy underfangen. / Gyf hit sy hors, sing on his feteran oþþe on his bridele. / Gyf hit sy oðer feoh, sing on þæt fotspor, and ontend þreo candela and dryp on þæt hofrec þæt wex þriwa. Ne mæg hit þe nan mann forhelan. / Gif hit si innorf, sing þonne on feower healfes þæs huses and æne on middan: / Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi perfurtum periit, inventa est. / Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes concludat, Job et flumina. / Ad iudicium ligatum perducatur. / Judeas Crist ahengon, þæt heom com to wite swa strangan / Gedydon him dæda þa wyrrestan, hy þæt drofe onguldon / Hælan hit heom to hearne micclum, for þam hi hyt forhelan ne mihtan.” (In case you cattle are stolen. If it is a horse, sing the charm on its shackles or on its bridle. If they are other animals, sing it on the footprints, and light three candles and let the wax drip three times into the footprints. Nobody will be able to keep them hidden from you. If they are household goods, then sing it on the four sides of the house and once in the middle: May the cross bring it back. The Cross of Christ was lost through theft and is now found. May Abraham close to you the paths, the ways and the mountains, and Job the rivers. May he lead you in bondage to judgment. The Jews hanged Christ, they were severely punished for it. They committed the worst crime against him, they paid grievously for that. They concealed it to their own great harm, because they were not able to keep it hidden.)

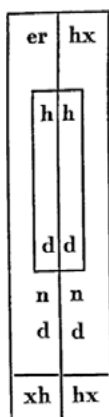
71 A search of the University of Toronto’s *Old English Corpus* has shown that, apart from its use in the theft-ritual, the word *inorf* is attested only four times, always as a gloss of the Latin *supellex*, a Roman legal term designating household goods, furniture and even the tools specific to a given profession. The legal connotation of *supellex* has determined its use in the Jeromian Vulgate, where it is only employed in the rendering of Old Testament books, when dealing with the distribution of property and the accessories of the Holy Tabernacle. Nevertheless, the most frequent use of *supellex* in the Vulgate is to designate the goods, which have been stolen or taken in battle. See also Andrew Rabin, “Ritual magic or legal performance? Reconsidering an Old English charm against theft,” *English Law Before Magna Carta. Felix Liebermann and Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Stefan Jurasinski, Lisi Oliver, and Andrew Rabin. Medieval Law and Its Practice, 8 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 177–95; here 182.

72 Rabin, “Ritual magic” (see note 71), 182.

which brought to the recognition of burglary (*hamsocn*) and housebreaking (*husbryce*) as special categories of theft.⁷³

A completely different procedure aimed at discovering the whereabouts of a stolen property is described in the eleventh-century London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E XVIII, fol. 15v:

Ponne þe man hwet forstele, awrit þis swigende and do on þinne wynstran sco under þinum ho, þonne geacsaxt þu hit sona:



[“When somebody steals anything from you, write this in silence and put it in your left shoe under your heel, then you will soon find out about it.”]⁷⁴

This charm, which is constituted by a prose introduction giving performing instructions and by a diagram representing the magical formula – a rectangular diagram containing single letters and two-letter groups symmetrically disposed – has been presented without any interpretation by both Storms and all other editors. An attempt of interpretation – to my knowledge the only one – has been provided by Schneider⁷⁵ in the context of a more general pagan reading

⁷³ See also Rebecca V. Colman, “Hamsocn: Its Meaning and Significance in Early English Law,” *The American Journal of Legal History* 25 (1981): 95–110.

⁷⁴ Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (see note 34), 311. See also Cockayne, *Leechdoms, wortcunning* (see note 32), 369 and <http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Vite.E.xviii.htm> (last accessed on March 13, 2016).

⁷⁵ Schneider, “Die strophischen Strukturen” (see note 55), 51–55.

of the Old English theft charms. According to Schneider, the letters in the diagram represent an attempt to translate into insular Latin script an originally ideographic runic formula invoking different powerful forces, such as the young gods Garmund (Freyr) and Bældæg, the primordial divinity Hegil and the Sun,⁷⁶ in order to retrieve the stolen goods. In this respect, the choice of rendering this highly pagan content in Latin alphabet and possibly the substitution of two *hs* with two *ns* have to be seen as an attempt to conceal the actual meaning of the formula.⁷⁷ The fact that the formula has to be hidden under the left heel can, on the other hand, be explained with the wish to protect its magic from any other potentially more powerful counterspell.

Locating the stolen goods is also the aim of a short charm noted in a sixteenth-century English diary:

To know wher a thinge is that is stolen.

Take vergine waxe and write upon yt “Jasper + Melchior + Balthasar +,” and put yt under his head to whome the good partayneth and he shall knowe in his sleape wher the thinge is become.⁷⁸

In this case the formula – the names of the Three Kings – must be written in virgin wax and put under the head of the owner of the object(s) which must be found. In this way, he will be able to see, while sleeping, where his goods are. This procedure, which – as we will see – is frequently attested to see the image of the thief, is extremely seldom used to discover where the booty has been hidden by the thief.

A more macabre ritual to recover the stolen goods is described in Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donauerschingen 793 (fifteenth century), and involves the use of a dead person’s tibia:

Recipe tibia mortui – in crepuscolo noctis et nota locum et tempus ad commodum, unde res amissa est, et colloca ad limen ejusdem janue, et fac candelam in longitudine tybie et dic. Ich han mein guet verlorin, das werd mir wider funden, des helfen mir dy heilig V wunden. dic tunc flexis genibus V pater noster et I simbolum. et tunc dic: Als dich, her Jhesu Crist,

⁷⁶ See also Karl Schneider, *Die germanischen Runennamen: Versuch einer Gesamtdeutung. Ein Beitrag zur idg./germ. Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1956), 328–53 and 378–87.

⁷⁷ See also Schneider, “Die strophischen Strukturen” (see note 55), 53.

⁷⁸ *Reliquiae antiquae. Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly the Early English Literature and the English Language*. Vol. 1, ed. Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell (London: John Russel Smith, 1845), 260. See also Friedrich Hälsig, *Der Zauberspruch bei den Germanen bis um die Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Seele, 1910), 57.

die juden wolten vertilgt haben, des mocht nit gesein: als wenig müg mir mein gut vertilgt werden in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen.⁷⁹

[Take the tibia of a dead in the darkness of the night and consider the right time and the right place, from where something is missing, and place it on the threshold of the door and cut a candle of the same length of the tibia and say: 'I have lost my goods, I will found them again. The holy five wounds⁸⁰ of Christ will help me.' Then recite five Pater noster and one Credo on your knees. And then say: 'As the Jews wanted to hide you, Lord Jesus Christ and it could not happen, so my goods will not be hidden in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.]

3 Charms Aimed at Identifying and Punishing Thieves

The emphasis on justice and punishment of the above discussed Old English ritual for cattle theft transmitted in Storms 11 allows connecting it with another category of texts, which are more concerned with identifying the person responsible for the crime, ascertaining his guilt and, in some cases, punishing him or her, rather than with recovering the booty or preventing the thief's escape. These include a wide palette of rituals, which could apparently be performed both privately and publicly – possibly also in a judicial context – both *in praesentia* and *in absentia* of the suspected person(s).

Certainly private and extra judicial are, for example, the rituals aimed at having a vision of the thief, e.g. in dream. This is, for example, the case of the Middle Low German charm preserved in Stockholm, Kungliga bibliotek, Cod. X 113, fol. 47r (second half of the fifteenth century), where a magical procedure to dream the criminal is described:

Wultu eynen deff bekennen, so nym vngheboren permint vnde schriff dar dusse bokstaue in de hir na stad: o + z s + E + x.y.z.z.l.U.o.b. c q t etc. Dat leghe den vp din houet, wan du slapen gheyst. Van weme dyk den drome, dat du on an sest, dat ys de rechte deff.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Anton E. Schönbach, *Zeugnisse Bertholds von Regensburg zur Volkskunde*. Sitzungberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Classe 142 (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1900), 149.

⁸⁰ The motif of the five wounds of Christ – alone or along with that of Longinus – occurs frequently in charms, in particular in those aimed at healing wounds and/or at staunching blood. See also Schulz, *Beschwörungen im Mittelalter* (see note 16), 72–74.

⁸¹ Lindgren, *Ein Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arzneibuch* (see note 17), 136.

[If you want to recognize a thief, then take unborn parchment and write onto it the following letters: o + z s + E + x.y.z.z.l.U.o.b. c q t etc. Lay this onto your forehead when you go to sleep. The person that you see in your dream is the true thief.]

The magical formula, which is here a series of apparently meaningless letters,⁸² does not have to be pronounced, but written onto a piece of unborn parchment, a material which was considered able to cleanse the written word – the *scriptura magica* – from the impurity of thought or action of the magician, thus ensuring the purity of the charm.⁸³ Other texts prescribe to place the written formula under instead of onto one's head⁸⁴ and to use virgin parchment, that is parchment “taken from an Animal which hath not attained the age of generation.”⁸⁵ See, for example, an Alsatian medical manuscript from the fourteenth/fifteenth century:

Wan man ein gestolen hat, so schrib die character ain [an] ein iunfrow perment, legs zů nacht under das houbt so sichst du den dieb in dem schlaf. A. m. k. m. y. e. v. S. l. ag. h. r. v. 11. a. a. bp.⁸⁶

[When one has been robbed, then write the characters on a virgin parchment, put them under the head at night and you will see the thief while sleeping. A. m. k. m. y. e. v. S. l. ag. h. r. v. 11. a. a. bp.]

A short Latin charm transmitted in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 4542, fol. 40v (fifteenth century), on the other hand, requires the use of virgin paper, that is “new, pure, clean, and exorcised never having served for any other purpose”:⁸⁷

Item vt fur appareat in sompniß scribe in
cartam virgineam has et pone sub caput
A. S. v. y. y. z. S. k. a. e. t. l. u. a. b. t. d. z.

⁸² On the possible importance of each symbol, see also Schulz, *Beschwörungen im Mittelalter* (see note 16), 23–24.

⁸³ See also Owen Davies, *Grimoires. A History of Magic Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 23–24.

⁸⁴ See also F. Jecklin, “Proben aus einem Arzneibuch des 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 27 (1926): 78–92; here 81: “Item ist dir etwas gestolen worden, so schrib die characteres uff ein priefflein, legs zů nacht auff din houbt, so siehst du den dieb in dem schlaff. ‘e + fi. B. B. k. al. g. c.’” (If something has been stolen from you, write these characters onto a piece of paper and put it under your head overnight. In this way, you will see the thief while sleeping.)

⁸⁵ *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)*, ed. S. Liddell MacGregor Mathers (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1989), 111.

⁸⁶ Jecklin, “Proben aus einem Arzneibuch” (see note 85), 81.

⁸⁷ Liddell MacGregor Mathers, *The Key* (see note 85), 111.

[In order to make appear the thief while you are sleeping, write on virgin paper these signs and put them under you head. A. S. v. y. y. z. S. k. a. e. t. l. u. a. b. t. d. z.]

A further variant of this ritual is described in the Latin charm transmitted in Copenhagen, Universitetsbibliotek, AM 76 8vo, fol. 109r (fifteenth century), which prescribes to put the written letters into the right ear in order to dream the thief:

Item Ad furtum scribe has karakteres et mitte
in aurem dexteram sompniabis fuream.g.
b.f.o.r.r.b.x.v.p.⁸⁸

[Item against theft. Write these characters and put them in your right ear. You will dream the thief.g.b.f.o.r.r.b.x.v.p.]

Writing plays a fundamental role also in the other Latin charm against thieves transmitted in the Copenhagen manuscript (fol. 108v). In this case, however, the magical formula has to be written in cheese and eaten:

Contra furtum scribe hec tria nomina in caseo
Agula igula agulet Cuius malediccionem os
plenum <est> et amaritudine. sub lingua eius dolor et la-
bor Si reus es comede in nomine dyaboli
Si non es reus comede in nomine domini ihesu christi.⁸⁹

[Against theft write these three nouns in cheese.
Agula igula agulet. May his mouth be cursed and full of
bitterness, under his tongue pain and labor.
If he is guilty, he will eat in the name of the devil.
If he is not guilty, he will eat in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.]

88 *A Danish Teacher's Manual of the Mid-Fifteenth Century. Codex AM 76 8^o. Vol. 2: Translation and facsimile*, ed. Sigurd Kroon et al. Skrifter utgivna av vetenskapssocieteten i Lund. Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund, 85 (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993), 434. See also Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4477, fol. 164v (fifteenth century): "Item ad furtum Scribe in pergamento virgineo .K. et pone in aurem dextram cum dormias et apparebit furtum .g. K. e. b. f. S. ig. l. i. x. k." (Against theft. Write onto a virgin parchment .K. and put it in your right ear when you sleep and the theft will appear.)

89 Kroon, *A Danish Teacher's Manual*, (see note 88), 433. See also Stephen A. Mitchell, *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 49. The same charm is transmitted also in Copenhagen, Universitetsbibliotek, AM 819 4to, fol. 6r, where the introductory performing instructions are in vernacular: "Tüsse ordh skall man skriffwe paa et stochi ost, och gif then at edhe, som mandh vontraar for tiwerii." (One must write these words on a slice of cheese and give it to eat to the person that one suspects of theft). See also Ohrt, *Danmarks Trylleformler* (see note 28), 428.

This time the ritual has to be performed in the presence of the suspected thief and its outcome will be considered a proof of his guilt or innocence. In this respect, this passage can be regarded as a magical ordeal. Even though, in fact, the text does not mention it explicitly, it is reasonable to think that only the guilty will perceive the cheese as bitter and feel pain under his tongue, while the innocent will eat it without any problem.⁹⁰ This assumption is confirmed by a passage of Johann Christian Frommann's *Tractatus de Fascinatione*, in which the mechanism of the trial is explained together with the reference to the devil.⁹¹

Furthermore, the existence of a "cheese ordeal" to identify thieves is attested in a series of other charms not only in Latin, but also in German and Icelandic. See, for example, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 710, 4to, fol. 74 (fifteenth century), where no reference to the devil is present and the *formula* is constituted by a series of names of God.⁹²

Eloy + tetragamathon + messias + othres + yskiros + Coniuro te N, si reus es, per deum vnum, per deum sanctum et per nomina predicta, vt non comedis caseum istum!

⁹⁰ See also Müller-Bergström, "Dieb, Diebstahl" (see note 8), col. 212–13; Johann Christoph Männling, *Denckwürdige Curiositäten Derer, So wohl Inn- als Ausländischer Abergläubischen Albertäten Als Der weiteln Allgemeinen Götzens Welchen, Hoch und Ungelehrte, und zusammen alle eitele Menschen verehren; Aus denen Cvriositatibvs Exoticis erbaulichen Historien, angenehmen Erzehlungen, täglichen Begebenheiten, und nützlichen Schrifften* (Frankfurth a. M. and Leipzig: Michael Rohrlachs seel. Wittib und Erben von Liegnitz, 1713), 283–84; Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*. Vol. 2 (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1968), 929 and Vol. 3, 428; Peter Dinzelbacher, *Das fremde Mittelalter. Gottesurteil und Tierprozess* (Essen: Magnus Verlag, 2006), 37, and Adolf Jacoby, "Der Ursprung des Judicium offae," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft nach Albrecht Dieterich*, 13 (1910): 525–66. A collection of formulas of this kind can be found in *Formylae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi. Accedvnt ordines iudiciorvm dei*, ed. Karolvs Zevmer. *Monvmenta Germaniae historica inde ab anno Christi qvingentesimo vsqve ad annvm millesimvm et qvingentesimum. Legvm sectio V. Formulae* (Hanover: Hahn, 1836), 629–36.

⁹¹ Johann Christian Frommann, *Tractatus de Fascinatione novus et singularis, In quo Fascinatio vulgaris profligatur, naturalis confirmatur, & magica examinatur* (Nuremberg: Sumtibus Wolfgangi Mauritiū Endteri, & Johannis Andreæ Endteri Hæredum, 1675), 71: "Idem furem sic explorari posse, seque in suo famulo expertum esse dixit, si particulæ casei inscribantur hæc: + RAX – PAX + + + AMAX + EXEA &c. casumque ei, quem furti suspectum habes, comedendum, exhibeas, dicendo: si rem hanc abstulisti, comedas hoc in nomine Diaboli &c. si non abstulisti, in nomine Dei comedas &c. Qui insons est, bolum deglutiet, fur autem deglutire nequir." (In order to investigate a theft, follow the instruction of a servant of his, who said to be an expert, and write these words on a piece of cheese: + RAX – PAX + + + AMAX + EXEA etc. and give the cheese to the person you suspect of the theft, saying: 'If you have taken this thing, may you eat it in the name of the devil etc. If you have not taken it, in the name of God.' The one who is innocent will be able to swallow, the thief won't.)

⁹² See also Lecouteux, *Dictionnaire* (see note 14), 222–28. *Othres* is probably a corrupted form of *Otheos*.

Et scribe hec nomina predicta in frusto casei.⁹³

[Eloy + tetragamathon + messias + othres + yskiros + I conjure you, N., that you do not eat this cheese, if you are guilty through the one God, through the holy God and the above-mentioned names!

And write these above-mentioned names onto the piece of cheese.]

In German this ritual is attested in three charms, all dating back to the sixteenth century. The first one, which is transmitted in a family register from Hagenower Heide in Mecklenburg, describes with two similes the effect of the enchanted cheese onto the guilty person: his face will become as blue as a cornflower and he will foam from the mouth as a bear.⁹⁴ The second one, preserved in a manuscript medical collection – Dresden, Sächsische Lands- und Universitätsbibliothek, C 317c – requires a series of magical words and crosses together with the name of the person, who has to be submitted to the ordeal, on both sides of a slice of cheese.⁹⁵ A further German variant of this ritual prescribing the use of a cock feather to write onto the cheese can be found in Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. 2335.⁹⁶

⁹³ Ohrt, *Danmarks Trylleformler* (see note 28), 428.

⁹⁴ Karl Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*. Vol. 2 (Vienna: Braunmüller, 1880), 340: “Einen Dieb zu ermitteln. Man schreibe folgende Worte: + Deus. + Meus. + Max. + Pax. + Virax. auf einen Bissen Käse und lasse es Denjenigen verzehren, auf den man Verdacht hat. Hat er es gethan, so kann er den Käse nicht aufessen, und wird im Gesichte wie eine Kornblume, auch schäumt sein Mund wie der eines Bären.” (To discover a thief. Write the following words + Deus. + Meus. + Max. + Pax. + Virax. on a piece of cheese and give it to eat to the person that you suspect. If he has done that, he will not be able to finish the cheese: his face will become as blue as a cornflower and he will foam from the mouth as a bear.)

⁹⁵ Johannes Jühling, *Die Tiere in der deutschen Volksmedizin alter und neuer Zeit. Mit einem Anhang von Segen etc. Nach den in der Kgl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu Dresden vorhandenen gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen* (Wittweida: Polytechnische Buchhandlung, 1900), 286: “Nim keße, schneit schnitten daruon, schreib mit einer messer spitzen nachfolgende Characteres vnnd des tauffnahmen, der es Essen soll drauff. + Diuans + max + niuax + auff die ander Seitten schreib + Diuans + na + niuax vnnd der Tauffnahmen darzu. Giebst dem vordechtigen zu essen. Welche schult habenn, können ihre schnitte nicht aufeßen.” (Take some cheese and make slices out of it. With a knife point write onto one of them the following characters and the first name of the person who must eat it. + Diuans + max + niuax + and on the other side write + Diuans + na + niuax and the first name. Give them to the suspect to eat. Those who are guilty, will not be able to finish their slice.)

⁹⁶ Otto Günther, “Kleine Beiträge zur Volkskunde aus Danziger Handschriften I.II,” *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 8 (1909), 78–80; here 80: “Ein Stück wegen der Dieberey. Nim ein Stück Kese und eine Feder vom Hane und schreib darauf diese nachfolgende Character: + Deus + pax + max + imax + dicat + Jesus +” (A piece against theft. Take a piece of

The Icelandic witness of this kind of ordeal is a late nineteenth-century copy of a much older manuscript now lost. In this charm the magical words – *makk, rakk, fenakk* – can be written in cheese, in bread, or in other kinds of food. Alternatively, a different ritual to ascertain the identity of the thief is described: the comb used to comb a dead person and the hair, which has remained in it, wrapped up in a new linen and put under the head while sleeping are employed to summon the dead, who will appear to the theft victim in sleep and reveal the criminal's identity.⁹⁷

Another judicial ritual to identify the thief, which is recorded since the Middle Ages, required the use of a Bible (or Psalter) and a key: the Bible or Psalter should be opened to the fiftieth psalm ("When you see a thief") and the key placed there with its head protruding from the top. Once the book was closed and tied securely with a piece of string or fastened with a garter, two people had to balance the key by their fingertips with the book suspended below, while the psalm was recited before the names of the suspects were listed. It was, in fact, believed that the key would turn and the book would fall to the floor, when the real thief's name was pronounced. More recently, the Bible-and-key ceremony was also used to determine the name of someone's future spouse. The ritual was almost the same, but the key should be placed on Ruth 1:16 or on the Song of Solomon 2:16–17 and the letters of the alphabet were recited instead of the names of the suspects. The letter on which the Bible and the key turned represented the initial of the name of one's future spouse.⁹⁸

A Latin charm in Copenhagen, Universitetsbibliotek, AM 819, 4to, fol. 6 describes the key and book ritual in these terms:

Justus es, domine, et rectum iudicium. Ego *autem* speravi in te, domine. Dixi, domine, deus meus es tu, in manibus tuis sortes mee. Domine Ihesu Criste, ostende nobis reum et libera iustum! Ave Maria gratia plena etc. Lege hoc ter. Si non vult tenere, tunc confitearis, et sic tenet, et ponatur in breuiario circa psalmum Miserere mei deus, et ponat[ur] in libro clavis circa eundem psalmum, et duo homines tenebunt unusquisque digitum sum, unus ad vnam partem libri, et alius ad aliam partem, et sic quod ambo tenent clauem inter digitos mittendo mediam partem clavis in librum claudendo illum et mediam partem tenendo digitis. Et debet scribi in papiro circa praescriptam oracionem nomen suspecti. etc.⁹⁹

cheese and a cock feather and write the following characters onto it: + Deus + pax + max + imax + dicat + Jesus +).

⁹⁷ See also Ólafur Daviðsson, "Isländische Zaubерzeichen" (see note 7), 271.

⁹⁸ See also Kevin J. Hayes, *Folklore and Book Culture* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 41–42; Dinzelbacher, *Das fremde Mittelalter* (see note 90), 38–39, and Zevmer, *Formvlæ Merowingici* (see note 90), 636–37.

⁹⁹ Ohrt, *Danmarks Trylleformler* (see note 28), 429.

[Lord, you are just and right is your judgement. But I trust in you, Lord. I said, Lord, you are my God and my destiny is in your hands. Lord Jesus Christ, show us the guilty and free the innocent! Ave Maria *gratia plena* etc. Read this three times. If it does not want to stand still, then you will have to confess. It stands still in this way: put it in a breviary at the page of the psalm 'God have mercy on me', and put a key in the book at the page of that psalm. Two men will hold it with their fingers, one on one side of the book, the other on the other. While both are holding the key with their fingers, they will put the middle part of the key in the book and close it, holding its middle part with the fingers. And the prayer above has to be written on a piece of paper together with the name of the suspect.]

A variant of this ritual – employing a tooth instead of a key – is described in a fifteenth-century Latin-Danish charm transmitted in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 710 4to, fol. 74:

Domine Ihesu Christe, ostende nobis reos et libera iustos propter manum tuam excellentissimam, vt si iste super hoc victum opus positus fuerit, vertet se in girum; sin autem stabit et a faucibus detrahetur prope me liberetur!

Och wor kære moder Maria oc kære her sancte Petrus oc kære her sancte Pael oc kære her sancte Vlric, wiiser meg, hwo thet N. hawer stolet, oc huo thet ey hawer stolet!

Oc læg din teen pa thette werss som er Domino laudem, swa wend tenen seg tiil then som skildug ær, nar han neffness.¹⁰⁰

[Lord Jesus Christ, show us the guilty and free the just through the intervention of your holy hand: if this, which has been put onto this work, spins, he is guilty, if, on the other hand, it stands still and will be extracted from the mouth in my presence, he will be freed!

Our dear mother Mary, Saint Peter, Saint Paul and Saint Ulrich, show me who has stolen this N. and who has not stolen it!

And lay your tooth on the verse *Domino laudem*. In this way, the tooth will turn toward the guilty, when he is named.]

Among various suspects the real thief could also be identified with the help of a number of pebbles – one for each suspect – which had to be put onto the fire and made red hot, then buried for three days and three nights before being put in water one by one. The pebble corresponding to the thief would seethe as a piece of red hot iron, when it is immersed in water. A detailed description of this procedure has been inserted, in German, in a 1449 Latin manuscript from Fulda not long after its completion:

100 Ohrt, *Danmarks Trylleformler* (see note 28), 430.

Contra furtum. So schrip die namen alle samt, da du dich iz vff versihst vnd ganck zu eynem flissenden wasser vnd nym als manich steyn vss dem wasser als der namen ist vnd lege sy in eyn fuer daz sij gluendich werden und grabe sij vnder eyn swelln da die lude allermeist vss vnd in gen dez nachtes wan die sonne vnder geit vnd laiss ligen iii dage vnd nacht so nym die stein wieder uss der erden vnd nym eyn schuselen mjt vngenutzen wasser daz da luter brume sy vnd lege die stein vnder die schusseln vnd sprich diess wort Ich beschweren dich bij der martel vnsrs hrñ Ich such dich bij den dode vnsrs hrñ Ich vindich bij der vrtende vnsrs hrñ vnd nenne yden stein bij dem namen vnd wirff die in daz wasser biss du an den schuldigen kompst so sudet der selbe stein als eyn gludrich ysen daz men in eyn kalt wasser stoest.¹⁰¹

[Against theft. Write down the names of all those whom you suspect and go to a place where water flows and take as many pebbles as the names of the suspects. Put them onto the fire until they become red hot, then bury them beneath a threshold where people mostly pass at night, when the sun sets, and let them there for three days and three nights. Then take up again the pebbles from the earth and take a bowl with fresh water from a clear source, lay the stones under the bowl and pronounce these words: 'I enchant you by the martyrdom of Our Lord. I look for you by the death of Our Lord. I find you by the resurrection of Our Lord.' Then call each stone by name and throw it into the water until you reach the guilty one, that is when the pebble seethes as a piece of red hot iron does, when it is thrown in cold water.]

101 Adolf Jacoby, "Zwei Diebssegen," *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 25 (1926): 200–08; here 207. See also H. Bächtold, "Ein Diebssegen und zwei Rezepte," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 15 (1911): 188–89; here 188. See also Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 214, fol. 56v (1321): "Vnd ob man zwifelt vf ieman da kumet man vz deme zwifele. wilt ehr du es tûn. Heiz dir nemen uß den men zwivelt. vnd merke der namen wol. vnd nim also mangel wizen wilden kiselinge also der manne si. vnd schrip ein ieglichen den name vnd nach ieglichem namen so schrip disen karactares +++ .d. S. pa. p. n. i. g. h. r. e. S. +++. vnd nim die steine vnd lege si vnder die tür der balchen. vnd la si da ligen al durh ein naht vnze dez morgens. so nim si har fur. vnd leg ein nach dem andern in de wihe wazzer di des sunnentages gewihet si vnd so du nu ane vahest in ze legende. so sprich eray bonoy seme ladoch. nular. inbylor. eyare. vnd swelich stein sich rûre in dem wazzer. den nim har vz. vnde achte wie der name we. vnd swelen namen du dar an vindest daz ist der diep. vnd dar an zwivel mer. rûret aber sich enhein stein so wissest das der name nit da ist der daz gût gestolen hat." (And if you suspect someone, in this way you will know the truth, if you want. Let come all the suspects and keep well in mind the names. And take many white pebbles, as many as the men, and write onto each of them a name and after each name write these characters +++ .d. S. pa. p. n. i. g. h. r. e. S. +++. Then take the stones and put them under the outer door and let them there overnight until the following morning. Then take them and put them, one after the other, into holy water, which has been consecrated on Sunday, and when you begin putting them in the water, say: 'eray bonoy seme ladoch. nular. inbylor. eyare.' Take out whatever stone moves in water and pay attention to the name, because whatever name you find there it is the thief, without any doubt. If, on the other hand, no stone moves, you know that the name of the person who has stolen the object is not there.)

A slightly different version of this ritual is witnessed in a sixteenth-century manuscript from Dresden: here the names of the suspects are written directly onto the pebbles and, once the ink is dry, put them into flowing water again and let them there overnight. The following morning only the names of the thieves will have remained on the stones.¹⁰²

A further variant of this ritual consists in writing the names of the suspects on single pieces of paper, going to church and – after having prayed – immersing each of them in holy water: the one bearing the name of the thief will froth.¹⁰³

Apart from dream, the thief's image can be evoked in various ways and, for example, become visible in water. The sixteenth-century Icelandic *Galdrarbók* ("Book of magic") includes, for example, a ritual aimed at having a vision of this kind and, at the same time, at getting the name of the thief carved on a fish gill:

Vid stulld rijst þessa stafi a ask botn og lat i vatn og mel Mellifolium i vatnid þess æski eg fyrer grassins natturu og stafsins mýkileika ad skugga þess sem tekid hefur sinist i vatninu og rijst þessi nofn a talkni med iotun villun og haf a þijer Odin loki frei baldur Mardur tyr bijrger hæner freija giefon gusta og aller þeir og þær sem valholl biggia og bigt hafa fra heimssin vpphafi þa giefi mijer það ad mijer veitist þessi hlutur...¹⁰⁴

102 Jühling, *Die Tiere* (see note 95), 285–86: "Da etwas in einem hause verloren, Soll man aus einer bachen oder fließenden wasser klein kisselstein als tauben Eyer, großer vnnd kleiner, leßen vnnd fein rein waschenn vnnd wol trucknen lassen werdenn vnnd schreiben alle tauffnahmen, so im hauße vnnd die man sonst in Verdacht hatt, drauff. Wann die Schrifft trucken wirdt, So lege die stein wieder ins fließente waßer, laß sie die nacht vber im wasser liegenn, auf den morgenn nim sie herauß, vnnd alle namen so drauffstehen, die haben schult. Der Unschuldigen nahmen leschen aus." (When something goes lost at home, one should take from a stream or from another place with flowing water some pebbles similar to pigeon eggs, big and small, choose and wash them carefully, then let them dry and write the names of all the people of the house and of any other suspect. When the writing is dry, then lay the stones in the flowing water again and let them there overnight. The following morning take them out and the names which are still there are the names of the guilty. The names of the innocent will vanish.)

103 See, for example, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 369, fol. 166v: "*Item aliud de furto. Scribe omnia nomina illorum in singulas cedulas de quibus suspectio existit Et vade ad ecclesiam Et dic quinque pater noster et quinque Ave maria in honore patrone eiusedem ecclesie et tunc ponat semper vnum nomen ad aguam benedictam Et si ullus velit submergere sussulet spuma valido super cedulas que vero tunc submergitur het reus de furiati sine dubio*" (Another about theft. Write the names of all who are suspect, go to Church and recite five Pater noster and five Ave Maria in honor of the patron of the Church. Then place one at a time the names in holy water and if this froths while being submerged, you will have the person responsible for the theft, without any doubt.)

104 *En isländsk svartkonstbok från 1500-talet. Utgiven med översättning och kommentar*, ed. Nat. Lindqvist (Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri, 1921), 54–56.



[In case of theft you should carve these staves on the bottom of a dish of ash wood, put water in it, and strew *millefolium* (yarrow) into the water and say: ‘This I ask according to the nature of the herb and great might of staves, that the shade of the one who has taken it appear in the water, and that the name of this person be carved on a fish gill with the giants’ bewilderments’, and carry these on yourself and say: ‘Óðinn, Loki, Freyr, Baldr, Njörðr, Týr, Birgr, Hönir, Freyja, Gefjon, Gusta and all those gods and goddesses who dwell and have dwelt in Valhalla from the beginnings of heaven, they must help me so that I will have success in this matter.’]¹⁰⁵

Instead of a formula or a sequence of Latin characters, the magical power necessary to achieve the effect desired is contained here in a magic symbol (Icelandic *galdrarstafur*),¹⁰⁶ which must be carved on the bottom of a dish made of ash wood.¹⁰⁷ The performance instructions for this ritual also prescribe to strew into

105 See also Stephen Flowers, *The Galdrarbók. An Icelandic Grimoire* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1989), 73–74.

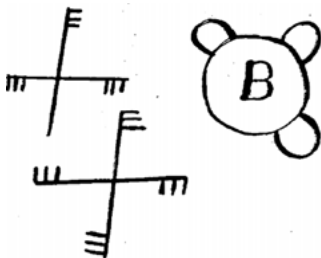
106 The origin of these symbols is often to be found in elaborated runic monograms – the so-called ‘bindrune’ (Icelandic *bandrún*) – which were originally used to render a proper name without having necessarily a magical connotation. On the other hand, it was quite easy to attribute a magical value to these symbols, since a whole word or even a sentence could be encoded and disguised in this way. See also Davíðsson, “Isländische Zauberszeichen” (see note 7), 152–53. *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur af æfintýri*, ed. Jón Árnason. Vol. 1 (Lepizig: Að forlagi J. C. Hinrichs’s bókaverzlunar, 1862), 448–49 mentions eight bindrunes, which represented the names of eight pagan gods and were aimed at forcing the thief to give back the booty.

107 Ash is particularly important in Germanic myth. Yggdrasil, the immense mythical tree connecting the nine worlds in Norse cosmology, is, according to both the *Poetic Edda* and Snorri Sturluson’s *Edda*, an immense ash tree. See also *The Poetic Edda*. Vol. 2: *Mythological Poems I*, ed. Ursula Dronke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 11–12: “Ask veit ek standa, / heitir Yggdrasill, / hár baðmr, ausinn / hvítaauri.” (“An Ash I know there stands, / Yggdrasill is its name, / a tall tree, showered / with shining loam.”); 19: “+ Skelfr Yggdrasils / askr standandi, +” (“+ Yggdrasill shivers, / the ash, as it stands. +”); *Poetic Edda*. Vol. 3: *Mythological Poems II*, ed. Ursula Dronke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011), 119: “Kǫrmt ok Ǫrmt / ok Kerlaugar tvær, / þær skal Þórr vaða / hverian dag, / er hann dæma ferr / at aski Yggdrasils- / þvíat Ásbrú / brenn ǫll loga- / heilǫg vǫtn hlóal” (“The Dike and the Delta / and the Double Baths / Þórr has to wade over / every day, / when he goes to give judgements / at Yggdrasill’s Ash- / for the bridge of the

water yarrow, a plant, which was considered to have the power of making contact with the unconscious and was used by the Indo-Europeans as a divinatory tool.¹⁰⁸ Once these instructions have been followed and the invocation has been pronounced the magic symbol must be brought along as an amulet. Furthermore, a series of pagan gods and goddesses must be invoked for help.

The same Icelandic source describes another – similar but more complex – ritual to reveal the identity of a thief. This time, however, it is not clear how exactly this should happen and if the criminal will appear in the liquids (water and blood) collected in a bowl:

Will madur och saa Reine huor fra sier techer Gior staff þennan au skaulbotne med stiltu kniffur weg blut unde(r) store tone? och hogere hendi och driff om staffur(en) Siden tag R(e)nt uatn. idem Melifolj Vdbret (th)et skal taches Jons Mess. äffter Midnat och tages med handsker och icke at komer? till hendern(e) Urten skall smöres i bloð, samme staf fuere(r) tre desser



Æsir / is all blazing with flame- / the holy waters are not hot!") and "Þrjár roetr standa / á þríá vega / undan aski Yggdrasils." ("Three roots rest / on three roads / from under Yggdrasill's Ash."); 120: "Ormar fleiri liggja / undir aski Yggdrasils / en þat uf hyggi hverr ósviðra apa" ("More worms are a-bed / beneath Yggdrasill's Ash / than any dimwit dunce may dream of") and "Askr Yggdrasils / drýgir erfiði / meira en menn viti." ("Yggdrasill's Ash / endures adversity / more than men know."); 122: "Askr Yggdrasils, / hann er œztr við" ("Yggdrasill's Ash / is the most excellent of trees"); *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar. Edda Snorronis Sturlæi*. Vol. 1: *Formáli, Gylfaginning, Bragaræður, Skáldskaparmál et Háttatal*. (Copenhagen: Sumptibus legati arnamagnæani, 1848), 68: "Þá mælti Gángleri: Hvar er höðfuðstaðrinn eða helgistaðrinn goðanna? Hár svarar: Þat er at aski Yggdrasils; þar skulu guðin eiga dóma sína hvern dag." (Then Gangleri asked: 'Where is the main and holiest place of the days?' Har answers: 'It is the ash Yggdrasil, where the gods must hold their courts every day.');

74: "Þá mælti Gángleri: Hvat er fleira at segja stórmerkja frá askinum? Hár segir: mart er þar af at segja." (Then Gangleri asked: 'What other notable things are there to tell about the ash?' Har answered: 'There is a lot to tell about.').

108 See also Flowers, *The Galdrarbók* (see note 105), 126.

játa því; seg mér nafn þess manns er stal;
 fyr kristni; seg mér nú þína ódád.
 Eitt níðik, annat (?) níðik; seg mér, Óðinn!
 Nú ér særð ok árafár (?) með öllu heiðindómi.
 Þú nú öðlisk mér nafn þess er stal. A(men).

["I exhort you, Odin, with heathendom, greatest of fiends;
 assent to this: tell me the name of the man who stole;
 for Christendom; tell me now your misdeed.
 One I revile, the second I revile; tell me, Odin!
 Now is conjured up and lots of devilish messengers (?) with all heathendom.
 Now you shall get for me the name of he who stole. A(men)."]¹¹³

The rune-stick does not describe any ritual to be performed in order to discover the name of the thief, but it simply contains a supplication to Odin to reveal it. In this respect, its text is not dissimilar from the Classical judicial prayers, in which a stolen item was dedicated to a god who was then exhorted to retrieve it and to punish the person responsible for its disappearance.¹¹⁴

The invocation to the pagan god coexists here with orthodox liturgical expressions such as the final *amen*. While the compresence of Christian and pagan elements within the same text is, as we have seen, quite frequent in the Germanic magic tradition, the peculiarity of this charm is represented by the conscious tension between heathendom and Christendom: if, on the one hand, the very fact that the petitioner asks Odin for help suggests the pagan god is seen as powerful and wilful to aid, on the other hand, the epithet “greatest of fiends” – the same used for the devil in Christian texts – the exhortation to reveal his own misdeed in the name of Christendom and the repetition of the term *heiðindómi* (“heathendom”) are clearly reminiscent of the Christian condemnation of the ancient Germanic religion.

These elements lead to believe that the person who carved these runes was well aware that invoking Odin meant going against Christian teaching and had to mediate between two opposite images of the Old Norse god. This attitude is the expression of a time, in which the Germanic deities were not automatically associated with the Christian Devil and, therefore, were not invoked in black magic yet. The above-mentioned Icelandic charm listing Thor, Odin, Frigg together

¹¹³ MacLeod and Mees, *Runic Amulets* (see note 29), 31. See also James E. Knirk, “Tor og Odin i runer på Bryggen i Bergen,” *Arkeo* 1 (1995), 27–30; here 29–30.

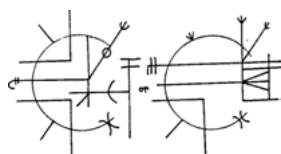
¹¹⁴ See also H. S. Versnel, “Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers,” *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1991), 60–106; here 73 and 82.

with Beelzebub and the Archangel Raphael represents a later stage in the evolution of magic, in which the demoniac had found its legitimation in a series of practices which were more and more frequently adduced as evidence to send people to the stake.

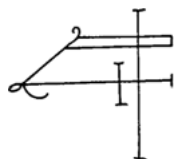
A recurrent element in charms and rituals to identify thieves is the use of magical herbs, possibly mixed with blood, in connection with sigils and symbols, which becomes particularly frequent in late sources.¹¹⁵ No blood, but a herb – the so-called ‘Frigg’s grass’ (*friggjar gras*)¹¹⁶ – is used, for example, in another magical procedure described in the *Galdrarbók* and aimed at seeing the image of the thief in water:

Vid stulld tak friggjar gras og Lat i Uatni suo þad meige liggja þriar Nætur i samt gang suo ad og munttu sia þann sem stolid heffur¹¹⁷

115 See also MacLeod and Mees, *Runic Amulets* (see note 29), 32. A late nineteenth-century Icelandic manuscript known as Kreddur manuscript, which linguistic evidence show to have been copied from a seventeenth-century original, contains, for example, various passages on how to discover a thief. One of these prescribes to cut this magic symbol



on a bronze plate, to put it under the hair of a black uncastrated tomcat and keep it under the head on three nights of the old moon, in order to see the thief in a dream. Another one requires to draw blood from above the nail of one's middle finger and use it to draw this symbol



on paper, to put a cat hair behind it and to stick it under the cap to go to sleep by the old moon.

116 This term can be used to indicate various types of herbs, all having oddly-shaped tubers, which could remind of human beings. See also Lindqvist, *En isländsk svartkonstbok* (see note 104), 63; Davíðsson, “Isländische Zaubergezeichen” (see note 7), 271 and Flowers, *The Galdrarbók* (see note 105), 128.

117 Lindqvist, *En isländsk svartkonstbok* (see note 104), 62.



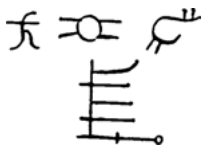
[“Against theft take Frigg’s grass and lay it in water so that it might lie there for three nights at a stretch; then go back there and you will be able to see the one who stole from you.”]¹¹⁸

This sixteenth-century Icelandic sorcery book contains other charms aimed at finding out the identity of the thief. One of these prescribes to carve some magical symbols on an oak twig and to lay it under the turf over a grave.¹¹⁹ Another one to bring along a small branch of hawthorn or sloe¹²⁰ and to carve a sun-like symbol on the cross-beam of the house which has been robbed:

Wilier þu med kunnattu Reyna, huor þier stelur, þa tak þier, Eýrn Lijtenn þýrner Busk og Ber a þier, suo þu Eigi wid þig skilier, Sidann tak Eeyrn Lijtenn kopar stil med kopar hamri. gior þennañ Effter farande staff a hussins bita sem ur war stolid, sting suo stiliñu a hid hœgra auga, og mæl a medañ

118 Flowers, *The Galdrarbók* (see note 105), 76. A variant of this ritual is preserved also in the *Kreddur* manuscript: the only difference is represented by the fact that the herb, after having been soaked in water, must be kept under one’s head while sleeping.

119 Lindqvist, *En isländsk svartkonstbok* (see note 104), 60–61: “Rijst aa hriseyk og legg vnder leydis torfuna og lat þar ligga.”



(Carve these on an oak twig and lay it under the turf over a grave and let it lie there). On the use of oak, see also Flowers, *The Galdrarbók* (see note 105), 127.

120 See also Flowers, *The Galdrarbók* (see note 105), 128.

IN BUSKAN LUCANUS

Staffurenn



Sidañ mæl

FORTUM ATUM EST

Ri(s)t staffur(en?) a bit.. med krit och hammeren med skafftet skal stöbe(s) naar sollen (w)ercher mes(t) och skal þad were som icke er brugt, met (o)stembele kober och messing.¹²¹

[“If you want to learn, through magical knowledge, who stole from you, then take a little thorn bush and wear it so that you are never separated from it. Then take a little copper pin, together with a copper hammer. Then make the following stave on the cross-beam of the house from which the thing was stolen; then stick the pin in the right eye, and say at the same time:

IN BUSKAN LUCANUS

the stave

And say: FORTUM ATUM EST.

Write this stave on the cross-beam with chalk, and the hammer shall be cast by the shaft when the sun is the strongest, and that [should] be [made of] material which has never been used, unstamped copper or bronze.”]¹²²

Once the symbol has been drawn on the cross-beam with chalk, the right eye of the figure has to be stuck with a copper pin, while the formula is pronounced. The gesture of sticking or hitting a painted eye with nail and hammer or with


¹²¹ Lindqvist, *En isländsk svartkonstbok* (see note 104), 66–68.

¹²² Flowers, *The Galdrarbók*, (see note 105), 78–79.

The English branch of this tradition has been investigated by Stallcup,¹²⁶ who has identified five different versions of this charm preserved in manuscripts of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. These can be distinguished on the basis of the type of invocation employed.

The earliest known English example of this charm is transmitted in London, British Library, Addit. MS 34111, fol. 75r (mid fifteenth century) and is characterized by the complete lack of invocation. Nevertheless, this text includes many of the elements in common to most of the versions, such as the use of litharge to paint the eye, the wall as the site of the painting, the gathering of the suspects, the two-step procedure and the use of a copper nail:

For hem þat bereþ a way þi gode and stelþ it hauyng suspesion of man or woman.

Take þe white of þe siluer þat is þat kesten a way þer from and stamp it strongliche and prene it on a walle such an eye . And þan do clepe befor þe þe names of hem þat þow hast suspesion, and hym þat þow hast most suspesion do hym loke upon þis eye and gif he be coupable his right eye shal be watery. And gif þat he wille azeyn sege it, tak a nayle þat is hedes made of copre and stik it in þe eye and smyte þer on wiþ an hamer strongliche and he shalle crie a none rigt and þow hast ysmite hym. And þis experiment haþe be muchel assaied and yproued, and assay it whoso haþe nede.¹²⁷

The second version of the Eye of Abraham charm includes the mock Latin invocation *hare, et gures, vales* and can be found – identical – in two related manuscripts: London, British Library, Sloane MS 3846, fol. 41r (seventeenth century)

riarch is also invoked in at least two Anglo-Saxon charms for recovering stolen goods discussed above (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190, fol. 130 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, p. 207). Abraham appears in connection with theft also in a charm preserved in London, British Library, MS Sloane 3850, fol. 34v, which prescribes, immediately after a theft, to write the following four names, one on each of four slips “+Abraham + + Salomon + + Jacob + + Santa crux +” and to say: “Abraham propheta provoc[e]at te vel vos fugientes [et] alliget + Salamon te vel vos inveniet + Jacob te vel vos revocet + Sancta crux que prius inventa fuit per beatum Mariam virginem et postea per beatam Helenam te vel vos fugientes ligat cum bonis...” (“May the prophet Abraham call forth those of you fleeing and bind you + May Solomon find you + May Jacob restrain you + May Holy Cross, which was found first by the Blessed Virgin Mary and later by blessed Helena, bind those of your fleeing with the goods...”). See also Stephen B. Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’ Charm for Thieves. Versions in Middle and Early Modern English,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 10, 1 (2015): 25–40; here 33–35.

¹²⁵ See also Müller-Bergström, “Dieb, Diebstahl,” (see note 8), 222–23 and F. Ohrt, “Diebssegen,” *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. Vol. 2: C.M.B. – *Frautragen*, ed. Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1929), col. 240–49; here 248.

¹²⁶ Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’” (see note 124).

¹²⁷ Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’” (see note 124), 26.

and London, British Library, Addit. MS 36674 (sixteenth-seventeenth century). The peculiarity of this version is represented by the substitution of the traditional copper nail with a copper key, probably as a consequence of a misreading of the form *clavum* (“nail” accusative) as *clavem* (“key” accusative) in a Latin anti-graph. This mistake appears even more likely if we consider that keys were, as we have seen, quite frequently used in divination rituals to identify thieves.

To know who they bee that have stolen any thing out of y^r house and to make them confess the same. Take argentum vivum and the white of an egg and mingle the together and make an eie uppon a wall in this manner ☉ and then call in all them that thou suspectest and let them behold the eie, and his or hers which stole the thing will water. If they will not confess, take a copper key and putt it on the eie of the wall and strike uppon it saying, *hare, et gures, vales*, and the partie that is guilty, shall cry mine eie, myne eie; *probat’ est*.¹²⁸

The third version of the Eye of Abraham charm is characterized by the Christian phrase *Jesus salvator* in the invocation. The most complete witnesses of this version, which are again transmitted in London, British Library, MS Sloane 3846, fol. 83r and MS Addit. 36674, include explicit instructions for the painting of the eye as well as two Latin incantations to make the thief’s eye water and cry out in pain:

To know if a thing bee stolen, who hath it or to bring him or it backe againe. First take quicksilver and the white of an egg and mix them together, then take a pensill made of cypress and write withall an eye uppon the wall, and within the first circle of the eie write *Jesus Salvator* above the beneathe, and within the next circle write these wordes above sayd, and after say these wordes: *In nomine Dei precipio ut vobis viris et mulieribus insipientibus oculum istum manifesto signo patefiat (qui vel que) rem istam de qua querimus furatus est vel furati sunt, modo agnoscamos, et Deus patefaciat*. Then call in them that you have in suspition, and as soone as they be come in, hee that is faulty and doth look uppon thee wall, behold his eye, for his right eye shall water teares downe uppon his cheeke. Then require the goods of him, and if hee utterly deny it and will not confess it, have thou then the aforesayd pensill, and therewith rash on the eye on the wall. The forthwith hee will cry uppon his eye as long as thou rubbest on | the eye of the wall, and when thou doest so say these wordes following: *Mallion clerarion raton Irancon rec-ton: facite, cogite furem reportare rem nostram que furto ablata est, ut magis appareat*. + I + n + p + f + s + s + A + m + e + n.¹²⁹

The ritual described in these two manuscripts is less violent than those transmitted in other sources: instead of striking the eye with a copper nail, the enactor

¹²⁸ Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’” (see note 124), 27.

¹²⁹ Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’” (see note 124), 27–28.

will just have to rub it with a pencil made of cypress, in case the thief – who has been identified thanks to his watering eye – refuses confessing his crime. The Latin formulas in the charm combine Christian and pagan elements: while the first passage and the final tag are clearly Christian (“In the name of God, I order that it may be disclosed by a palpable sign to you men and women looking upon this eye and that we may immediately recognize whichever man or woman (or men or women) stole the thing we seek, and let God disclose it. ... In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.”),¹³⁰ the second Latin passage is definitely non-Christian. The first five words – *Mallion clerarion raton Irranncon rection* – at first simply non-sensical magic words, can be interpreted as names of spirits,¹³¹ which explains the plural imperatives *facite* and *cogite* in the command *facite, cogite furem reportare rem nostram que furto ablata est, ut magis apparet* (“Cause and compel the thief to bring back our thing which was taken away by theft, so that it is apparent”).¹³²

In the other manuscript transmitting the third version of the Eye of Abraham charm – London, British Library, MS Sloane 3542, fol. 19r – we find again the reference to the copper nail which has to be struck in the middle of the painted eye:

Tak the spume of seluer and the white of an eyghe and medyll them togadyr and therwith paynt an eyhe uppon the wall or uppon a dore and make them com togedyr that þ^u hast suspecte to and sey this coniuraci^on: *Coniuro vos homines et feminas hunc oculum respicientes ut quis uestrum istam rem furatus est de qua queritur cito confiteatur. Ihesu Salvator omnium sciens rerum occultarum et manifestarum veritatem verus propagator, et in nomine eius precipio et coniuro vos viros et mulieres hunc oculum respecientes [sic] sic appereat qui vel que istam rem furatus est de qua querimus ut cognoscatur et de hiis patefiat.* Then by hold the yeghen of them þⁱ þ^u hast suspecte and if any of them hat ystole þⁱ thing þⁱ þ^u asket after, his eyghe wille tery þⁱ hath ystole hit. Then, if he wilt nat knowlishe, smyte w^t a maylette a nayle of coper [sic] in the mydyll of the eyghe and say this wordz þ^e while þ^u smytyst: *Roleas te clarum actaye a[...]*mas coge furem hunc apparere qui vel que istam rem furatus est.

+ + le + sus +

+ Ihesu sciens omnium rerum occultarum veritatem et manifestarum



Ihesu sciens omnium rerum occultarum veritatem et manifestarum

130 Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’” (see note 124), 28.

131 In particular the termination in *-on* (the vocative singular ending of second declension neuter nouns in Greek) reminds of a similar pattern in Hebrew and Hebrew-influenced angel names, typically ending in *-el*.

132 This command is typical of spirits commands and can be found in many magical texts, such as the *Clavicula Salomonis*. See also MacGregor Mathers, *The Key* (see note 85), 48–50.

+ + + *sal + va + tor* +¹³³

The first Latin conjuration (“I conjure you men and women looking at this eye that whichever of you stole the thing that is sought may quickly confess. Jesus the Savior, knowing the truth of all things hidden or disclosed, is the true propagator. And in His name, I order and conjure you men and women looking at this eye thus: may he or she who stole the thing we seek appear so that he may be recognized and that concerning these things there may be disclosure”) has to be pronounced in front of the painted eye, once all the suspects have been gathered. If the thief refuses to confess, the copper nail will be struck in the eye with a hammer while pronouncing the second formula. This is constituted by a series of magic words (*roleas, clarum, actaye*), which seem to have lost their value as names, since the following imperative – *coge* – is in the singular form and is addressing the eye itself.

The most elaborated version of this charm, which is characterized by a long Latin prayer beginning with *Gloria tibi, Domine*, expands the notion of *patefacere* (to reveal) through the insertion of a series of short references to biblical episodes centered on the theme of God having exposed a hidden transgression and forced the guilty parties to confess. These *historiolae*, which suggest the text was structured in this way by someone familiar with theology, serve as general analogues to the situation described in the charm, since they all deal with the divine revelation of a concealed or unknown truth. The first biblical example is the story of Joshua and Achan,¹³⁴ who has stolen and buried a great quantity

133 Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’” (see note 124), 29.

134 See also Joshua 7:10–26: “So the Lord said to Joshua, ‘Rise up! Why is that you have fallen on your face? Israel has sinned, and they have also transgressed My covenant which I commanded them. And they have even taken some of the things under the ban and have both stolen and deceived. Moreover, they have also put them among their own things. Therefore, the sons of Israel cannot stand before their enemies; they turn their backs before their enemies, for they have become accursed. I will not be with you anymore unless you destroy the things under the ban from your midst. Rise up! Consecrate the people and say, ‘Consecrate yourselves for tomorrow, for thus the Lord, the God of Israel, has said, ‘There are things under the ban in your midst, O Israel. You cannot stand before your enemies until you have removed the things under the ban from your midst.’ In the morning then you shall come near by your tribes. And it shall be that the tribe which the Lord takes by lot shall come near by families, and the family which the Lord takes shall come near by households, and the household which the Lord takes shall come near man by man. It shall be that the one who is taken with the things under the ban shall be burned with fire, he and all that belongs to him, because he has transgressed the covenant of the Lord, and because he has committed a disgraceful thing in Israel.’ So Joshua arose early in the morning and brought Israel near by tribes, and the tribe of Judah was taken. He brought the family of Judah near, and he took the family of the Zerahites; and he brought the family of the Zerahites

of silver and gold and was, therefore, revealed by God in front of the Israelites.¹³⁵ The second reference is to the story of King Solomon and the two women claiming to be the mother of the same baby.¹³⁶ Then the story of Susanna and of the

near man by man, and Zabdi was taken. He brought his household near man by man; and Achan, son of Carmi, son of Zabdi, son of Zerah, from the tribe of Judah, was taken. Then Joshua said to Achan, 'My son, I implore you, give glory to the Lord, the God of Israel, and give praise to Him; and tell me now what you have done. Do not hide it from me.' So Achan answered Joshua and said, 'Truly, I have sinned against the Lord, the God of Israel, and this is what I did: when I saw among the spoil a beautiful mantle from Shinar and two hundred shekels of silver and a bar of gold fifty shekels in weight, then I coveted them and took them; and behold, they are concealed in the earth inside my tent with the silver underneath it.' So Joshua sent messengers, and hey ran to the tent; and behold, it was concealed in his tent with the silver underneath it. They took them from inside the tent and brought them to Joshua and to all the sons of Israel, and they poured them out before the Lord. Then Joshua and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, the silver, the mantle, the bar of gold, his sons, his daughters, his oxen, his donkeys, his sheet, his tent and all that belonged to him; and they brought them up to the valley of Achor. Joshua said, 'Why have you troubled us? The Lord will trouble you this day.' And all Israel stoned them with stones; and they burned them with fire after they had stoned them with stones. They raised over him a great heap of stones that stands to this day, and the Lord turned from the fierceness of His anger. Therefore the name of that place has been called the valley of Achor to this day."

135 A reference to this biblical episode can also be found in a Latin version of the charm transmitted in a late fifteenth-century Dutch collection (London, Wellcome MS 517, fol. 81r): "Domine Ihesu Christe qui fecisti verum iudicium per manum servi tui Josue in civitate Iherico de furto Zaihar qui mandatum tuum regulam auream subtraxit [. . .]"

136 See also 1 Kings 3:16–28: "Then two women who were harlots came to the king and stood before him. The one woman said, 'Oh, my lord, this woman and I live in the same house; and I gave birth to a child while she was in the house. It happened on the third day after I gave birth, that this woman also gave birth to a child, and we were together. There was no stranger with us in the house, only the two of us in the house. This woman's son died in the night, because she lay on it. So she arose in the middle of the night and took my son from beside me while your maidservant slept, and laid him in her bosom, and laid her dead son in my bosom. When I rose in the morning to nurse my son, behold, he was dead; but when I looked at him carefully in the morning, behold, he was not my son, whom I had borne. Then the other woman said, 'No! For the living one is my son, and the dead one is your son.' But the first woman said, 'No! For the dead one is your son, and the living one is my son.' Thus they spoke before the king. Then the king said, 'The one says, 'This is my son who is living, and your son is the dead one'; and the other says, 'No! For your son is the dead one, and my son is the living one.'" The king said, 'Get me a sword.' So they brought a sword before the king. The king said, 'Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one and half to the other.' Then the woman whose child was the living one spoke to the king, for she was deeply stirred over her son and said, 'Oh, my lord, give her the living child, and by no means kill him.' But the other said, 'He shall be neither mine nor yours; divide him! Then the king said, 'Give the first woman the living child, and by no means kill him.

lustful judges falsely accusing her¹³⁷ and the selection of the Apostle Mathias to replace Judas after the latter's suicide¹³⁸ are mentioned.

She is his mother.' When all Israel heard of the judgement which the king had handed down, they feared the king, for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to administer justice."

137 See also Daniel 13: "In Babylon there lived a man named Joakim, who married a very beautiful and God-fearing woman, Susanna, the daughter of Hilkiah; her parents were righteous and had trained their daughter according to the law of Moses. Joakim was very rich and he had a garden near his house. The Jews had recourse to him often because he was the most respected of them all. That year, two elders of the people were appointed judges, of whom the Lord said, 'Lawlessness has come out of Babylon, that is, from the elders who were to govern the people as judges.' These men, to whom all brought their cases, frequented the house of Joakim. When the people left at noon, Susanna used to enter her husband's garden for a walk. When the elders saw her enter every day for her walk, they began to lust for her. They perverted their thinking; they would not allow their eyes to look to heaven, and did not keep in mind just judgements. Though both were enamored of her, they did not tell each other their trouble, for they were ashamed to reveal their lustful desire to have her. Day by day they watched eagerly for her. One day they said to each other, 'Let us be off for home, it is time for the noon meal.' So they went their separate ways. But both turned back and arrived at the same spot. When they asked each other the reason, they admitted their lust, and then they agreed to look for an occasion when they could find her alone. One day, while they were waiting for the right moment, she entered as usual, with two maids only, wanting to bathe in the garden, for the weather was warm. Nobody else was there except the two elders, who had hidden themselves and were watching her. 'Bring the oil and soap,' she said to the maids, 'and shut the garden gates while I bathe.' They did as she said; they shut the garden gates and left by the side gate to fetch what she had ordered, unaware that the elders were hidden inside. As soon as the maids had left, the two old men got up and ran to her. 'Look,' they said, 'the garden doors are shut, no one can see us, and we want you. So give in to our desire, and lie with us. If you refuse, we will testify against you that a young man was here with you and that is why you sent your maids away.' 'I am completely trapped,' Susanna groaned. 'If I yield, it will be my death; if I refuse, I cannot escape your power. Yet it is better for me not to do it and to fall into your power than to sin before the Lord.' [...] The assembly believed them, since they were elders and judges of the people, and they condemned her to death. But Susanna cried aloud: 'Eternal God, you know what is hidden and are aware of all things before they come to be: you know that they have testified falsely against me. Here I am about to die, though I have done none of the things for which these men have condemned me.' The Lord heard her prayer. As she was being led to execution, God stirred up the holy spirit of a young boy named Daniel, and he cried aloud: 'I am innocent of this woman's blood.' All the people turned and asked him, 'What are you saying?' He stood in their midst and said, 'Are you such fools, you Israelites, to condemn a daughter of Israel without investigation and without clear evidence? Return to court, for they have testified falsely against her.' Then all the people returned in haste. [...] Thus was innocent blood spared that day. Hilkiah and his wife praised God for their daughter Susanna, with Joakim her husband and all her relatives, because she was found innocent of any shameful deed. And from that day onward Daniel was greatly esteemed by the people." After the Reformation this episode, which was included in the Latin Vulgate, was rejected as apocryphal and, today, is comprised in the Book of Daniel only by the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches.

This version of the Eye of Abraham charm is transmitted – with some differences in the English performing instructions – in London, British Library, Sloane MS 2721, fol. 137r and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Addit. MS B. 1, fol. 11r:

Artificium pro furto per suspencionem. Take þe qhite of an eg and þe fome of silvyr þt is casten a way and mell þame to geder and peynte an eye on þe walle on þ^{is} maner ☉ and þan clepe þame þtt þu haste suspicioun onto and he þt has don þe thifte as sone als he comythe his right eye shale wattyr and ziff he gite for sake þe thifte Take an naylle of copyr & an hamyre of copyr & sete þe ponte of þe naylle in þe blake spote in þe medele of þe eye, & or þu smyte say þis orisone: *Gloria tibi, Domine, Deus patrum nostrorum, te confitemur teque laudamus atque benedicimus. Precamur te Domine ut veritatem huius furti nobis manifestare digneris sicut manifestasti furtum Achor servo tuo Josue, et sicut Salamon munde duabus meretricibus [sic] revelasti, duosque falsos presbiteros Susannam criminantes ostendisti, et Mathiam apostolum in eleccionem sorte declarasti. Ita nobis huius furti veritatem ostendere digneris et manifestare de quo | requirimus omnipotentiam tuam, qui es benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen Rabbas cellei Tamazas Gar* and constreyne þe fals theyfe too brynge azane þate he has stollene. Smyte þane with þe hamyr and þis is soth as it hath ben prevede oft tyme.¹³⁹

For to finde out a theefe. Take the white of an hens Eye [sic] & spume argenti (yⁱ is for saye y^e scum of silver y^t fleeth above, when it is in meltinge) & wine & mingⁱ y^{em} together and with y^t paint an eye on the wall on this manner wise ☉ and when thou hast painted the eye on the wall say this here following: | *Gloria tibi, Domine, Deus patrum nostrorum, te confitemur teque laudamus atque benedicimus. Precamur te, Domine, ut veritatem huius furti nobis manifestare digneris Achor servo tuo Iosuae, et sicut Salamon verum de duabus meretricibus revelasti, duos duoque falsos presb[ite]ros Susannam criminantes ostendisti, et Math-eum apostolum in electione sorte declinasti. Ita nobis huius furti veritatem ostendere digneris et manefestare [sic] de quo nunc requirimus omnipotentiam tuam qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.* Go then in the presence before them all y^t y^u hast in suspicion, and when he comes y^t is gyltye, and y^t he looke on that eye y^t is painted on y^e wall his right eye will begynne to water. And yf yt be so that y^u aske him of y^t thinge y^t is done awaye and he forsake it, take then a broche or a nayle of brass & sett yt rightly to the eye y^t is painted on the wall before him & smite on the nayle w^t a botell & say thus: *Rabbas seller Ramasalger* and constraine y^t false theefe for to yelde and bringe againe y^t he hath stolen and he shall smite his hand upon his eye and gyve a great crye.¹⁴⁰

138 See also Acts 1:23–26: “So they put forward two men, Joseph called Barsabbas (who was also called Justus), and Matthias. And they prayed and said, ‘You, Lord, who know the hearts of all men, show me which one of these two You have chosen to occupy this ministry and apostleship from which Judas turned aside to go to his own place.’ And they drew lots for them, and the lot fell to Matthias; and he was added to the eleven apostles.”

139 Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’” (see note 124), 31.

140 Stallcup, “The ‘Eye of Abraham’” (see note 124), 31.

In two other manuscripts – London, British Library, MSS Sloane 3846 and Addit. 36674 – the *Gloria tibi, Domine* invocation is combined with a series of *nomina magica*, three of which are traditional names of God (*Rex, Adonai, On*):

An other experiment of Abrahams eye. Take lyturge of silver & temper it with the white of a egg and draw the eye there with, and call forth all them that you have suspition & say this conjuration: *Gloria tibi Domine, Deus patrum nostrorum, te confitemur atque laudamus atque benedicimus | precamur te Domine, ut veritatem hujus furti nobis demonstrare digneris, sicut palam fecisti furtum Achab servo tuo Josue, et sicut Salomoni veritatem de duabus meretricibus revelasti, et duos falsos presbiteros Susannam accusantes puero Danieli et iudicandos et damnandos ostendisti, et Matthiam in electionem apostolorum sorte declarasti, ita hoc furtum nobis ostendere et manifestare digneris de quo nunc requirimus omnipotentiam tuam qui es benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen. Et precipio vobis et coniuro vos aspicientes in oculum istum in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi Nazareni regis Judeorum scientis omnium rerum occultarum et manifestarum, ut manifesto signo ab omnibus cognoscatur qui rem istam furatus sit.* And the eye of him that hath stole the goods will beginn to water, and if hee will not acknowledge it, then take a nayle of brass or of copper overgylt and sett it in the eye & say thus: *Mort, rabyas Salarin, Sotomy, cogite furem istum qui rem istam furatus est apparere ubicunque sit. rabeas, rabeas, zelarín, zanay, clare, retanay, rex, Adonay, et On facite et cogite mihi apparere furem qui rem istam abstulit.* And anone where ever hee bee, hee shall come to the place. *Oculos fingendus est in modum precedentis et scias quod verum esse.*¹⁴¹

MS Sloane 3846 transmits, on fol. 83v, also another version of the charm, where only the eye drawing and the copper nail have been retained, while all other elements are different from the rest of the tradition: the eye has to be painted in owl's blood using a crow's feather and there is no gathering of the suspects. Moreover, the ultimate aim of the procedure seems to be punishing rather than identifying the thief. If the ritual is successful, in fact, the criminal's "eye will out," which could mean that it will be blinded, fall or pop out:

This is the noble experiment of Troye for theft, w^{ch} is called Abrahams eye. If thou worke this experiment, take the blood of an owle and draw the eie with a penn of a crowe. Then thou must have a nayle of copper and pricke the apple of the eie in the midst 4 tymes saying this conjuration: *I conjure thee theefe by the Father and the Soon and the Holy Ghost; also I conjure thee Andromalcus that thou make the theife to have that paine that I do to this eie heare.* Rehearse that 4 tymes. If without doubt his eie shall out.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Stallcup, "The 'Eye of Abraham'" (see note 124), 32.

¹⁴² Stallcup, "The 'Eye of Abraham'" (see note 124), 33. The version in London, British Library, Addit. MS 36674, fol. 89v is identical except for the final line, which reads: "And without doubt his eye shall out."

The invocation *I conjure thee Andromalcus that thou make the theife to have that paine that I do to this eie heare* suggests that the author of this charm had had access to the *Goetia* or *Liber malorum spiritum*, a text for commanding spirits from the mid sixteenth century, where a variant of the name Andromalchus – Andromalius – appears in the catalogue of the 72 infernal spirits evoked and constrained by King Salomon and is specifically associated to the punishment of thieves.¹⁴³

The fifteenth-century Low German medical recipe collection known as *Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arzneibuch* (Stockholm, Kungliga bibliotek, X 113) preserves two different versions of the Eye of Abraham charm. The first of these, which omits the instructions for painting the eye, describes a three-phase ritual, in which a nail is banged in while pronouncing a formula addressing either the eye or the nail:

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Ik beswere di oghe bi dem leuendighen gode, bi dem waren gode, bi dem vnvorscheden ghode, de nu god is vnde gheboren van eyner reynen juncvrowen vnde bliuen will to ewighen tiden, amen. – Also wislyken als ik sla an di, so wisliken so mote yk slan an dat oghe der rechten deues. + Ik beswere dy naghel bi der melk unser leuen vrowen vnde bi den ver ewangelisten, also Lucas et Marcus et Matteus et Johannes, vnde bi den XV koren der enghel vnde bi allen patriarchen et propheten et marteleren et hilghen juncvrowen et wedewen, vnde bi den souen hilghen sacramenten vnde bi den x boden godes, dattu rorest den rechtschuldighen def siner oghen eyn, in dem namen des vaders vnde des sones vnde des hylghen gheystes, amen. Vortmer beswere yk dy by den worden vnses heren vnde by den worden, de dar saghent den licham vnde dat blod godes, also dat god kumpt van dem hemmel wente an dat ertryke vnde an dat wytte brod, so dattu slast den rechtschuldighen deff siner oghen eyn ut, wan yk den drydden slach sla. + Ik bede dy oghe des rechten deues, oft ghod eyn war ghod si vnde eyn koningh, eyn schypper ouer alle de werld, dat du ramest den def to dem dridden slaghe etc.¹⁴⁴

[In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. I enchant you, eye, by the living God, by the true God, by the undivided God, who is now God and was born by a pure virgin and will remain in eternity, amen. – As I strike you, in the same way may I strike the thief's right eye. + I enchant you, nail, by Our Lady's milk and by the four Evangelists, Luke and Mark and Matthew and John, and by the fifteen Choirs of Angels and by all the Patriarchs, Prophets and Martyrs, the holy Virgins and Widows, the Seven Sacraments and by the Ten Commandments, may you hit the guilty thief in his eye, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. Moreover, I enchant you by Our Lord's words and by the words, which evoke the body and the blood of God, so that God descends from Heaven

143 See also *The Lesser Key of Solomon: Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis: Detailing the Ceremonial Art of Commanding Spirits both Good and Evil*, ed. Joseph H. Peterson (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 2001), 39.

144 Lindgren, *Ein Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arzneibuch* (see note 17), 134.

to Earth and to the white bread, may you hit the guilty thief's eye when I hit for the third time. + I beg you, eye of the true thief, if God is a true God and a king, a creator of the whole world, that you strike the thief with the third blow.]

The sympathetic relationship between the painted eye and the guilty party at the basis of the ritual is explicitly mentioned recalling the analogy between the action of banging in the nail and the effect that this magic practice should have on the thief (*Also wislyken als ik sla an di, so wisliken so mote yk slan an dat oghe der rechten deues*). As in the last English example discussed above, the focus seems to be here on punishing rather than on identifying the culpable, as witnessed by the fact that no gathering of the suspects is required.

The same – punishing – aim is shared by the second version of this charm transmitted in the Stockholm manuscript on fol. 44v, which is introduced by the phrase “Who wants to put out an eye to a thief” (*We de wyl einem deue slan eyn oghe vt*). Here the performing instructions are more detailed. In particular, the eye has to be painted with a mixture of gold foam, egg yolk and mercury on a wide wall and struck with a headless nail made of cypress wood or silver:

We de wyl einem deue slan eyn oghe vt, de schal nemen eynen dodere eyne vnde golt schum vnde quicsuluer vnde menghen dat to samende vnde male dar mede eyn oghe in eyne bredene want in also daner wyse ☉ vnde nemen den eynen naghel ghemaket van syprysen holte efte van suluer, vnde de schal wesen ghesmedet ane houet, vnde setten den naghel mydden an dat oghe vnde spreken den dusse seghenige dre stunde: In dem namen des vaders + vnde des + sones vnde des + hylghen gheystes. Ik beswere dy naghel bi den seuentych namen vnses heren Jhesu Cristy: Deus, Factor, Creator, Redemptor, Saluator, Summum primum et nouyssimum bonum, Trinitas et Unitas, Altissimum, dynghnissimum, omnipotentissimum, dulcissimum, specialissimum, fons, vnus, Ignis, Carytas, Sponsus, Vyterus, Janua, Lapis, Eternus, Alpha et O, Princypium et Finis, Pax, Adonay, Emanuel, Crystus, Benedictus, Myserator, Imago, Sol, Gloria, Splendor, Rex, Veyritas, Auctoritas, etc. + So sla den den ersten slach vnde sprek: Mynschen oghe, bedenke dyk vnde vrochte de groten myldecheit vnde de barmherticheyt ghodes vnde bringhe dat vorstolne gud an dusser stund wedder sunder grote pine. Dar na so sla den anderen slach vnde sprek: Yk beswer di naghel by den ix koren der engel vnde bi dem valle, den Luciuar vel myt sinen ghesellen van dem hemmel wente an de helle grunt, vnde bede di bi den ver ewangelisten Lucas, Marcus, Mateus vnde Johannes vnde by den sternen des hemmels vnde bi den luchteren, de dar stan vor dem anghesichte ghodes vnses heren Jhesu Cristi, dat du drynghest des rechtschuldighen deues oghe, dat he dat wedder brynge ane grote pine; vnde sla den dridden slach vnde sprek: Mynschen oghe, besinne dik noch vnde vrochte de groten myldecheit vnde de groten barmherticheyt godes vnde ok de kraft vnde macht godes vnde al dusser vorbenomden hylghen vnde bryng dat vorstolne gud wedder in dusser suluen stunt. Ik beswere di bi dem ryche des jongsten daghes vnde bi der bodeschop vnses heren vnde bede dy bi der hylgen vroude, also he ghesant ward in dat ertrike van entfenginge des hylghen gheistes, vnde beswere dy bi der besnidinge, also ghod besneden wart, vnde beswere dy bi der dope, dar ghod suluen in ghedoft is. Ok bes-

were yk di bi sunte Johanse, de ouc dofte in der hilghen Jordanen, vnde beswere di bi den hyghen dren konnigen Jasper, Melcher, Baltser, vnde beswere dy bi allen alteren vnde bi allen myssen, de dar vppe schen, vnde bi allen almysen, de in godes ere gheuen werdet, vnde bi der glorie, de dar ist an dem trone des hemmels, vnde ok bi den suluen luchteren, de dar stan vor dem anghesichte ghodes, so beswere ik di oghe bi ghodes ghebort vnde bi al sinem liden vnde hemmelvart vnde ok siner leuen moder ghebort vnde ok al sinen leuen hilghen vnde bi erer pine vnde erer hemmelvart, bi den aposlen vnde merteleren, bi den x dusent ridderen vnde bi den xi dusent megheden vnde bi al sinen hilghen. Ik beswere di bi den sacramenten, de in hemmel vnde in ertryke sint, dat du oghe vletest vnde dwinghest vt des rechten deues houede, ome to brekende vnde to vallende, so wisliken alse ghod eyn war ghod is vnde eyn recht rychter is. In den namen des vaders vnde des sones vnde des hilghen gheystes, de ewechliken bliuen schal vnde ys vnde wel an eyner personen ane ende, amen.¹⁴⁵

[Who wants to put out an eye to a thief has to take the yolk of an egg and gold foam and mercury, mix them together and paint with it an eye on a wide wall in this way ☉ and take a nail made of cypress wood or of silver, which must be forged without head, and place the nail in the middle of the eye and recite this blessing three times: In the name of the Father + and of the Son and of the + Holy Spirit. I enchant you, nail, by the seventy names of Our Lord Jesus Christ: Deus, Factor, Creator, Redemptor, Saluator, Summum primum et nouissimum bonum, Trinitas et Unitas, Altissimum, dyngnissimum, omnipotentissimum, dulcissimum, specialissimum, fons, vnus, Ignis, Carytas, Sponsus, Vyterus, Janua, Lapis, Eternus, Alpha et O, Princypium et Finis, Pax, Adonay, Emanuel, Crystus, Benedictus, Myserator, Imago, Sol, Gloria, Splendor, Rex, Veyritas, Auctoritas, etc. + Then strike for the first time and say: Human eye, take care and be afraid of God's indulgence and mercy and bring back the stolen goods now without great pain. Then strike for the second time and say: I enchant you, nail, by the nine Choirs of Angels and the Fall of Lucifer and his companions from Heaven to the bottom of Hell and by the four Evangelists Luke, Mark, Matthew and John and the stars of the sky and by the lights, which are there in front of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that you urge the guilty thief's eye to bring back the booty without great pain. And strike for the third time and say: Human eye, reflect and be afraid of God's great indulgence and mercy and of the force of God and of all the Saints mentioned above and bring back the stolen goods immediately. I enchant you by the Judge of the Doomsday and Our Lord's message. I pray you for the sake of the holy news of His incarnation through the conception of the Holy Spirit and I enchant you by the circumcision, as God was circumcised, and I enchant you by the Baptism, as God himself was bapthized. And I enchant you by Saint John, who baptized in the Holy Jordan, and I enchant you by the Three Holy Kings, Caspar, Mechior, Balthazar and I enchant you by all the altars and by the masses, which are celebrated on them, and by all the alms, which are given in honor of God, and by the glory of the throne of Heaven and by the same lights, which are in front of God, so I enchant you, eye, by God's birth, passion and ascension and by his Holy Mother's birth, pain and ascension, by the Apostles and Martyrs, the ten thousand horsemen and the eleven thousand maidens and by all His Saints. I enchant you by the Sacraments, which are in Heaven and on Earth, that you, eye, water and push in the true thief's head to pop out and

145 Lindgren, *Ein Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arzneibuch* (see note 17), 134–36.

to fall out, so much so that God is a true God and a true judge. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, who will remain eternally and is and will be a person without end, amen.]

As in the preceding charm, the ritual consists of three phases, corresponding to the three blows struck into the painted eye with the headless nail. The first and the third blows correspond to an invocation addressing directly the thief's eye, while the second blow is accompanied by a command asking the nail to urge the thief to return the booty. At each blow the language of the invocation becomes more threatening until the eye is requested to pop out of the thief's head.

The same manuscript preserves another – incomplete – ritual based on a painted eye, which, however, is not explicitly aimed at identifying or punishing a thief, but simply at finding out how an object disappeared, even though it clearly refers to theft. The verbal part of the charm – the formula – is not preserved, since the text ends with the imperative *spreck aldus* “say so.” What is preserved is the non-verbal part of the ritual: one should take silver foam and glair, mix them together, draw an eye on the wall facing east before the sun rises, go to church, attend the mass and finally go back to the eye on the wall with the suspect. Here one should take a piece of paper in the right hand and pronounce the missing formula:

Offt wan du wat verloiren heues ind woult dat wys weten, so bere as du vp weme denckes, dey dat gedan hebbe. So nym schuym van siluer ind dat witte van eyne eye ind male eyne oughe in die want teghen dat oist, eir dan dey sonne vp ga, ind ganck dair na ind hore misse, ind ga dan weder to deme oughen mit deme ghenen, dair du vp denckes, vnd nym eyne breeff in dey rechteren hant ind spreek aldus...¹⁴⁶


[If you have lost something and want to know how, so behave as if you were thinking of the person who has done that. Then take litarge and egg glair and paint an eye on the wall facing east before the sun rises, then go to church and attend the mass and then go back to the eye with the person that you suspect and take a piece of paper in your right hand and say so...]

The ritual of the Eye of Abraham is, from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, attested in the High German language area as well. See, for example, Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. 2318:

R Selberschaumb undt Essick gleich viel, das Weiß von einem Eye, misch das zuesammen undt gehe zu einer Want, die mit Läm ist gekläbt undt schab mit einem Messer ein Flecklein undt mach ein Aug als hie stet ☉ und laß alle die darzue gen, auff wen man sich vermußt,

¹⁴⁶ Lindgren, *Ein Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arzneibuch* (see note 17), 101.

undt sprich dise Wortt drey mall, 'Nabas, Thabats, Naypha, so lust den Dip erscheinen. Nen, der die Ding gestollen hat, und wolt ir die Ding wider geben, die man gestolen hat' undt laß sie in die Figur stehen undt sprich 'Her Gott, wen due alle Ding aus nichte hast gemacht undt den Menschen auß Erden hast geformirt und Thobias seine Augen vorblindtest undt mit deiner Gewaltt wider erleuchterst, ich bit dich sunderlich, op dieser Mensch schuldig an der Diperey, also mustu in verplindten als (du) Dobiam verblindest.' So hab den ein Kupper Nagel undt stich dan in die Figur undt schlag mit einem Hamer uff den Na(g)ell. Ist, das er schuldig, so driffstu im das rechte Aug, schlegstu zum 2., so schreit er, schlegstu zum 3. Mal, so get im das Aug auß. Probatum.¹⁴⁷

[Take the same quantity of silver foam and vinegar, and the white of an egg, mix them together and go to a wall covered with lime and scratch a small spot with a knife and make an eye as this one . Let all the suspects come and pronounce these words three times: 'Nabas, Thabats, Naypha, may the thief appear. Someone, who has stolen the object and wants to give back the object which he has stolen.' And let them stand in front of the image and say: 'Lord, you who have created all things from nothing and molded the man from earth and have blinded the eyes of Tobit and have let them see again with your power, I beg you that, if this person is guilty of theft, you blind him as you did with Tobit.' Then take a copper nail and strike it in the image and hit the nail with a hammer. If he is guilty, you will hit him in the right eye, hit for the second time and he will shout, hit for the third time and his eye will pop out. It is proven.]

Unlike in the Middle Low German tradition, the traditional gathering of the suspects has been retained here, as well as the use of a copper nail. As far as the formula is concerned, it is divided into two parts. The first one, introduced by three *nomina magica*, states the aim of the ritual and, in a way, offers the thief a last chance to admit his crime and return the booty, while the second one takes the form of a prayer, in which the performer begs God to blind the thief exactly as he did with Tobit in the biblical account.¹⁴⁸

Despite its later attestation, this ritual is well represented in Scandinavia as well. The seventeenth-century Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 241 8vo, fol. 5r, for example, preserves this version of the Eye of Abraham charm:

147 Günther, "Kleine Beiträge" (see note 96), 79. See also Adolf Spamer, *Romanusbüchlein: Historisch-philologischer Kommentar zu einem deutschen Zauberbuch. Aus seinem Nachlaß*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Volkskunde, 17 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), 254.

148 See also Tobit 2:9–10: "That same night I washed and went into my court yard, where I lay down to sleep beside the wall. Because of the heat I left my face uncovered. I did not know that sparrows were perched on the wall above me; their warm droppings settled in my eyes, causing white scales on them. I went to doctors for a cure, but the more they applied ointments, the more my vision was obscured by the white scales, until I was totally blind. For four years I was unable to see, and all my kindred were distressed at my condition. Aniqar, however, took care of me for two years, until he left for Elam." and 3:17: "So Raphael was sent to heal them both: to remove the white scales from Tobit's eye, so that he might again see with his own eyes God's light [...]."

Tag quegsölff, huit krid och meniske blod söndag vnder mesen, tuerr det til samen. at det bliffuer som en dej, mall der met it öye paa it bord for dig och djse ord der runden omkring:

Uolach-adabola aprision.

Set saa sömet mit paa öyestenen och leds denne formaning:

Satan, Belzebub, Belial, Astarot, Babel, Cizitio, Erebi, Bamola, Rebos, samt alle dieffle som i helffuede och jorderig ere, jeg besuerger och formaner eder ved gud fader, søn och hellig aand, ved guds mayestetis krafft och magt, ved Jesu Christi hellige vndfangelse, fødsel, pine och døed. Jeg besuerger och formaner eder ved det rör som jøederne finge Jesum i sin høyre haand och ved det spyd som bleff stungen op i Jesu side och ved dj 3 jern nagler som Jesus bleff fest til korset met, och ved det scebter som Jesus haffer j sin høyre haand, der hand foer ned til helffuede. Jeg besuerger och formaner eder ved Jesu Christj hellige och høyeste dom stoel, och ved den for ferdelig dome dag, och ved den dom som Jesus Christus skal retferdeligen aff sige offuer alle vgudelige menisker paa den yderste domme dag. Jeg besuerger och formaner eder ved soelens och manens speyell och ved alle lyse och klare stierne, smaa och store, och ved den stierne som lede de hellige 3 konger til Betlehem met dieris offer. Jeg besuerger och formaner eder ved jomfru Mariam, guds søns moeder och ved alle dj dröffuelser hun haffer, och ved alle dj gleder hun haffer. Jeg besuerger och formaner eder ved S. Peder, ved S. Pouel och ved alle dj helgen som j jorderige ere. Ved alle disse artihele ord och formaninger besuerger och formaner jeg eder, j dieffle, atj nu j denne stund vdslaar der meninskes öye, som det(e) N. har staalet. Slaa saa 3 salg paa sömet och sig:

Heren, du est retferdig, och sin som er sterk. Eli Elion jban. Dette söm j det meniskes öye, som dete N. haar staalet.

Lad saa sömet side j öyet i nj timmer och gach bordt, see dich iche tilbage och luch dören efter dig. Saa springer öyet strax vd.¹⁴⁹

[Take quicksilver, white chalk and human blood during the Mass on Sunday, mix them together until it becomes as a dough, with which you will paint an eye onto the wood in front of you and write these words around it:

Uolach-adabola aprision.

Hit a nail in the middle of the pupil of the painted eye and read this formula:

Satan, Belzebub, Belias, Astarot, Babel, Cizitio, Erebi, Bamila, Rebos, together with all the devils in Hell and on earth, I conjure and enchant you by God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, by God's force and potence, by Jesus Christ's holy conception, birth, passion and death. I conjure and enchant you by the reed, which the Jews placed in Jesus' right hand, and by the spear, which was stuck into Jesus' side, and by the three iron nails, with which Jesus was fastened to the Cross, and by the scepter, which Jesus has in his right hand when he goes to Hell. I conjure and enchant you by Jesus Christ's holy and highest court and by the terrible Doomsday and by the judgement, which Jesus Christ will pronounce over the wicked on the Last Day. I conjure and enchant you by the face of the sun and the moon and by all lights and stars, small and big, and of the star, which led the Holy

149 Ohrt, *Danmarks Trylleformler* (see note 28), 433–35.

Three Kings with their offers to Bethlehem. I conjure and enchant you by the Virgin Mary, the mother of God's son, and by all her sorrows and joys. I conjure and enchant you by Saint Peter and Saint Paul and by all the Saints, who are on earth. For the sake of all these words I conjure and enchant you, devils, may you knock out now the eye of the man, who has stolen this N.

Strike the nail three times and say:

Lord, you are just and your judgement is strong. Eli Elion jban. This nail in the eye of the man, who has stolen this N.

Let the nail stay in the eye for nine hours and go away, do not look back and lock the door behind you. In this way the eye will pop out immediately.]

Another judicial ritual to identify the person responsible for a theft is described in a thirteenth-century High German charm transmitted in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 536, fol. 89v. In this case the instrument used to ascertain the identity of the thief is not a painted eye, but a sieve:¹⁵⁰

De furto. Accipe cribrum. Nim ein sip vnd stich en miten da durh ein spinnelen. da an ein enspin stech. vnd gib daz zwein zehaben vf den vingeren gegen ein ander. vde bestelle alle die hinz den dv dich der diube versehest. vnd sprich wider ein. Er ist hinne der daz hat ver-stolen Der ander sprech ern ist. Diu wort sprechen dri stunt. vnd sprich den. nv seze ez got uf den reht shvldeger vnd lege den ein salz uf daz sip. in dem namen des vater. in dem namen des svns. in dem namen des heiligen geistes. in dem namen aller heiligen. in dem namen des heiligen cruces. Vnd sprich den disiu wort. In cryucis wise. + + + + +¹⁵¹ xpc calcat.¹⁵²

[About theft. Take a sieve. Take a sieve and stick a spindle in the middle of it. Then insert another (spindle) and let someone hold the second one with the fingers. Call in all the people, that you suspect to be the thief and say toward them: 'The person who has stolen this is in this room.' The other person says: 'It is not him.' Pronounce these words three times, then say: 'Now, God, grasp the true culpable' and put some salt onto the sieve, in the name of the Father, in the name of the Son, in the name of the Holy Spirit, in the name

150 See also Fritz Boehm, "Koskinomantie," *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. Vol. 5: *Knoblauch – Matthias*, ed. Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1932–1933), col. 323–28.

151 Some (possibly six) words were written in correspondence to the superscript crosses and have been erased. Anton Birlinger, "Kleinere deutsche Sprachdenkmäler des XI. XII. Jahrhunderts," *Germania* 8 (1863): 298–303; here 303 replaces the missing words with *pecto – pertho – pecho – perdo – pedo*, which are to be read at the end of a Latin charm against worms immediately following this one in the manuscript. According to Eleonora Cianci, "*De furto*. Il più antico incantesimo di area tedesca per riconoscere il ladro: eredità e contesto culturale," *Itinerari* 4 (2014): 207–18; here 215 the shape and size of the erased words do not seem to correspond to these mysterious words.

152 Cianci, "*De furto*" (see note 151), 212–13.

of all Saints, in the name of the Holy Cross. And then pronounce these words forming a cross + + + + + Christ is coming.]

Sieves were used as divinatory instruments already in antiquity: in ancient Greece coscinomancy was practiced mainly by elderly women and employed, among other things, to ascertain whether someone's love was reciprocated or not.¹⁵³ Mantic rituals based on the use of a sieve are well attested in the popular traditions of the Mediterranean area. Near Brescia in Northern Italy people used, for example, to hang a sieve and to observe its oscillation to identify thieves.¹⁵⁴ It is reasonable to think that the sieve in the charm in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 536 had a similar function and started to twirl in front of the culpable.¹⁵⁵

A sieve is also mentioned in a Latin charm transmitted on the flyleaf of a twelfth-century breviary preserved in Graz (Grazer Handschrift 41/12), where it is used together with some water and bread and with a coin to ascertain a person's guilt or innocence by turning eastward or westward:

In nomine patris et filii, spiritus sancti. aqua dicta, aqua scripta, aqua benedicta. in nomine domini adiuro te nummum per omnes angelos et archangelos dei, adivro te aquam per solem et lunam, adivro te panis per sanctum sanguinem Xristi, adiuro te cribrum per uirgines celorum et per omnes sanctos dei qui sunt in celo et in terra, ut si homo iste culpabilis sit in hoc furto, uertatis uos ad orientem, sin autem, ad occidentem. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. amen. Justus. on [sic] pater on filius on spiritus sanctus. omni-

153 See also Boehm, "Koskinomantie" (see note 150), col. 323.

154 See also Leonardo Urbinati, "Fa' bala el creel... ovvero l'antica arte magica della coschinomanzia," *Civiltà bresciana* 13.4 (2004): 67–74.

155 See also Boehm, "Koskinomantie" (see note 148), col. 324. A similar ritual to identify the thief is described in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, where a sieve and a pair of scissors are used: MacGregor Mathers, *The Key* (see note 85), 50: "The Manner of causing the Sieve to turn, that thou mayest know who has committed the Theft. Take a Sieve and stick into the outside of the rim the open points of a pair of scissors, and having rested the rings of the said opened scissors on the thumb-nails of two persons, let one of them say the following Prayer: Dies mies yes-chet bene done fet Donnima Metemauz; O Lord, Who liberatedst the holy Susanna from a false accusation of crime; O Lord, Who liberatedst the holy Thekla; O Lord, Who rescuedst the holy Daniel from the den of lions, and the Three Children from the burning fiery furnace, free the innocent and reveal the guilty. After this let him or her pronounce aloud the names and surnames of all the persons living in the house where the theft has been committed, who may be suspected of having stolen the things in question, saying: 'By Saint Peter and Saint Paul, such a person hath not done this thing.' And let the other reply: 'By Saint Peter and Saint Paul, he (or she) hath not done it.' Let this be repeated thrice for each person named and suspected, and it is certain that on naming the person who hath committed the theft or done the crime, the sieve will turn of itself without its being able to stop it, and by this thou shalt know the evil doer."

potens sempiternus deus, qui cuncta ex nichilo creasti hominemque de limo terre formasti, te simplex deprecor, ut per intercessionem sanctissime dei genitricis Marie et omnium sanctorum angelorum, archangelorum, prophetarum, episcoporum, martyrum, confessorum atque uirginum et omnium sanctorum et per intercessionem sancti Brandani abbatis nobis experiri facias de hac re qua incerti sumus.¹⁵⁶

[In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Mentioned water, written water, blessed water. In the name of God I enchant you, coin, by all God's Angels and Archangels; I enchant you, water, by the sun and the moon; I enchant you, bread, by Christ's holy blood; I enchant you, sieve, by the virgins in Heaven and by all God's Saints, who are in Heaven and on Earth, so that you turn eastward if this man is responsible for the theft and westward if he is innocent. In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, amen. Justus. on pater on filius on spiritus sanctus.¹⁵⁷ Omnipotent eternal God, who have created all things and have shaped the man from mud, I beg that you show us what we are uncertain about, for the intercession of the holy Mary, Mother of God and of all the Saints, Angels, Archangels, Prophets, Bishops, Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins and of all the Saints and for the intercession of our Abbot Saint Brandan.]

4 Conclusion

As the extensive – though not exhaustive – corpus of texts presented in this study should have shown, defense of property in its various forms was a central concern in medieval and early modern Germanic societies, which developed a wide palette of rituals aimed first of all at preventing theft and secondly, in case this turned out to be impossible, at stopping the robber's escape and recovering the booty or, at least, at identifying and – in some cases – punishing the person responsible for the crime.

Preventative charms have recourse to mainly Christian motifs, such as the two thieves – Dismas and Gesmas – crucified together with Jesus or the reference to Christ's nativity in Bethlehem, baptism in the River Jordan and passion and death in Jerusalem. A further Christian motif can be found in a series of late Scandinavian manuscripts, where the meeting between Christ and a potential thief with the former dissuading the latter from stealing is described. Protection against theft can be general or specific for one single object, as in the eleventh-century runic inscription on a copper-scale box from Sigtuna, in which the image of a bloated carrion-bird swelling after devouring the robber's corpse should rep-

¹⁵⁶ Anton Schönbach, "Segen aus Grazer Hss.," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 18 (1875): 78–80; here 79. See also Holzmann, "*Ich beswer dich* (see note 15), 160.

¹⁵⁷ The Latin text is evidently corrupt here.

resent a deterrent to anyone intending to steal it. Moreover, in some cases theft is grouped in with other threats, such as wolves.

Rituals aimed at stopping thieves from escaping and/or recovering the stolen goods can consist in the simple imperative “stand still as a stone/stake,” in the invocation to God to stop thieves (and enemies in general), which can be associated to references to biblical episodes involving divine intervention to make something stand still (e.g., the division of the Red Sea, Joshua stopping the sun in the sky, or Jesus calming the storm) or in the quadruple repetition of the formula *Crux Christi reducat* toward the four corners of the world. The reason why the Holy Cross was attributed the property of being helpful to locate missing objects has to be sought in the legend, according to which it had been stolen, hidden and finally recovered by Saint Helena, even though the fifteenth-century Middle Dutch version of this ritual preserved in Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 697, to recover stolen properties prescribing to pronounce the formula while lying on the earth in the shape of a cross can be interpreted as reminiscent of old heathen worship practices toward the Mother Earth and the Sun. A more macabre ritual involving the use of a dead person’s tibia and of a candle is transmitted in Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donauerschingen 793, while an originally ideographic runic formula invoking pagan forces has been translated into insular Latin script and inserted in a diagram, which has to be hidden under the left heel (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E XVIII, fol. 15v).

Practices to identify thieves can be private and extra judicial or public and judicially relevant and can be performed both *in praesentia* and *in absentia* of the suspects. Certainly private are the rituals aimed at having a vision of the thief in dream or at evoking his or her image in water or in other liquids. These goals can be achieved with the help of a written magical formula, which has to be placed onto one’s forehead, under one’s head or into the right ear, or carving a magic symbol on the bottom of a dish made of ash wood, putting water into it and strewing yarrow into the water while invoking a series of pagan gods, as described in the Icelandic *Galdrarbók*. In another Icelandic charm blood from the performer’s big toe and right hand has to be dripped around the magical stave carved on the bottom of the bowl. Other rituals aimed at identifying the person responsible for a theft assumed the presence of an audience and often required the gathering of all the suspects, since they were, at least originally, judicially relevant. These include the “cheese ordeal” revealing the person unable to swallow a piece of enchanted cheese as the thief, which attested in a series of Latin, German and Icelandic texts, the book-and-key ritual, in which the key placed in a Bible (or Psalter) was supposed to turn once the name of the criminal was mentioned, the practice involving the use of a number of pebbles (or in a variant pieces of paper) – one for each sus-

pect – and water, or the use of a magical sieve to ascertain the identity of the robber.

Another ritual to identify and, in some variants, to punish thieves is the so-called “Eye of Abraham” or, in German, *Diebesauge*, requiring to paint an eye and then to stick or hit it with a nail or another sharp object. This procedure, which relies on an assumed sympathetic connection between the painted eye and the guilty party, is witnessed in a great number of Early Modern English, Middle Low German, Early Modern German, and Scandinavian charms diverging in the formula and in some details of the performing instructions (e.g., the materials of the paint and of the nail used to stick the eye) and, in some cases, in their ultimate aim. Definitely punitive are, for example, the charm transmitted in London, British Library, MS Sloane 3846, fol. 83v and the two versions included in Stockholm, Kungliga bibliotek, X 113, fol. 44r.

All these rituals, whether merely private or judicially acknowledged as ordeals or judicial trials, involve the intervention of some supernatural force. The exact nature of this force is not always easy to recognize, since pagan, Christian, and, sometimes, satanic elements are often coexisting and intertwined in these texts. From the Old English charms against cattle theft, which go back to extremely ancient pagan rituals and have, at a later stage, been more or less successfully Christianized with the insertion of orthodox Christian elements and biblical references, to the Bergen rune-stick, whose author appears to be fully conscious that, at the end of the fourteenth century, invoking Odin was a religious minefield, from the astute attempt to conceal the pagan content of the charm in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E XVIII assumed by Schneider,¹⁵⁸ to the openly malicious connotation of some later charms, which overtly belong to black magic, each text is the expression of a particular historical situation and of the attitude and awareness of its author, scribe, or collector.

In this thick web of religious references we come across some recurrent motifs, which turn up in different traditions and in different periods. This is, for example, the case of the reference to the apocryphal story of Dismas and Gesmas to prevent theft, of the invocation to the Cross and to Saint Helena to retrieve stolen goods, or of the use of an enchanted piece of cheese to ascertain if a suspect really was guilty. On the other hand, some other practices, such the variant of the book-and-key ritual in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 710 4to, fol. 74, in which a tooth is used, do not find any correspondence within the corpus and deserve further investigation, in order to ascertain if they are the result of some contamination in the tradition, or if they represent the unique witness of

158 Schneider, “Die strophischen Strukturen” (see note 55), 51–55.

an otherwise unattested and possibly geographically circumscribed magical habit.

Moreover, some of these rituals, such as the so-called Eye of Abraham charm or the practice of coscinomancy, can be traced back to ancient Greece and are attested in a large number of sources reaching far beyond the borders of the Germanic language area. If the story of magic against thieves does not begin in the Middle Ages, it certainly does not end with the beginning of the Modern Age, since many of the above-discussed practices, though deprived of their original judicial value, survived in popular belief until the contemporary age. This is, for example, the case of the book-and-key ritual or of the sieve ordeal, which, in various forms, are largely attested until the nineteenth century. In this respect, magical practices to prevent and punish theft have withstood both the Inquisition and the Enlightenment, as to demonstrate that defending property continued to be an essential issue, as it was in the Middle Ages and long before that.¹⁵⁹

159 Alison Coudert, in her contribution to this volume, though approaching the topic from a different perspective, confirms the continuation of an enchanted worldview well into the nineteenth century. In fact, the belief in magic, in astrology, horoscopes, alternative medicine, and many other, not scientifically proven methods, objects, teachings, and concepts continues well until today.

Aideen M. O'Leary

Constructing the Magical Biography of the Irish Druid Mog Ruith

The legendary Irish druid Mog Ruith (“Slave of Wheel”) was a significant figure in the development of Irish Christianity, particularly in the context of ‘Gregorian reform’ in the late eleventh century.¹ This included his close association with Simon Magus, adversary of the apostles Peter and Paul, and his sinister crime of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, an event which testifies to a remarkable interaction in the Celtic world between pre-Christian magical vestiges and medieval Christian realities. My study here concerns an individual who was relatively well developed across a wide range of medieval Irish literary and historical sources.

This discussion will be based on references, poems, and anecdotes about Mog Ruith’s adventures and how they advanced Irish ecclesiastics’ claim for Ireland’s inclusion in universal Christian history. I will focus on four of the most significant moments among his many and varied appearances in medieval Irish texts; each of these emphasized his supernatural credentials and in turn their political, historical and religious consequences for Ireland.² I will consider him first on a universal (Christian) scale, and then assess his local Irish historical significance.³

We have little contemporary evidence for druidic roles or teachings in ancient, late antique, or early medieval Ireland.⁴ What we do know concerned

1 I am currently undertaking a full study of the political, historical, and religious significance of this druid’s legendary adventures, particularly his role as executioner of St. John the Baptist.

2 For useful though brief accounts of the issues, see Thomas F. O’Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1945), 519–22; James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929; rev. imp., by L. Bieler, Dublin: Irish University Press, 1966), 749–53; and Salvador Ryan, “‘I, too, am a Christian’: Early Martyrs and their Lives in Late Medieval and Early Modern Irish Manuscript Tradition,” *Saints and Sanctity*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Clayton, *Studies in Church History*, 47 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2011), 193–205; here 196–201.

3 All medieval references to druidry and magic come to us through a Christian viewpoint; cf. Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (1991; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005).

4 Lewis Spence, *The Magic Arts in Celtic Britain* (London: Rider and Co., 1945), 12–14 and 23–24.

Aideen M. O'Leary, University of Aberdeen, Scotland

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-004>

Gaul and Britain rather than Ireland, as that island was never truly 'Romanized.'⁵ Most of the Greek and Roman accounts of Celts were concerned with Gauls or other Continental Celtic groups; many authors were interested in how barbarians lived. They placed special emphasis on the prestige and roles of druids, as well as druidic religious teachings and practices.⁶ Most of this evidence was based on the first-hand testimony of Posidonius. Though not specific to Ireland, these accounts are regarded as generally applicable to the island.

In the mid-seventh century the 'Irish Augustine' (in his work *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, 'On the miracles of holy Scripture') mentioned druidic teachings of that time about some form of transmigration of souls,⁷ but this is a rather brief and mysterious reference. In addition, medieval Irish tales offer some insights into the reimagined characteristics of pre-Christian deities, and druids who were often merely comical and so must be treated with caution.⁸

The evidence for Mog Ruith divides itself into stories portraying him as a respected ancestor on the one hand, and those which displayed him in a far more sinister light on the other. Therefore there are several possible interpretations of his name. The most likely are 'Slave of Roth' (if Roth is taken as a personal name), and 'Slave of Wheel' which is probably more meaningful; *roth* could also refer to the sun.⁹ The Latin form of the name is *magus rotarum*, 'Druid of Wheels', almost certainly a translation of the Irish name. *Magus* reinforces

5 *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*, ed. and trans. John P. Koch and John Carey, 4th ed. Celtic Studies Publications, 1 (1995; Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2003); Spence, *The Magic Arts* (see note 4), 41–48. For brief summaries of individual druids in medieval Irish literature, see also John Matthews, *The Druid Source Book* (London: Blandford Press, 1996), 26–41 (Mog Ruith is mentioned on 31–34). Cf. also Spence, *The Magic Arts* (see note 4), 12 and 23–24.

6 For instance, *The Celtic Heroic Age*, trans. Koch and Carey (see note 5), 13–14 (§18: Diodorus Siculus), 18 (§19: Strabo), and 21–23 (§§13–18: Julius Caesar); Aileen M. O'Leary, "The Heretic and the Hibernophobe: Foreign Perceptions of Ireland from Antiquity to c. AD 1200," *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 71 (2013): 1–51; here 7–8. For discussion of the ancient and medieval evidence, see also Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *The Sacred Isle: Belief and Religion in Pre-Christian Ireland* (Cork: Collins Press, 1999), 98–127.

7 Marina Smyth, *Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland*, Studies in Celtic History, 15 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), 73–74; O'Leary, "The Heretic" (see note 6), 18.

8 For example, in the epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, "The Cattle-raid of Cooley": *Táin: A New Translation of the Táin Bó Cuailnge*, trans. Ciarán Carson (London: Penguin, 2007), 43–44, on the druid Cathbad. Cf. Ó hÓgáin, *The Sacred Isle* (see note 6), 75–97.

9 See discussion below on his role in creating *in roth rámach* (the rowing-wheel).

Mog Ruith's connection with Simon Magus,¹⁰ and hints at the more sinister angle of the druid's biography.

Genealogy is the medieval Irish genre where Mog Ruith was most frequently mentioned. References to the name were numerous, and varied in form and date. He established his kin-group in the Fermoy area of present-day County Cork, as the genealogies show, and his origins clearly also lay in the south of Ireland, according to many prose legends¹¹: he was born on Dairbre (Valentia Island) off the south-western Kerry coast.¹²

However, genealogies are not the most informative genre through which to investigate Mog Ruith's activities or significance: his appearances vary from a listed name to brief anecdotes. What most genealogical references had in common was to name him as ancestor of Fir Maige Féne, the early-medieval inhabitants of the area now known as Fermoy (the people's name later gave rise to the place-name), thus implicitly affording him high respect; then several generations of his descendants are listed.¹³ Other genealogical records briefly recount the highlights of his life, or further place-name origins: for example Tlachtga and its origin from the name of Mog Ruith's daughter.¹⁴ His druidic achievements are accentuated in several genealogical accounts, though varying in some of the details. This summary best connects Mog Ruith with druidry on a universal scale¹⁵: "Mug Roith mac Fergusa a quo Fir Maigi Féine: is é luid do fhoglaim dru-ídechta co Símon ndruíd" ('Mug Roith son of Fergus, from whom Fir Maige Féne: he went to Simon Magus to learn druidry.') This ensures an Irish connection with the best-known and (from a Christian viewpoint) infamous adversary to the apostles Peter and Paul¹⁶; in this way Mog Ruith was shown to have unsurpassed druidic accreditation.¹⁷ Moreover, teacher and pupil collaborated to create an object which may explain Mog Ruith's name¹⁸:

10 On the association between Mog Ruith and Simon Magus, see my consideration of genealogical references below.

11 These legends include *Forbhais Droma Damhgaire*, on which see the discussion below.

12 Käte Müller-Lisowski, ed. and trans., "Texte zur Mog Ruith Sage," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 14 (1923): 145–63; here 154–55.

13 *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I*, ed. M. A. O'Brien (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976), 285–86.

14 *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I*, ed. O'Brien (see note 13), 280.

15 *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I*, ed. O'Brien (see note 13), 279 (my translation). *Druídecht* may refer to pre-Christian druidry in the Celtic world as perceived by medieval Irish Christians.

16 Alberto Ferreiro, *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval, and Early Modern Traditions*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 125 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005).

17 Ó hÓgáin, *The Sacred Isle* (see note 6), 209–10, who here described Simon as "the charlatan of Christian tradition."

ocus is maroen do-rónsat in roth rámach tic dar Éoraip ría mbráth hisin <m>bliadain ría cathugud do Símon fri Pól ocus fri Petur. Ocus is aire chairigthir for Éoraip ar dáig dalta cach ceniúil ro-bae moalle fri Símon i<c> cathugud fri Petur.

[and together they made the rowing-wheel, which will come across Europe before (the Last) Judgment, in the year before Simon contested with Paul and Peter. And Europe is blamed for (the fact that) there was a pupil of every race together with Simon contesting against Peter.]

The rowing-wheel may suggest that Mog Ruith himself was a remnant of a pre-Christian sun-god, and associated with *Roth Fáil*, a wheel-shaped stone engraving in southern Ireland, and with *Lia Fáil*, a phallic stone at the royal site of Tara which apparently played a role in prophesying future kings.¹⁹ Wheel-shaped images datable to pre-Christian Celtic-speaking areas are thought to represent the sun or a sun-god or goddess.²⁰ This also applies to several types of artefacts in circular shape; their connections with the sun are more tenuous.²¹ In an Irish prose legend Mog Ruith attempts to stop the sun from shining, in demonic fashion.²²

Finally, this rowing-wheel was said to have been constructed by Mog Ruith and Simon Magus together, in an indirect reference to the apocryphal *passio*

18 *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I*, ed. O'Brien (see note 13), 279 (my translation).

19 For discussion of solar images in antiquity, see Miranda Aldhouse Green, *The Sun-Gods of Ancient Europe* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1991), 35–55, and 86–106 on Celtic sun-gods. On “ancient solar beliefs” and their medieval Irish connections, see Ó hÓgáin, *The Sacred Isle* (see note 6), 158 and 209. Cf. Spence, *The Magic Arts* (see note 4), 36–37. On wheel shapes on Irish high crosses, see Kees Veelenturf, “Visions of the End and Irish High Crosses,” *Apocalyptic and Eschatological Heritage: The Middle East and Celtic Realms*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin: Four Courts, 2003), 144–73; here 160–73.

20 For discussion and images of wheel shapes possibly representing the sun (including gold rings and collars), see O’Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (see note 2), 300–07, especially 304–05. On Roman cults of sun-worship see David Fideler, *Jesus Christ, Sun of God: Ancient Cosmology and Early Christian Symbolism* (Wheaton, IL: Quest, 1993), 173; Gaston H. Helsberghe, *The Cult of Sol Invictus* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 28–33.

21 See also Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, “Magical Gems in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods: Tradition, Transformation, Innovation,” *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l’Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. Véronique Dasen and Jean-Michel Spieser (Florence: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), 87–130; here 96–98; H. Rudolf Engler, *Die Sonne als Symbol: Der Schlüssel zu den Mysterien* (Küsnacht-Zürich: Helianthus-Verlag, 1962), 36–40 (Scandinavian comparisons); and Sir Robert Bell, *The Story of the Sun* (London: Cassell, 1893), for a scientific study.

22 Müller-Lisowski, ed. and trans., “Texte” (see note 12); cf. Henry Maguire, “Magic and Sorcery in Ninth-Century Manuscript Illumination,” *Les savoirs magiques* (see note 21), 397–408; here 397–98.

of the apostles Peter and Paul (in various versions),²³ in which Simon presented himself as the true Messiah by attempting to fly. He was brought down and killed following St. Peter's prayer.²⁴ Since Europe in its entirety was blamed for the wheel, Mog Ruith may have been seen as part of a pan-European cohort of *magi* of malintent. This prophecy with reference to the Last Judgment gave the Irish druid a lasting significance for Christians.²⁵

As we would expect, Simon Magus was here presented as purely evil – in the canonical Acts of the Apostles²⁶; and apocryphal stories, which were eagerly adapted in medieval Irish literature (in Latin and Irish). This illustrated Irish clerics' wish to write their homeland into the darker side of Christianity as well as the positive elements thereof.²⁷ Simon is sometimes regarded as the founder of the 'heresy' of Gnosticism²⁸; somewhat speculative attempts have been made to identify his teachings.²⁹ His demise was portrayed dramatically on Irish high crosses.³⁰

23 *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Ricard A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, 2 vols in 3 (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1891–1903), I.223–34; cf. Aileen M. O'Leary, *Trials and Translations: The Latin Origins of the Irish Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*. Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian Studies, 2. 2 vols (Aberdeen: Centre for Celtic Studies, 2013), I.148–52.

24 *Acta*, ed. Lipsius and Bonnet (see note 23), I.223–34; here 231–32; O'Leary, *Trials and Translations* (see note 23), I.149–52; cf. Aileen M. O'Leary, "An Irish Apocryphal Apostle: Muirchú's Portrayal of Saint Patrick," *Harvard Theological Review* 89 (1996): 287–301; Ferreiro, *Simon Magus* (see note 16), 215–16. For a brief discussion of *magi* in Graeco-Roman literature, see Stephen Haar, *Simon Magus: The First Gnostic?* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 35–70.

25 Cf. *The End and Beyond: Medieval Irish Eschatology*, ed. John Carey et al., 2 vols (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Press, 2014). Further research is needed on the significance of this rowing-wheel for medieval Christian perspectives on the Last Judgment.

26 Wayne A. Meeks, "Simon Magus in Recent Research," *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 137–42; Morton Smith, "The Account of Simon Magus in Acts 8," *Harry Austryn Wolfson: Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Editorial Committee, vol. II (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1965), 735–49; Gerd Lüdemann, "The Acts of the Apostles and the Beginnings of Simonian Gnosis," *New Testament Studies* 33 (1987): 420–26; especially 423–24; and Haar, *Simon Magus* (see note 24), 158–59.

27 Ferreiro, *Simon Magus* (see note 16), 211–12. Cf. Birger A. Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), 26–27 and 327–29; and Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era* (London: Macmillan, 1923), 416–17.

28 Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism* (see note 27), 26–27; Haar, *Simon Magus* (see note 24), 238–52; Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1958), 103–11.

29 E. M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 73–83; G. R. S. Mead, *Simon Magus: An Essay on the Founder of Simonianism based on the Ancient Sour-*

A poem from the same period described St. John the Baptist's execution, and his curse on Ireland and her people when he discovered the nationality of the man who was about to behead him.³¹ This is consistent with Mog Ruith's actions in the other texts; since he was presented by Christian writers, we see him from a negative viewpoint. Clearly this was an Irish reimagining of the biblical anecdote on John the Baptist's execution,³² and was composed as a *post-factum* prophecy. Given the Irish propensity in the Middle Ages for travel, for the purpose of teaching, commerce, or spiritual exile,³³ it is not surprising that a twelfth-century poet imagined an Irish druid undertaking a long journey and appearing in Palestine.

The poet combined the theme of doom-laden prophecy³⁴ with intriguing aspects of folk-belief, to convey his imagined implications for Ireland. John the Baptist cursed the nation of his executioner, who himself had volunteered for the task in return for a reward³⁵:

'Gaidel sú', ar siat aile,
'a Eóin uasail fholtbuidé,
is fata siar atá a thech
oc ferand na fuinedach'.

'Sirim itche ar Chríst rom-char',
adubairt Eóin an t-uasal,
'nár fhaghat Gaídil na nglec
biad is étach i n-aenfhlecht.'

['He is an Irishman', said they all,
'o noble John of the golden hair;

ces with a Re-evaluation of his Philosophy and Teachings (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1892). For later historical implications, see Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniactal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic and legal Study* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1976), 66–67.

30 Peter Harbison, *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The Monuments and the People* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1991), 169–74; Michael Herity, "The Context and Date of the High Crosses at Disert Diarmada (Castledermot), Co. Kildare," *Figures from the Past: Studies on Figurative Art in Christian Ireland, in Honour of Helen M. Roe*, ed. Etienne Rynne (Dún Laoghaire: The Glendale Press, 1987), 111–30, especially 117.

31 Brian Ó Cuív, ed. and trans., "Two Items from Irish Apocryphal Tradition," *Celtica* 10 (1973): 87–113.

32 Matthew 14; Mark 6. Cf. Käte Müller-Lisowski, ed. and trans., "La légende de Saint Jean dans la tradition irlandaise et le druide Mog Ruith," *Études celtiques* 3 (1938): 46–70.

33 Cf. David N. Dumville, *Three Men in a Boat: Scribe, Language and Culture in the Church of Viking-Age Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

34 Cf. Whitley Stokes, ed. and trans., "The Second Vision of Adamnán," *Revue celtique* 12 (1891): 420–43.

35 Ó Cuív, ed. and trans., "Two Items" (see note 31), 109.

his dwelling is far away
in the land of the west'.

'I ask a boon of Christ who loved me',
said noble John,
'may the contentious Irish
never receive food and clothes together.']

Therefore, according to the poet, Irish people rarely placed a knife on a plate with meat, an image demonstrating an Irish folk custom. This also reflects the invented guilt-complex which was crucial to the 1096 crisis and led to extreme fasting measures.³⁶ Beheading was also a popular theme in medieval tales set in pre-Christian Ireland and reimagining the Irish past³⁷; this idea may have been partly based on classical references to head-cults and their significance among Celtic peoples.³⁸

In a more compressed version of this poem some details and the sequence of events are somewhat different³⁹; here we have six stanzas rather than 24. John the Baptist's taunt to the court is quoted in both versions, but here it comes before any reference to Ireland or to the executioner,⁴⁰ beginning "Cia hacaib ghabhas do láim / Mo díchennad?" ('Which of you will take in hand / My beheading?'). This displays John as even more combative than in the longer poem. It is one of a great many examples of medieval Irish clerics' enthusiastic efforts to tell more rounded and appealing stories than did the canonical Bible, especially by imbuing holy men and women with fuller personalities and more human emotions and flaws.

Mog Ruith's offer to behead the Baptist is quoted in the fifth verse, i.e., near the end of the short poem, but the author of the full version quoted him much earlier.⁴¹ Most importantly, in my view, the saint's curse on the Irish people

³⁶ Cf. the discussion below on the events of 1096.

³⁷ Ó hÓgáin, *The Sacred Isle* (see note 6), 98–127.

³⁸ On classical accounts of Celts, see the discussion above. Beheading also plays a significant role in English and Continental narratives, such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (late fourteenth century) or Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône* (late thirteenth century); see the Introduction to the present volume for further discussion.

³⁹ Professor Mackinnon, ed. and trans., "The Executioner of John the Baptist," *The Celtic Review* 8 (1912): 168–70.

⁴⁰ Mackinnon, ed. and trans., "The Executioner" (see note 39), 169; cf. Ó Cuív, ed. and trans., "Two Items" (see note 31), 108.

⁴¹ Mackinnon, ed. and trans., "The Executioner" (see note 39), 169; Ó Cuív, ed. and trans., "Two Items" (see note 31), 108.

comes nearer the end in the long version, as a dramatic climax to the episode.⁴² The longer poem also concludes with two expansive verses (just one in the short version) on John’s head which was covered with much silver and gold. It was miraculously found after twelve years: “nochar aét étáil bad fherr” (‘no greater treasure was found’).⁴³

A genealogical anecdote about the twins Maine Munchain and Daire Cerbba illustrates a sinister side of Mog Ruith’s character while also lending insights into the political history of Munster⁴⁴:

Is dóib at-connairc a máthair in fis .i. druimm cach ae díb fri araile inna cliab ocus dael inter se .i. Síl Mogad Ruith in druad inter se conna cumaing nech díb cobair araile.

[Their mother saw them in a dream, with their backs to each other in her womb, and a chaffer-beetle between them: that is, the seed of Mog Ruith the druid between them, so that neither of them could help the other.]

This was clearly a sinister attack on two men of the Eoganacht,⁴⁵ in the form of a woman’s premonition on her own pregnancy. Mog Ruith’s evil connotations were clear, as he was sowing discord even among those in the womb;⁴⁶ he had already gained a negative reputation. The derogatory purpose reflects the unwelcome influence of the dominant Eoganacht, rival neighbors to Fir Maige Féne (Mog Ruith’s descendants).⁴⁷

The tale known as *Forbhais Droma Damhghaire*, ‘The Siege of Knocklong’,⁴⁸ is a curious mixture of magical spells and local Munster legends.⁴⁹ It presented a more expansive invention of Mog Ruith’s character and motives than other sources did, and even included several instances of dialogue between the druid him-

⁴² Ó Cuív, ed. and trans., “Two Items” (see note 31), 108; cf. Mackinnon, ed. and trans., “The Executioner” (see note 39), 169.

⁴³ Ó Cuív, ed. and trans., “Two Items” (see note 31), 110. For a full prose narrative of these events, see *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac: Text, Translation, and Glossary*, ed. and trans. Robert Atkinson. Todd Lecture Series, 2 (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1885–1887), 64–68.

⁴⁴ *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I*, ed. O’Brien (see note 13), 205.

⁴⁵ Ó hÓgáin, *The Sacred Isle* (see note 6), 210.

⁴⁶ On early-Christian debates about twins’ possibly different fates in relation to astrology, see Thorndike, *A History of Magic* (see note 27), 273–75 and 515.

⁴⁷ Donncha[dh] Ó Corráin, *Ireland Before the Normans*. Gill History of Ireland, 2 (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972), 1–9.

⁴⁸ M.-L. Sjoestedt, ed. and trans., “Le siège de Druim Damhghaire,” *Revue celtique* 42 (1926): 1–123; *Forbhais Droma Dámhghaire: The Siege of Knocklong*, ed. and trans. Seán Ó Duinn (Cork: Mercier Press, 1992) (with translation into Irish).

⁴⁹ Cf. Matthews, *The Druid Source Book* (see note 5), 31–34.

self and other characters. In my view, it reveals the most about Mog Ruith's personality (and consistently with the poem on John's beheading). Here he is portrayed as an elderly sage, sought out because of his reputation. The tale focuses not only on his magical feats but also on his legacy, especially through his own 'prophecy' regarding his descendants. He single-handedly saved the kingdom of Munster from destruction by using his divination skills to restore the water-supply.⁵⁰

However, Mog Ruith performed this task purely in his own interests: he named an exorbitant price at the outset, knowing the dire straits of the Munster people which only he could alleviate.⁵¹ He went to enormous effort, given that he was portrayed as a blind and presumably feeble man, to choose the most fertile land in the province as part of his reward:⁵² his eventual choice was the rich territory of Fermoy.⁵³ He predicted prosperity and courage for his descendants⁵⁴:

'Is airi at-berair Fir Maigi segda díb, ar is ed erbaim-se friu, ildána ocus segdachta acu, ocus fer imarbada Muman tria bíthu.'

[It is for this reason that they will be called the renowned Fir Maige, for I foretell that they will be skilled in every craft, and have a noble bearing, and be always fighting-men of Munster.]

The druid's obstinacy, greed and mercenary attitude were in the interest of the future of his kin; their security was an integral part of the bargain.⁵⁵

Certain places in the tale's landscape seem to have had particular Mog Ruith associations: Dairbre (Valentia Island),⁵⁶ where he was born, as well as the Fermoy area.⁵⁷ We also have references to Uí Dub(h)agáin as Mog Ruith's later de-

50 Sjoestedt, ed. and trans., "Le siège" (see note 48), 74–75.

51 Sjoestedt, ed. and trans., "Le siège" (see note 48), 58–61.

52 Sjoestedt, ed. and trans., "Le siège" (see note 48), 58–61.

53 Sjoestedt, ed. and trans., "Le siège" (see note 48), 66–69.

54 Sjoestedt, ed. and trans., "Le siège" (see note 48), 68–69.

55 On the wider consequences of an individual's idiosyncracies and adventures as a trickster and magician, cf. Cristina Azuela's contribution to this volume.

56 Cf. Daphne D. C. Pochin-Mould, *Valentia: Portrait of an Island* (Dublin: Blackwater, 1979).

57 *Forbhais Droma Dámhgháire*, ed. and trans. Ó Duinn (see note 48); Patrick Power, *Críchad an Chaoilli: Being the Topography of Ancient Fermoy* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1932), 3–6 and 13–16; cf. J. G. O'Keeffe, "The Ancient Territory of Fermoy," *Ériu* 10 (1926–1928): 170–89, especially 183. See also Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1861), 271–72.

scendants.⁵⁸ This matches his long-term political and social involvement in Munster which we have seen in other sources.

Mog Ruith's adventures had historical implications for Irish Christianity. Chroniclers reported that in August 1096 Irish people undertook serious penance, fearing imminent destruction by God, because the feast of the decollation or beheading of St. John the Baptist, 29 August, occurred on a Friday that year, signifying horrific echoes of Good Friday. This feared 'Irish apocalypse' was based on a national belief in, and guilt complex about, the druid's crime. Severe fasting measures were taken which allayed God's wrath.⁵⁹ The events of 1096 marked the beginning of Ireland's major ecclesiastical reforms: these brought a gradual acceptance of the 'Gregorian' reform-movement (so called after its effective initiator, Pope Gregory VII) which had begun in response to corruption, especially simony and clerical marriage, seen as widespread in Christian churches.

In the twelfth century, Irish bishops' authority was brought into line with the Latin mainstream. From 1096 to 1201 a lengthy series of councils and synods took place, spread over the northern and southern halves of Ireland, under the supervision of a papal legate; this marks the first formalizing of a direct connection between the papacy and the Irish churches.⁶⁰ This druidic story therefore played a pivotal role in Ireland's acceptance of the Gregorian reform-movement which transformed Christianity in western Europe. It helped to shape a defining moment in Ireland's relationship with western Christendom. This may also have occurred in response to the First Crusade. We have many Irish prophecies of doom from around the same period which predicted disaster for the island on the feast of John the Baptist's death, but without direct mention of the druid or his crime.⁶¹

58 Power, *Críchad an Chaoilli* (see note 57), 15–16 and 20–24; Liam Ó Buachalla, "Placenames of North-East Cork," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 2nd series, 54 (1949): 31–34 and 88–91.

59 For example, *Annala Rioghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, ed. and trans. John O'Donovan, 2nd ed., 7 vols (Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co., 1854–1856), II.952–53 (record for 1096).

60 David N. Dumville, *Councils and Synods of the Gaelic Early and Central Middle Ages*. Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History, 3 (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, & Celtic, 1997), 37–46. Cf. Ordnance Survey, *Léarscáilíocht Éireann: Map of Monastic Ireland* (Dublin: Ordnance Survey, 1959), 5–7.

61 Cf. the discussion above on his predicted role in the Last Judgment, and Aileen M. O'Leary, "Mog Ruith and Apocalypticism in Eleventh-century Ireland," *The Individual in Celtic Literatures*, ed. Joseph F. Nagy, Celtic Studies Association of North America Yearbook, 1 (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), 51–60. I shall discuss these issues in detail in my forthcoming monograph.

To draw all these threads together, in my view Mog Ruith, an old legendary Munster ancestor, was reinvented as a druid and sorcerer, probably around the close of the eleventh century; we cannot assume that the John the Baptist legend was widespread before 1096, but it was possibly already in existence. The dating of most texts discussed here is difficult to determine with precision. The story of Mog Ruith's execution of the Baptist was in my view a political instrument, and lay at the root of the crisis of 1096. It may have been spread by Munster dynasts for political gain against the people of Fermoy (Mog Ruith's descendants), although they were not prominent in the disputes for Munster supremacy.

There is a possibility that his character was a remnant of a sun-god since the medieval biography of Mog Ruith is tinged with hints of pre-Christian elements.⁶² An innocuous character to begin with, he assumed a more sinister significance in Christian developments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The druid's dark implications for medieval Ireland should be seen in the context of Ireland's allegedly long-standing reluctance to conform to universal Christian practices in the early Middle Ages,⁶³ and again in the twelfth century following the Norman intervention, for instance as described by Gerald of Wales.⁶⁴ This remarkable individual, Mog Ruith, was a versatile character with multifaceted influences and effects, which are best understood by examining full tales and anecdotes about him as well as the diverse brief and implied references

⁶² For other medieval literary characters displaying pre-Christian associations, see Warren Tormey's contribution to this volume. Likewise, the study by Chiara Benati underscores how much pagan rituals and belief systems continued to hold sway throughout the entire Christian Middle Ages and beyond.

⁶³ Cf. O'Leary, "The Heretic" (see note 6), 27–30.

⁶⁴ Cf. O'Leary, "The Heretic" (see note 6), 42–46.

Christoph Galle

Zum Umgang mit Zauberern im Rahmen frühmittelalterlicher Missionsanstrengungen (Dealing with Magicians Within the Framework of Early Medieval Missionizing Efforts)

Abstract: As part of the early medieval Christianization of pagan peoples the missionaries and preachers were confronted with different forms of pagan religions. Besides the adoration of varied deities and nature objects people in the British Isles as well as on the Continent believed in the power of magicians. In hagiographical sources the confrontation with pagan magicians is often presented as the preacher's main challenge. This paper illustrates this phenomenon with reference to some prominent missionaries from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Since not all forms of magic could be eliminated from the former pagan societies during the process of Christianization, both canon and secular legislation took action in the following period. Additional to the prohibition of the ancient religions a distinction between good and bad magic was made and some forms of former pagan magic were re-designated in the Christian sense.

Die Ausbreitung der christlichen Religion im Abendland erstreckte sich gegen Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts im Wesentlichen auf das Herrschafts- und Einflussgebiet des untergegangenen Imperium Romanum. Die sich in der Folgezeit ändernden strukturellen Bedingungen, gepaart insbesondere mit dem sich im Westen etablierenden Mönchtum und dem damit einhergehenden neuen Frömmigkeitsverständnis wirkten begünstigend auf die Verbreitung des Christentums. Während zunächst nur einzelne wenige Vertreter wie der später als Apostel der Iren bezeichnete heilige Patrick in die Fremde zogen, um das Wort Gottes zu predigen und Kirchen zu errichten, entwickelte sich im Verlauf des 6. Jahrhunderts mit der ‚peregrinatio pro Christo‘ die Vorstellung eines selbständigen Bußwerks, das verstärkt fromme Männer dazu veranlasste, den Heiden den christlichen Glauben

Christoph Galle, Philipps-Universität Marburg

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-005>

zu bringen.¹ Zeitgleich mit der ersten von kirchlicher Seite unter Gregor dem Großen initiierten Missionsanstrengung, die Augustin mit seinen Gefährten in die angelsächsischen Reiche führte, nahm Kolumban der Ältere seine Predigtstätigkeit auf dem kontinentaleuropäischen Festland auf. In den folgenden zwei Jahrhunderten kamen zahlreiche zunächst irische, später angelsächsische Wandermissionare vor allem in fränkisch-germanisches Gebiet, um das Heidentum zu beseitigen und den christlichen Glauben zu verbreiten.² Insbesondere von den karolingischen Hausmeiern und Königen erfuhren sie vielfältige Unterstützung, so dass sich das Verdienst der Missionare nicht nur auf die Verkündigung beschränkte, sondern auch die infrastrukturelle Grundlegung der Kirche in den jeweiligen Territorien von ihnen betrieben werden konnte. Die Zeit von den Missionstätigkeiten einzelner im späten 5. Jahrhundert bis zur groß angelegten Missionierung der Slawen unter Otto dem Großen im 10. Jahrhundert stand somit ganz im Zeichen der Ausbreitung des christlichen Glaubens sowie der institutionellen Errichtung und Konsolidierung der abendländischen Kirche. Hans-Werner Goetz hat daher resümiert: „Die weitere Christianisierung und die Durchsetzung des katholischen Glaubens, die innere Mission und die Ausbildung kirchlicher Organisationsstrukturen sowie die Erfassung der Randvölker blieben Aufgaben, die im Verlauf dieser Epoche bewältigt wurden.“³

1 Vgl. dazu Arnold Angenendt, „Die irische Peregrinatio und ihre Auswirkungen auf dem Kontinent vor dem Jahre 800,“ *Die Iren und Europa im frühen Mittelalter*, hrsg. von Heinz Löwe (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), Bd. I, 52–79; Friedrich Prinz, „Peregrinatio, Mönchtum und Mission,“ *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, hrsg. von Knut Schäferdiek und Heinzgünter Frohnes (München: Kaiser, 1978), Bd. 2.1: *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, 445–65; vgl. allgemein zu frühmittelalterlichen Missionsanstrengungen: Silke Meckbach, „Bibliographie zur christlichen Mission im früheren Mittelalter,“ *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, Bd. 2.1, 507–42; *Mission und Christianisierung am Hoch- und Oberrhein (6.–8. Jahrhundert)*, hrsg. von Walter Berschin, Dieter Geuenich und Heiko Steuer. Archäologie und Geschichte, 10 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000); Rudolf Schieffer, „Christianisierung Europas,“ *Credo: Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von Christoph Stiegemann, Martin Kroker und Wolfgang Walter (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013), Bd. 1: *Essays*, 44–52; Lutz E. von Padberg, „Missionierendes Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen im Mittelalter,“ *Schwierige Toleranz*, hrsg. von Mariano Delgado, Volker Leppin und David Neuhold (Fribourg i. Ü.: Academy Press, 2012), 169–79; ders., *Christianisierung im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006); ders., *Die Inszenierung religiöser Konfrontationen. Theorie und Praxis der Missionspredigt im frühen Mittelalter*. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 51 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2003).

2 Vgl. dazu Matthias Werner, „Iren und Angelsachsen in Mitteldeutschland. Zur vorbonifatianischen Mission in Hessen und Thüringen,“ *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 1), Bd. I, 239–318.

3 Hans-Werner Goetz, *Europa im frühen Mittelalter 500–1050*. Handbuch der Geschichte Europas, 2 (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2003), 27.

Im gesamten Zeitraum waren aber die Verkündiger der christlichen Botschaft überall, wo sie tätig wurden, konfrontiert mit paganen Kulturen, heidnischen Glaubenspraktiken und der Verehrung einer Vielzahl von Gottheiten. Automatisch wurde die christliche Religion in einen Wettstreit mit den vorhandenen Kulturen versetzt und musste sich als überlegen präsentieren, wollte sie erfolgreich Fuß fassen und sich durchsetzen.

Im Gegensatz zu anderen Aspekten der frühmittelalterlichen Epoche steht für das Themenspektrum der christlichen Mission eine auffallend große Bandbreite unterschiedlicher Zeugnisse zur Verfügung. Dies gilt auch für Informationen zur Lebenswelt heidnischer Stämme.

Während sich die Quellen sonst mit Informationen über die zu christianisierenden Völker zurückhalten, unterrichten sie über die Vielfalt der von den Heiden praktizierten Kulte und über ihren Glauben an pagane Zauberei vergleichsweise ausführlich. Dies bezeugt in besonderer Weise der auf der Synode in Les Estinnes vermutlich 744 vorgelegte und aus der Missionstätigkeit Wynfrets, genannt Bonifatius, hervorgegangene *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*.⁴ Neben dem Briefwechsel des Bonifatius, in dem gelegentlich gegenüber dem Papst verschiedene Formen paganer Religiosität beschrieben werden, zeugen vor allem die normativen Quellen der Karolingerzeit von der tiefen Verwurzelung germanischer Volksstämme im Heidentum und der lang andauernden Herausforderung, diese zu beseitigen.⁵ So setzte sich etwa das 742 unter Leitung von

⁴ Vgl. *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I, hrsg. von Alfred Boretius. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Legum, II (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), 222–23.

⁵ Auch aus vorkarolingischer Zeit liegen Quellen in Form von Zeugnissen von Synoden vor. Da es sich hier in der Regel um Provinzialsynoden handelte, dürfte der Erfolg ihrer Bestimmungen geographisch begrenzt geblieben sein. Dennoch beweisen diese Unterlagen die Auseinandersetzung mit paganen Kulturen, die vielerorts geführt wurde. Vgl. dazu Joseph Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (München und Leipzig: Oldenbourg, 1900), 40. Vgl. daneben zu Zauberern und Magiern im Mittelalter v. a. David Collins, *The Cambridge History of Magic and Witchcraft in the West. From Antiquity to Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Christa A. Tuczay, „Magic and Divination,“ *Handbook of Medieval Culture. Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, hrsg. von Albrecht Classen (Berlin und Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), Bd. 2, 937–53; Harles Zika, „Medieval Magicians as People of the Book,“ *Imagination, Books and Community in Medieval Europe. Papers of a Conference Held at the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, 29–31 May, 2008, in Conjunction with an Exhibition, 'The Medieval Imagination', 28 March – 15 June 2008*, hrsg. von Gregory C. Kratzmann (South Yarra: MacMillan Art Publ., 2009), 247–54; Richard Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft. The Western Tradition*, 4 Bde (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006); Christa Habiger-Tuczay, *Magie und Magier im Mittelalter* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 2003); *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*, hrsg. von Bengt Ankarloo und Stuart Clark, Bd. 3: *The Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press,

Erzbischof Bonifatius und dem Hausmeier Karlmann einberufene *Concilium Germanicum* insbesondere mit Amuletten und Wahrsagerei auseinander,⁶ während die *Statuta Rhispace*⁷ von 799/800 den Umgang mit Zauberern, Auguren, Wettermachern und anderen Übeltätern (*his qui . . . alia maleficia faciunt*)⁸ thematisieren, der ganz ähnlich bereits in den Akten einer Regionalsynode aus dem Jahr 551 zu finden ist.⁹

Die umfangreichsten Informationen sind jedoch in Quellen aus der Herrschaftszeit Karls des Großen zu finden: Neben der *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*¹⁰ aus den Jahren 775 bis 790 und dem *Capitulare Saxonicum*¹¹ von 797 verdient die *Admonitio generalis*¹² von 789 größte Aufmerksamkeit. Vermutlich im Wesentlichen von Alcuin verfasst, finden sich in den ersten 59 Kapiteln Anweisungen zur Wiederherstellung einer kirchlichen Ordnung im Frankenreich, was sich vor allem aus älteren Kanones und päpstlichen Dekreten speist.¹³ Die darauf folgenden 22 Kapitel charakterisieren das eigentliche Reformprogramm Karls des Großen und zielen auf die christliche Durchdringung seines Vielvölkerstaates ab.

2001); Lotte Motz, „The Magician and His Craft,“ *Collegium medievale* 7 (1994): 5–31; Katherine S. Morris, *Early Medieval Witchcraft: Characteristics of the Feminine Witch Figure* (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 1985); Herbert Reier, *Heilkundige Magier im deutschen Frühmittelalter und bei den Angelsachsen* (Kiel: H. Reier, 1983); John O. Ward, „Witchcraft and Sorcery in the Later Roman Empire and the Early Middle Ages,“ *Prudentia* 12 (1980): 93–108.

6 Vgl. *Concilia aevi Karolini* I, hrsg. von Albert Werminghoff. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Concilia, II.1 (Hannover und Leipzig: Hahn, 1906), 2–4, hier 3–4, c. V.

7 Vgl. *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I (siehe Anm. 4), 226–30.

8 *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I (siehe Anm. 4), 228, c. 15, Z. 9–10.

9 Vgl. die Statute des von Bischof Aspasius von Auch in der Gascogne 551 abgehaltenen Regionalkonzils in: *Concilia aevi Merovingici*, hrsg. von Friedrich Maassen. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Concilia, I (Hannover: Hahn, 1893), 113–15, hier 114, c. III. Der Erfolg dieser Statute dürfte aber räumlich begrenzt geblieben sein (vgl. Anm. 5). Vgl. zu den rechtlichen Bestimmungen und Beschlüssen und Elisabeth Blum, *Das staatliche und kirchliche Recht des Frankenreichs in seiner Stellung zum Dämonen-, Zauber- und Hexenwesen*. Veröffentlichungen der Sektion für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft / Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaften im Katholischen Deutschland, 72 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1936). Ebd. auch die Differenzierung nach Volksrechten (25–30), kanonischem Recht und „Königsrecht“ (31–51); vgl. auch zu den kanonischen Bestimmungen auch Tuczay, *Magic and Divination* (siehe Anm. 5), 944–45.

10 Vgl. *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I (siehe Anm. 4), 68–70.

11 *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I (siehe Anm. 4), S. 71–72.

12 *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, hrsg. von Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes und Michael Glatthaar. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi, XVI (Hannover: Hahn, 2012).

13 *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen* (siehe Anm. 12), 184–208. Zur Rezeption von Kanones, Konzilsbestimmungen und päpstlichen Dekreten vgl. *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen* (siehe Anm. 12), cc. 5–59.

Aus diesem Grund werden zunächst die wichtigsten Predigtinhalte summiert¹⁴ und sodann Anforderungen an Priester formuliert.¹⁵ Daneben wendet sich die *Admonitio generalis* gegen kultische Verehrung von Bäumen, Felsen und Quellen (c. 64) sowie gegen Wahrsagerei, Heil-, Wetter- und Schutzzauberer (c. 18 / 64). Auch das in dieser Zeit formulierte Taufgelöbnis fordert vom Täufling, dass er sowohl allem Teufelswerk, als auch Donar, Wodan und Saxnot absagt.¹⁶ Neben diesen Quellen sind die Poenentialbücher, die ihren Ursprung in angelsächsischen Klöstern hatten,¹⁷ bald aber auch auf dem Festland Bedeutung für die Bußpraxis erlangten, wertvolles Zeugnis heidnischer Bräuche: „Diese Bußbücher offenbaren eine fast unentwirrbare und unerschöpfliche Masse des vorhandenen alten Glaubens, divinationes, maleficia, incantationes diabolicae, veneficia[.]“¹⁸

Obwohl insgesamt eine Vielfalt unterschiedlicher Quellengattungen vorliegt, sieht man sich mit zwei Problemen konfrontiert: Zum einen handelt es sich jeweils um Zeugnisse, die dem Kontakt mit heidnischer Religiosität entsprungen und als Reaktion zu verstehen sind, d. h. meist eine Antwort auf die Frage zu geben suchen, wie die unterschiedlichen Formen paganer Kulte beseitigt werden können. Zum anderen, und als Konsequenz daraus, ergibt sich eine völlig einseitige Berichterstattung über die heidnischen Religionen und Bräuche. Die überlieferten schriftlichen Zeugnisse sind von Anhängern des Christentums verfasst worden und von einer überaus subjektiven Färbung charakterisiert. Schon eine Differenzierung nach Paganem und Christlichem läuft Gefahr, allzu sehr das von den

14 Die *Admonitio generalis* Karls des Großen (siehe Anm. 12), cc. 60, 65.

15 Die *Admonitio generalis* Karls des Großen (siehe Anm. 12), cc. 68–70, 76, 78, 80.

16 Vgl. die *Interrogationes et responsiones baptismales* in: *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I (siehe Anm. 4), Nr. 107, 222, Z. 18–20: *end allum dioboles uuercum? respondeat: end ec forsacho allum dioboles uuercum and uuordum thunaer ende woden ende saxnote ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint.*

17 Vgl. dazu Raymund Kottje, „Überlieferung und Rezeption der irischen Bußbücher auf dem Kontinent“, *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* I (siehe Anm. 1), 511–24.

18 Vgl. Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 43. Vgl. daneben Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972), 60: „Originating in Ireland and rapidly spreading in influence, they soon appeared in various forms all over Europe. These books, which describe sins in detail and establish the penance appropriate for each, usually deal with sorcerers as malefici in much the same way that the civil law did [...]. Consequently the most common condemnations of practices relating to witchcraft have to do with idolatry, often identified with the worship of demons, as in the Penitential of Columban, c. 600, which forbids feasting at pagan shrines, taking communion at the table of demons, and worshipping demons.“ Vgl. z. B. auch das Poenentiale des Hrabanus Maurus, in: *Patrologia Latina*, 110, 467C–494C sowie *Patrologia Latina*, 112, 1397D–1424D.

frühmittelalterlichen Quellen präsentierte Differenzierungsmodell zu übernehmen.¹⁹

Es gilt daher stets, sich gewahr zu werden, dass die Lektüre der genannten Quellen bedeutet, durch die Brille des Missionars und seiner Unterstützer zu schauen. Dies gilt nicht minder für die Betrachtung hagiographischer Quellen, die in aller Regel die einzigen Zeugnisse für die direkte Konfrontation mit heidnischen Praktiken im Rahmen der frühmittelalterlichen Christianisierung darstellen.²⁰ Sie sind zwar auch im Nachhinein entstanden und verfügen ebenfalls über eine subjektive Färbung, die nicht nur die christliche Religion, sondern auch den porträtierten Missionar in idealer Weise zu präsentieren sucht, dennoch bieten sie die einzige Möglichkeit, um ein Gefühl für die Herausforderungen zu entwickeln, denen sich ein Missionar im direkten Vollzug ausgesetzt sah.

So wird in manchen Heiligenviten geschildert, dass die Überlegenheit der christlichen Religion gegenüber heidnischen Kulturen unter Beweis gestellt werden musste. Ein immer wiederkehrendes Motiv ist in diesem Kontext, dass Missionare des 5. bis 8. Jahrhunderts, auf den britischen Inseln genauso wie auf dem Kontinent, dazu herausgefordert wurden, mit Wundern die Macht der eigenen Religion zu bezeugen. Mögen diese Mirakelerzählungen auch zentraler Bestandteil hagiographischer Literatur sein, so ist doch leicht nachzuvollziehen, dass Heiden nach sichtbaren Zeichen verlangten, die die Verkündigung der christlichen Botschaft als wahr erschienen ließen. Derartige Zeichen zeugen vielfach von einem Wettstreit der Religionen, weshalb viele Viten frühmittelalterlicher Missionare Schilderungen beinhalten, wonach es zu einem regelrechten Kräftemessen zwischen Missionar und seinem Pendant, dem heidnischen Zauberer, kam und beide versuchten, die Fähigkeiten des Gegenübers zu überbieten.²¹ Es muss nicht eigens erwähnt werden, dass der christliche Missionar regelmäßig als Sieger aus dem Wettstreit hervorging und die unter Beweis gestellten Fähigkeiten für die Anwesenden meist Anlass genug waren, den christlichen, als mächtiger empfundenen Glauben anzunehmen.

¹⁹ Vgl. dazu Ian N. Wood, „Pagan Religions and Superstitions East of the Rhine from the Fifth to the Ninth Century“, *After Empire. Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians*, hrsg. von Giorgio Ausenda. Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology, 1 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2002), 253–79, hier 253: „More generally, to use the labels ‚pagan‘ and ‚Christian‘ is to risk locking oneself into the cultural constructs and value judgements of the early medieval missionaries.“

²⁰ Vgl. dazu Ian N. Wood, „Hagiographie und Mission (700–1050)“, *Credo: Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter* 1 (siehe Anm. 1), 121–29.

²¹ Vgl. dazu Lutz E. von Padberg, „Religiöse Zweikämpfe in der Missionsgeschichte des Frühmittelalters“, *Runica, Germanica, Mediaevalia. Festschrift für Klaus Düwel*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Heizmann und Astrid van Nahl. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 37 (Berlin und New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 509–52.

Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen christlichen Vertretern und paganen Zauberern fand daher in zwei verschiedenen Zeitphasen statt: Zunächst im Missionsvollzug, wo es zu einem direkten Aufeinandertreffen zwischen Missionar und Zauberer kam, sodann – nach einigermaßen erfolgreicher Christianisierung – im Rahmen des institutionellen Vorgehens gegen die verbliebenen Reste paganer Religiosität. Aus diesem Grund erfolgt im ersten Schritt die Skizzierung prominenter Beispiele, um Eindrücke der vermeintlichen Fähigkeiten des Missionars wie seines heidnischen Herausforderers zu gewinnen. Erst dadurch werden die unterschiedlichen Arten frühmittelalterlicher Zauberei mit Leben gefüllt und wird es im Anschluss, im zweiten Schritt, möglich sein, auch die in den normativen Quellen der Karolingerzeit zu konstatierenden Gegenmaßnahmen nachzuvollziehen. Schließlich wird somit auch erst deutlich, wie vielfältig die frühmittelalterlichen Zauberer auf den britischen Inseln und dem fränkischen Gebiet waren.²²

Isidor von Sevilla hat zwar in seinen *Etymologiae* eine Differenzierung vorgenommen nach Zauberern, die etwas mit Worten erreichen (*incantatores*), nach Magiern, die über Himmelszeichen grübeln (*magi*), nach Zauberern, die sich mit Blut, Opfern und Leichen beschäftigen (*malefici*), und nach Zeichendeutern, die aus den Eingeweiden die Zukunft vorhersagen (*aruspices*);²³ den tatsächlichen

22 Vgl. Blum, *Das staatliche und kirchliche Recht des Frankenreichs* (siehe Anm. 9), 40: „Der der ganzen alten Kulturwelt gemeinsame Glaube an übersinnliche Mächte, die den Menschen zu schaden trachten, lebte auch im Empfinden des fränkischen Volkes; hier wie anderswo herrschte ein Grauen, eine drückende Angst vor ihrer unmittelbaren Einwirkung; diese Einstellung spielte im Leben des Frankenvolkes vor und während seiner Christianisierung eine große Rolle. Hier wie anderswo versuchte der Mensch auf diese jenseitigen Mächte Einfluß zu gewinnen, ihre Schadenszufügung abzuwenden. So waren eine Unmenge von Gegenständen, Sprüchen und rituellen Handlungen ersonnen worden, die jeweils einen bestimmten glückvollen Erfolg haben sollten.“

23 Vgl. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, hrsg. von W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), Bd. I: *Libri I–X*, hier lib. VIII, cap. 9, par. 9, 11, 15, 17: *Magi sunt, qui vulgo malefici ob facinorum magnitudinem nuncupantur. [...] Hi etiam sanguine utuntur et victimis, et saepe contingunt corpora mortuorum. [...] Incantatores dicti sunt, qui artem verbis peragunt. [...] Haruspices nuncupati, quasi horarum inspectores: dies enim et horas in agendis negotiis operibusque custodiunt, et quid per singula tempora observare debeat homo, intendunt. Hi etiam exta pecudum inspiciunt, et ex eis futura praedicunt.* Die Bußbücher des frühen Mittelalters, in denen das jeweilige Strafmaß für unterschiedliche heidnische Praktiken festgelegt war, teilen Zauberer indes nur in zwei Gruppen auf (vgl. Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* [siehe Anm. 5], 45): „die malefici (venefici) und die tempestarii. Zu den Malefici zählen sowohl diejenigen, die durch ihre Tränke oder sonstige Maleficien Menschen schädigen, töten oder die Leibesfrucht abtreiben, als auch diejenigen, welche ungeordnete Liebe, Wahnsinn erregen, überhaupt den Geist des Menschen beeinflussen. Geistliche und Frauen erscheinen am häufigsten als Thäter; als Strafe wird, je nach der Schwere des Vergehens, bis zu 7 Jahren Buße festgesetzt; . . . Die immissores tempestatum endlich haben ihre Schandthat ebenfalls mit siebenjähriger Buße zu sühnen.“ Vgl. daneben Tuczay, *Magic and Divination* (siehe Anm. 5), 950–51.

Verhältnissen wird diese Unterscheidung jedoch nicht gerecht. Schließlich ist in Einzelfällen eine klare Zuweisung, um welche Art von Zauberei oder paganer Religiosität es sich handelt, überhaupt nicht möglich, wobei zudem regionale und temporäre Unterschiede unberücksichtigt bleiben. Außerdem hat Bernadette Filotas in ihrer Studie über frühmittelalterliche Pastoralliteratur fast fünfzig verschiedene Begriffe aus den Quellen herausgefiltert, die für Zauberpraktiken oder für die jeweiligen Akteure gebräuchlich sind.²⁴ Es ist daher erforderlich, zumindest anhand ausgewählter Beispiele die Situation und ihre Entwicklung vom fünften bis achten Jahrhundert eingehender zu betrachten.

I Der Kontakt zwischen Missionaren und Zaubern im Zuge der abendländischen Christianisierung des 5. bis 8. Jahrhunderts

Ein Aufeinandertreffen zwischen Missionar und heidnischem Zauberer wird bereits in der Vita des heiligen Patricks²⁵ geschildert, der im fünften Jahrhundert in Irland missionierte. Ungeachtet der Existenz verschiedener irisch-walisischer Legenden sowie der von Patrick selbst verfassten *Confessio* sei an dieser Stelle der von Muirchú Moccu Macthéni im späten siebten Jahrhundert verfassten Lebensbeschreibung der Vorrang gegeben.²⁶ Muirchú lebte vermutlich im Nordosten Ir-

24 Vgl. Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature*. Studies and Texts, 151 (Toronto: Pontifical Inst. of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 219: „Almost fifty different technical terms to identify practitioners of magic or possessors skills unauthorised by the Church are found in our texts: ariolus, aruspex, augur, caragius, cauclearius, coriocus, divinus, herbarius, incantator, magus, maleficus, necromanta, obligator, praecantator, praedicator, pithon, somnarius, sortilegus, suffitor, tempestarius, vaticinator and veneficus, their potentially significant variants, and their feminine equivalents: auguriatrix, divina, herbaria, incantatrix, malefica, pithonissa, sortitaria, tempistaria and venefica. The striga (witch) and werewolf, together with those who engage in dream flights and dream battles, stand apart from these. Passages using such terms are found in documents produced in all Christianised parts of Western Europe but are very rare in Latin-language texts of Irish origin.“ Vgl. auch die ausführlicheren Betrachtungen a.a.O., 227–38. Vgl. daneben Alexander Murray, „Missionaries and Magic in Dark-Age Europe,“ *Past and Present* 136 (1992): 186–205, hier 188.

25 Vgl. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, „Patrick (Patricius), ir. Nationalhl.,“ *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 6: *Lukasbilder bis Plantagenêt* (München und Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 1993), 1791–92; Andreas Gutsfeld, „Patricius (St. Patrick) (461–490),“ *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Bd. 7 (Nordhausen: Bautz, 1994), 9–12.

26 Vgl. Muirchú Moccu Macthéni's *Vita Sancti Patricii*. *Life of Saint Patrick*, hrsg. von David R. Howlett (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006). Vgl. daneben Dieter von der Nahmer, „Der Patrick

lands und schloss sich dem Kloster Armagh an, das seinen Ursprung auf eine Gründung durch Patrick zurückführt. Als Adressat der Vita fungiert Áed, Bischof von Sletty.²⁷ Im zehnten Kapitel der Vita schildert Muirchú den Besuch Patricks am Hofe König Loíguires von Tara, nachmals besser bekannt als King Lear. In dessen direktem Umfeld befanden sich Seher (*scivos*), Magier (*magos*), Weissager (*aruspices*), Zauberer (*incantatores*) und Erfinder böser Künste (*malae artis inventores*).²⁸ Zweien von ihnen, Lochru und Ronal, wurde aufgrund ihrer besonderen magischen Fähigkeiten der Vorrang vor den übrigen eingeräumt.²⁹ So hatten sie nach Muirchús Aussage auch besondere Qualitäten als Seher, so dass sie bereits drei Jahre vor der Ankunft Patricks davor warnten, dass ein Prediger kommen werde, der sämtliche Herrscher beseitigen, das Volk für sich gewinnen und alle Gottheiten zerstören werde.³⁰ Später kam es tatsächlich zu einer persönlichen Begegnung, als in der Osternacht die versammelten Großen und alle Zauberer des Reiches an den Königshof gerufen wurden, um ein heidnisches Fest zu feiern.³¹ Das Verbot, zu dieser Zeit ein Feuer zu entzünden, missachtete Patrick und erregte damit den Zorn des Königs so sehr, dass dieser über den Prediger die Todesstrafe verhängte.³²

Die Magier, die sich an ihre frühere Prophezeiung erinnerten, warnten vor einem derartigen Schritt, indem sie die Konsequenzen für König und Reich wiederholten.³³ Nach einigem Zögern entschied sich Loíguire daher, Patrick aufzusuchen und zur Rede zu stellen.³⁴ Da die Magier davon ausgingen, dass jeder, der sich beim ersten Kontakt mit dem Prediger nach üblicher Höflichkeitssitte vom Platz erhebe, sogleich auch auf wundersame Weise dessen Lehren Glauben schenke, beschlossen sie, diesem nicht die angemessene Achtung entgegenzubringen, sondern in ihren Wagen sitzen zu bleiben.³⁵ Da Patrick ihre Gewohnheiten kannte, musste er diesen Akt als Missachtung nicht nur seiner Person,

seiner Selbstzeugnisse. Der Patrick Muirchú's, "Hamburg und Nordeuropa: Studien zur Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte. Festschrift für Gerhard Theuerkauf zum 70. Geburtstag, hrsg. von Christina Deggim und Silke Urbanski. Veröffentlichungen des Hamburger Arbeitskreises für Regionalgeschichte, 20 (Münster: Lit, 2004), 89–114.

27 Vgl. Francis John Byrne, „Áed, Bischof von Sléibte († 700),“ *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (siehe Anm. 25), Bd. 1: *Aachen bis Bettelordenskirchen* (1980), 172.

28 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 58, X.7–8.

29 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 58, X.10–3.

30 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 58, 60, X.13–24.

31 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 70, XV.

32 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 70, 72, XV.16–25.

33 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 72, XV.29–40.

34 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 72, XVI.4–8.

35 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 74, XVII.4–6.

sondern besonders auch der christlichen Lehre verstehen. Er rief daher Gott im Gebet an und erbat von ihm ein Zeichen, das die Blasphemie der Magier strafte. Kaum hatte er seine Worte beendet, wurde einer der Zauberer in den Himmel gerissen, um sogleich wieder zu Boden zu stürzen, wo sein Kopf auf einem Stein zerschellte.³⁶

Während die einen von Furcht erfüllt waren, stürmten die anderen zornentbrannt auf Patrick los. Erneut rief er Gott um Hilfe an, der einen so dunklen Schatten über die Rachsüchtigen kommen ließ, dass sie gar nicht merkten, dass sie aufeinander einschlugen. Währenddessen suchte die Königin das vermittelnde Gespräch mit Patrick, in dessen Folge Loíguire selbst die Knie vor dem Gott des fremden Predigers beugte.³⁷ Wie sich in der Folge herausstellte, gab der König die Unterwerfung unter den christlichen Gott nur vor und so lag er am folgenden Tag wieder gemeinsam mit seinen Großen und Magiern bei Tisch, um das heidnische Fest fortzusetzen. Als sie noch über die Geschehnisse der vorigen Nacht sprachen, stand plötzlich, obwohl die Türen verschlossen waren, Patrick mit fünf Gefährten vor ihnen. Erneut blieben bis auf eine Person alle sitzen.³⁸

Einer der Magier rief daraufhin Patrick zu einem gegenseitigen Kräfteressen auf und forderte von ihm, Schnee fallen zu lassen. Der heilige Mann weigerte sich und so hob der Zauberer zu magischen Anrufungen an, woraufhin sich tatsächlich Schnee über das vorgelagerte Feld niederließ. Patrick bat ihn, den Schnee nun wieder schwinden zu lassen, doch musste der Zauberer einräumen, dass ihm dies erst am folgenden Tag möglich sein würde. Patrick entgegnete darauf, dass sein Herausforderer offensichtlich nur im Stande sei, Schlechtes zu bewirken, er selbst aber aufgrund göttlicher Unterstützung das Gute hervorbringen könne. Nach einem Segenswunsch war der Schnee sogleich wieder verschwunden.³⁹

Der Verfasser der Vita führt an mehreren Stellen weitere Beispiele an, die sich darin ähneln, dass sie jeweils die Wundertätigkeit Patricks als wirkmächtiger denn die Zauberkünste seines Gegenübers bezeugen.⁴⁰

Im vorliegenden Fall wurden die Anwesenden teilweise von Patricks Fähigkeiten überzeugt, teilweise von großer Furcht ergriffen. Auch wenn Patrick dem König prophezeite, dass er aufgrund seiner früheren Ablehnung und Widerstände bald sterben werde, fühlte sich dieser dazu veranlasst, zu dem vom Prediger

³⁶ *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 76, XVII.28–35.

³⁷ *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 78, XVIII.1–27.

³⁸ *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 80, XVIII.28–30, XIX.1–15.

³⁹ *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 82, 84, XX.16–31.

⁴⁰ *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 84, 86, XX.35–79.

verkündeten Glauben überzutreten.⁴¹ Damit war zugleich die Grundlage für die folgende umfangreiche Missionstätigkeit Patricks geschaffen, in deren Zusammenhang er allerorts predigte, taufte und weitere Wunder wirkte.⁴² Insgesamt nehmen die von Muirchú eingewobenen Passagen, die die Auseinandersetzung mit allen Arten heidnischer Zauberei thematisieren, breiten Raum in der Patricksvita ein. Dass der Protagonist aus allen Situationen siegreich hervorgeht, ist keine Überraschung. In diesem Zusammenhang legt Muirchú stets Wert darauf, zu betonen, dass die Fähigkeiten der Heiden aus Zaubermacht resultieren und meist erst nach längeren Anrufungen und Beschwörungen möglich werden, während Patrick seine Wunder nach göttlichem Gebet wirkt.

Mindestens drei auffallende Beobachtungen sind daran anzuschließen: Die Aussage Patricks ist konstitutiv für das Kräftemessen zwischen heidnischer Zauberei und christlichen Wundern, wonach die Zauberer tatsächlich nur in der Lage sind, Schlechtes hervorzubringen, während Patricks Reaktionen dies stets zum Guten verwandeln. Beide sind jedoch nur ausführende Werkzeuge übernatürlicher Gewalten. Nicht aus sich heraus können sie Zeichen wirken, sondern müssen bei anderen Instanzen die erforderlichen Fähigkeiten erbitten. Zuletzt stehen die Ergebnisse des Zeichenwirkens repräsentativ für den Sieg der christlichen Religion, die als gut und richtig präsentiert wird, über pagane Kulte, die als böse und schlecht charakterisiert werden und letztlich zum Scheitern verurteilt sind. Die Wundertätigkeit Patricks, die pagane Zauberkünste übertrifft, wird nicht aufgrund ihrer größeren Wirkmächtigkeit nicht als Zauberei gekennzeichnet, sondern weil sie von Gott geschenkt ist, dessen Fähigkeiten die Sphären unerklärlicher Zaubephänomene bei weitem übersteigen.

Die in der Folge nahezu ungehinderte Missionierung Irlands war von nachhaltigem Erfolg gekrönt. Noch Jahrzehnte nach dem Tode Patricks folgten fromme Männer seinem Beispiel, um ebenfalls gemäß der Vorstellung der ‚peregrinatio pro Christo‘ als Missionare tätig zu werden. Viele führte die Reise ostwärts in die angelsächsischen, piktischen und skotischen Territorien. Einer der prominentesten Iren, die im 6. Jahrhundert die Pikten christianisierten, war Kolumban der Ältere, der 563 oder 565 zu seiner Missionsreise aufbrach und zunächst auf der Schottland vorgelagerten Insel Iona gemeinsam mit zwölf Gefährten ein Kloster

41 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 88, XX.80–86, XXI.1–11, bes. XXI.3: *Melius est credere me quam mori.*

42 *Vita Sancti Patricii* (siehe Anm. 26), 88–106, XXII–XXVI, bes. 88, XXII.1–5: *Sanctus autem Patricius secundum praeceptum Domini Iesu iens et docens omnes Gentes. baptizansque eas in nomine Patris. et Filii. et Spiritus Sancti. profectus a Temoria. praedicavit ubique. Domino cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis.*

gründete, das ihnen hernach als Missionsstützpunkte diente.⁴³ Adamnán, einer seiner Nachfolger als Abt dieses Klosters, verfasste zwischen 688 und 697 eine *Vita Columbae*,⁴⁴ die im eigentlichen Sinne mehr eine Sammlung von Wunder-taten Kolumbans ist als eine vollwertige Vita. Im dritten Kapitel wird die mehrfache Begegnung mit Zauberern geschildert. So wird zunächst von einem Pikten berichtet, der aufgrund der Predigt Kolumbans zum christlichen Glauben übergetreten war und sich gemeinsam mit seiner gesamten Familie hatte taufen lassen. Kurz darauf erkrankte einer seiner Söhne lebensbedrohlich, woraufhin die örtlichen Zauberer ihn mit heftigsten Vorwürfen konfrontierten, die Erkrankung als Strafe des Religionswechsels werteten und sich der eigenen Götter rühmten, die nach ihrer Ansicht damit ihre Überlegenheit gegenüber dem christlichen Gott unter Beweis gestellt hätten. Als Kolumban davon hörte, machte er sich sogleich zum Haus des Konvertiten auf, wo er dessen soeben verstorbenen Sohn vorfand. Den verbitterten und erzürnten Eltern hielt er die Allmacht Gottes vor Augen, beugte sich vor dem Bett des Verstorbenen zum Gebet, das den Jungen tatsächlich wieder ins Leben zurückrief.⁴⁵

Adamnán hebt in diesem Fall eigens hervor, dass sich Hilflosigkeit in Freude verwandelte und mit diesem Ereignis ausreichend belegt sei, dass Kolumban genauso über die Gabe der Wundertätigkeit verfügt habe wie die alttestamentlichen Propheten.⁴⁶ Kurz darauf, so die Schilderung weiter, suchte der Missionar den Zauberer Broichan auf, um ihn um Freilassung einer skotischen Sklavin zu bitten. Da der Zauberer sich weigerte, wurde ihm ein baldiger Tod prophezeit. Wenig später weilte Kolumban mit seinen Gefährten am Fluss Ness, wo Königsboten ihn ereilten und mitteilten, dass Broichan todkrank sei und der König, der der Pflegesohn des Zauberers war, ihn um Heilung bitte. Kolumban nahm einen

43 Zu Kolumban d.Ä. und seiner Mission vgl. Knut Schäferdiek, „Columbans Wirken im Frankreich (591–612),“ *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* I (siehe Anm. 1), 171–201; David W. Rollason, „Columba (Colum Cille) von Iona (Columba von Hy),“ *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (siehe Anm. 25), Bd. 3: *Codex Wintoniensis bis Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen* (1986), 63–5.

44 Vgl. *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, hrsg. von Alan Orr Anderson, Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); vgl. auch *Acta Sanctorum*, Nona dies Iunii. De sancto Columba, presbytero abbate, in Iona Scotiae insula. Vita proluxior Auctore S. Adamnana Abbate, cap. XXXII–XXXIV, 220D–221D.

45 *Vita proluxior Auctore S. Adamnana Abbate* (siehe Anm. 44), III.XXXII, 220D–F.

46 *Vita proluxior Auctore S. Adamnana Abbate* (siehe Anm. 44), III.XXXII, 220E/F: *Hoc noster Columba cum Elia & Eliseo Prophetis habeat sibi commune virtutis miraculum, & cum Petro & Paulo & Joanne Apostolis partem honoris similem in defunctorum resuscitatione; & inter utrosque, hoc est Prophetarum & Apostolorum cœtus, honorificam cœlestis patriæ sedem homo Propheticus & Apostolicus, & æternalem cum Christo, qui regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per omnia secula seculorum.*

Kieselstein aus dem Flussbett und empfahl ihnen, diesen in einem Kelch dem Kranken zu trinken zu geben. Die Anweisung wurde befolgt und gab dem Zauberer seine früheren Lebenskräfte zurück.⁴⁷

Dieser reagierte nicht mit Konversion, nicht einmal mit Dank, sondern wollte nur umso entschiedener gegen den christlichen Prediger vorgehen, der in seinen Augen die Ursache für alles Übel sei. Daher fragte er bei der nächsten Begegnung Kolumban, wann dieser fortzusegeln gedenke, und versprach, dass er kraft seiner magischen Fähigkeiten solche Gegenwinde bewirken werde, dass die Abreise nicht möglich sein werde. Tatsächlich war der Himmel zum genannten Zeitpunkt über Loch Ness verfinstert und starke Gegenwinde machten das Segeln unmöglich. Diesbezüglich betont Adamnán zwar, dass der heidnische Zauber durch dämonische Unterstützung zu derartigem fähig sei – allerdings nur, weil Gott dies gelegentlich zulasse.⁴⁸ Aus dem gleichen Grund ging Kolumban in seinem Gottvertrauen zunächst ins Gebet, um anschließend das Boot zu besteigen und die zögernden Seeleute dazu aufzufordern, das Segel zu setzen. Auf wundersame Weise nahm das Schiff problemlos Fahrt auf, nach kurzer Zeit drehte der Wind sogar und beschleunigte zusätzlich die Reise.⁴⁹ Damit obsiegte die göttliche Unterstützung des christlichen Predigers einmal mehr über die heidnische Zauberkunst.

Auch wenn in der *Vita Columbae* kein direktes Kräfteressen wie in der *Vita s. Patricii* geschildert wird, in dem sich die Kontrahenten jeweils zu überbieten suchten, fordert das Handeln der Zauberer dennoch mehrfach eine Reaktion Kolumbans heraus. Ein wesentlicher Aspekt ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass die Zauberer stets böswillig sind und ihre Künste nur einsetzen, um den Missionar zu behindern. Im ersten Beispiel wird zwar nicht geklärt, ob sie den erkrankten Jungen zu heilen im Stande wären, aber ihre gegen das Christentum gerichteten Vorwürfe genügen, um ihre Schlechtigkeit zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Diese Darstellungsweise ist die Voraussetzung dafür, dass Kolumban als das personifizierte Gute den Gegenpart übernehmen kann. Die Widersacher der Mission, hier die heidnischen Zauberer, sind offensichtlich schon aus literarischen Gründen erforderlich, um die göttliche Unterstützung des Predigers, die letztlich den Sieg

⁴⁷ *Vita prolixior Auctore S. Adamnano Abbate* (siehe Anm. 44), III.XXXIII, 220F–221B.

⁴⁸ *Vita prolixior Auctore S. Adamnano Abbate* (siehe Anm. 44), III.XXXIV, 221C: *Nec mirum, hæc interdum arte dæmonum posse fieri, Deo permittente, ut etiam venti & æquora in asperius concitentur: sic enim aliquando dæmoniorum legiones, S. Germano Episcopo, de sinu Wallico, causa humanæ salutis ad Britanniam naviganti, medio in æquore occurrerunt; & apponentes pericula, procellas concitabant; cælum diemque tenebrarum caligine obducebant; quæ tamen omnia sancto orante Germano, dicto ocius sedata, deteresa cessarunt caligine.*

⁴⁹ *Vita prolixior Auctore S. Adamnano Abbate* (siehe Anm. 44), III.XXXIV, 221B–D.

davonträgt, herausstellen zu können. Mögen derartige Schilderungen zum Großteil auch fiktiv und literarisch notwendig gewesen sei, so werden die frühmittelalterlichen Missionare doch auch in Wirklichkeit häufig mit Widerständen konfrontiert gewesen sein, wobei die Auseinandersetzung mit vermeintlichen Zauberern zu den größten Herausforderungen gezählt haben dürfte.

Dass die Konfrontation mit heidnischem Zauber dennoch siegreich für Vertreter des christlichen Glaubens ausgeht, ist dabei so selbstverständlich, wie sie nur für die anwesenden Heiden überraschend ist. Diese Selbstverständlichkeit bringt Alcuin in seiner Lebensbeschreibung Vedasts, des Bischofs von Arras und Cambrai im frühen 6. Jahrhundert, daher auch völlig unaufgeregt zum Ausdruck:⁵⁰ Auf Einladung des Frankenkönigs Chlothar I., des Sohnes Chlodwigs, waren der gesamte Hof sowie die Großen des Reichs zu einem Festmahl zusammengekommen.⁵¹ Unter den Gästen befand sich auch Vedast, der bereits beim Eintritt in den Saal gewahr wurde, dass die Bierkrüge unter dämonischer Anrufung gefüllt worden waren. Es genügte ihm, mit seiner Rechten das Kreuzzeichen zu machen, woraufhin die Gefäße zersprangen und sich deren Inhalt auf dem Boden ausbreitete. Erschrocken über dieses Wunder fragte man ihn nach dem Grund, worauf er zur Antwort gab, dass sich durch die Anrufungen diabolische Macht in der Flüssigkeit befand, die aber aus Furcht vor dem Kreuzeszeichen die Flucht ergriffen habe.⁵²

Alcuin führt weiter aus, dass dies genügt habe, dass die meisten Anwesenden sich von den Ketten des Teufels befreit, von der Wahrsagerei losgesagt und von der gewohnten Zauberei abgelassen hätten.⁵³ Es hielten jedoch offensichtlich auch andere an den paganen Praktiken fest und wie nach den Ausführungen in den hagiographischen Quellen zu urteilen ist, waren die frühmittelalterlichen Missionare tatsächlich wesentlich häufiger mit weiter bestehenden Zauberpraktiken

50 Vgl. Alcuin, „Vita S. Vedasti, episcopi Atrebatensis,“ *Patrologia Latina*, 101, 663D–678B. Vgl. dazu auch Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, *L'oeuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin. Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii. Édition, traduction, études narratologiques* (Florenz: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003); Ekkart Sauser, „Vedast, Bischof von Arras († 540),“ *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (siehe Anm. 25), Bd. 12 (1997), 1178.

51 Vgl. Alcuin, *Vita S. Vedasti* (siehe Anm. 50), 674 A–C.

52 Vgl. Alcuin, *Vita S. Vedasti* (siehe Anm. 50), 674B: *Cui sanctus respondit episcopus: Per quasdam maleficorum incantationes, ad decipiendas convivarum animas, diabolica in his latuit liquoribus potentia: sed virtute crucis Christi territa, sic invisibiliter de domo effugit ista, sicut visibiliter considerastis liquorem effundi in terram.*

53 Vgl. Alcuin, *Vita S. Vedasti* (siehe Anm. 50), 674B/C: *Nam plurimi, occultis diabolicae fraudis catenis absoluti, auguriorum vanitate sprete, incantationum consuetudine relicta, ad verae religionis convalescent puritatem, intelligentes divinae potentiae efficacia in suo famulo jacere signa, nihilque contra ejus sancitatem antiqui serpentis valere machinamenta.*

und heidnischem Aberglauben in der Gesellschaft konfrontiert als mit Zauberern selbst. Auch in bereits christianisierten Regionen fiel es offensichtlich vielen schwer, von ihren paganen Kulturen abzulassen, obwohl sie sich dem christlichen Glauben bereits angeschlossen hatten. So war es eine besondere Herausforderung für die Missionare, Kulte und Praktiken, an die Menschen aufgrund ihrer heidnischen Tradition gewöhnt waren, tatsächlich zu beseitigen. Dies verdeutlicht Beda Venerabilis am Beispiel des northumbrischen Mönchs Cuthbert, der von 685 bis zu seinem Tod zwei Jahre später Bischof von Lindisfarne war. Die Schilderungen in der von Beda verfassten Heiligenvita sind größtenteils identisch mit denen in seiner *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.⁵⁴ Noch zu der Zeit, als Cuthbert Prior des Klosters Ripon war, unternahm er zahlreiche Missionsreisen in die nähere und weitere Umgebung,⁵⁵ wobei er die Beobachtung machte, dass ein Teil der christlichen Bevölkerung seinen Glauben mit profanen Handlungen beschmutzte. Ein anderer Teil ließ sich weiterhin auf den Götzendienst ein und vertraute auf Zauberei bzw. Anrufung böser Geister, auf Amulette und geheime dämonische Künste.⁵⁶ Dass selbst Personen im Gefolge Heiliger nicht davon befreit waren, beweist die von Odo von Cluny verfasste Vita Gerald's von Aurillac.⁵⁷

54 Vgl. Beda Venerabilis, „Vita prosaica S. Cuthberti“, *Patrologia Latina*, 94, 735B–790°, hier 747°–B; ders., „Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum“, *Patrologia Latina*, 95, 220B–221B bzw. *Beda der Ehrwürdige, Kirchengeschichte des englischen Volkes*, 2. Bibl. Akt. Aufl., hrsg. von Günter Spitzbart (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), 412. Vgl. dazu auch John P. Bequette, „Monasticism, Evangelization, and Eloquence. Rhetoric in Bede's Life of Cuthbert“, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 48 (2013): 325–52; David W. Rollason, „Cuthbert“, (siehe Anm. 25), Bd. 3: *Codex Wintoniensis bis Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen* (1986), 397.

55 Vgl. Beda, *Vita prosaica S. Cuthberti* (siehe Anm. 54), 747 A: *Ad utrorumque ergo corrigendum errorem crebro ipse de monasterio egressus, aliquoties equo sedens, sed saepius pedibus incedens, circumpositas veniebat ad villas, et viam veritatis praedicabat errantibus, quod ipsum etiam Boisilus suo tempore facere consueverat*. Vgl. auch Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (siehe Anm. 54), 220C–221 A bzw. Spitzbart, *Beda der Ehrwürdige* (siehe Anm. 54), 412.

56 Vgl. Beda, *Vita prosaica S. Cuthberti* (siehe Anm. 54), 747 A: *Nam et multi fidem quam habebant iniquis profanabant operibus; et aliqui etiam tempore mortalitatis, neglecto fidei quo imbuti erant sacramento, ad erratica idolatriae medicamina concurrebant, quasi missam a Deo conditore plagam per incantationes vel alligaturas, vel alia quaelibet daemoniacae artis arcana, cohibere valerent*. Vgl. die Parallelstelle in Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (siehe Anm. 54), 220C bzw. Spitzbart, *Beda der Ehrwürdige* (siehe Anm. 54), 412. Vgl. dazu auch Kerstin Zech, „Heidenvorstellung und Heidendarstellung. Begrifflichkeit und ihre Deutung im Kontext von Bedas ‚Historia Ecclesiastica‘“, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen im früheren Mittelalter. Terminologische Probleme und methodische Ansätze*, hrsg. von Anna Aurast und Hans-Werner Goetz. Hamburger geisteswissenschaftliche Studien zu Religion und Gesellschaft, 1 (Münster: Lit, 2012), 15–46.

57 Odo von Cluny, „Vita S. Gerald's Auriliacensis comitis libri quatuor“, *Patrologia Latina*, 133, 639B–710C. Zum Autor der Vita vgl. Neithard Bulst, „Odo, 2. Abt von Cluny (927–42)“, *Lexikon des*

Da die Lebensbeschreibung 930/931 erstellt wurde, bezeugt sie auch, dass diese Phänomene nicht allein im sechsten und siebten Jahrhundert anzutreffen waren. Wie Odo berichtet, befand sich unweit von Aurillac ein kleines Dorf, neben dem ein riesiger, runder Stein lag. Als Gerald mit seinen Gefährten dorthin kam, stellte einer von ihnen namens Adraldus die Behauptung auf, er könne über den Stein springen, was er sogleich auch bewies, während die anderen nur staunten.⁵⁸ Odo fügt scheinbar zusammenhangslos den Hinweis hinzu: „Es wurde berichtet, dass eben dieser Adraldus sich mit Zauberei und Magie ausgekannt habe.“⁵⁹ Nachdem vor ihm das Kreuzeszeichen gemacht wurde, sollte er noch einmal hinüberspringen, was er trotz mehrmaliger Versuche nicht mehr zu Wege brachte. Für alle war damit erwiesen, dass ihm nur eine Zauberkraft die Macht dazu verliehen hatte. Für Odo indes besteht der Wert dieser Schilderung darin, nicht nur die *virtus* Geralds betonen zu können, sondern die Macht des Kreuzes über alles Widrige.⁶⁰

Besonders die Viten jener angelsächsischen Missionare, die im siebten und achten Jahrhundert im Frankenreich und in angrenzenden Gebieten tätig waren, berichten häufig von der Auseinandersetzung mit paganen Kulturen, heidnischen Heiligtümern und oft auch mit Zaubern. Das ist wohl damit zu erklären, dass sich in diesem Zeitraum die größten Missionsanstrengungen – meist befürwortet und unterstützt von den karolingischen Hausmeiern und Königen – in fränkischen, friesischen und sächsischen Gebieten ereigneten. So berichtet die von Alcuin, dem größten Gelehrten am Hofe Karls des Großen, verfasste *Vita Willibrordi* von einem Ereignis, das sich in einem Dorf namens Walichrum auf der heute als Walcheren bezeichneten Halbinsel im Südwesten der Niederlande zugegetragen habe.⁶¹ Willibrord gelangte auf seiner Missionsreise (*iter evangelizandi*)⁶² dorthin und fand die Verehrung eines alten Götzenbildes vor. Ohne weitere Ausführungen wird davon berichtet, dass Willibrord sogleich daran gegangen sei, das

Mittelalters (siehe Anm. 25), Bd. 6: *Lukasbilder bis Plantagenêt* (1993), 1357–58; Klaus Guth, „Odo von Cluny, Heiliger (878–942)“, Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (siehe Anm. 25), Bd. 6 (1993), 1114–15.

58 Vgl. Odo, *Vita S. Geraldi* (siehe Anm. 57), lib. II, 678C/D.

59 Vgl. Odo, *Vita S. Geraldi* (siehe Anm. 57), lib. II, 678C/D: *Ferebatur autem quod isdem Adraldus incantationes ac maleficia nosset*.

60 Vgl. Odo, *Vita S. Geraldi* (siehe Anm. 57), lib. II, 687D.

61 Vgl. Alcuin, *Vita sancti Willibrordi*. *Das Leben des heiligen Willibrord*, Lateinisch/Deutsch, hrsg., übers. und kommentiert von Paul Dräger (Trier: Kliemedien, 2008), lib. I.14, S. 34–37; Lisa-Marie C. Duffield, *Alcuin's 'Vita' of Saints Willibrord, Vaast, Riquier, and Martin. Conversion in the Carolingian Expansion* (St. Louis, MO: St. Louis University, 2012). Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, „Willibrord und die frühe angelsächsische Missionierung Kontinentaleuropas“, *Credo: Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter* 1 (siehe Anm. 1), 239–49.

62 Alcuin, *Vita sancti Willibrordi* (siehe Anm. 61), 34.

Götzenbild zu zerstören. Während dieser Akt mit der brennenden Leidenschaft zu Gott begründet wird, überhäuft Alcuin den anwesenden Wächter des Heiligtums mit Vorwürfen, da dieser aufgrund seines ungestümen, heillosen Gemütes (*impetu animi insanientis*)⁶³ mit ähnlicher Gewalt Willibrord daran zu hindern suchte. In diesem Zusammenhang schlug er auch mit seinem Schwert auf den christlichen Missionar ein, der jedoch von Gott verteidigt unversehrt blieb.⁶⁴ Seine Gefährten hielt Willibrord davon ab, den Wächter des Heiligtums mit dem Tode zu bestrafen, der noch am gleichen Tage von einem dämonischen Geist ergriffen wurde und wenig später den Tod fand. Alcuin begründet diese Entwicklung mit dem Wort Gottes aus Deuteronomium 32,35: „Die Rache ist mein; ich will vergelten.“⁶⁵

An diesem Beispiel wird dreierlei deutlich: Zum einen obsiegt wie in vorigen Fällen natürlich wieder der christliche Gott über einen paganen Götzen. Zum anderen aber wird die gewaltsame Vorgehensweise gegen heidnische Religiosität legitimiert, eventuelle Gegenwehr jedoch als Sünde und Übel verurteilt. Zuletzt resultiert daraus die frühmittelalterlich-christliche Überzeugung, dass es heidnische Religiosität zu bestrafen gilt. Diese Aspekte finden mehrfach auch Erwähnung in den Berichten über die Mission sowie die Errichtung der kirchlichen Infrastruktur unter Bonifatius.⁶⁶ In den Viten ist dies vor allem im Kontext des Fällens der Donar-Eiche zu beobachten.⁶⁷

Willibald berichtet in seiner Lebensbeschreibung davon, dass ein Teil der Hessen bereits den katholischen Glauben angenommen hätte, ein anderer sich aber beharrlich weigerte.⁶⁸ Weiterhin wurden daher Bäume und Quellen verehrt

⁶³ Alcuin. *Vita sancti Willibrordi* (siehe Anm. 61), 34.

⁶⁴ Alcuin. *Vita sancti Willibrordi* (siehe Anm. 61), 34: *Quod cum vir Dei zelo fervens confringeret praesente eiusdem idoli custode, qui nimio furore succensus, quasi dei sui iniuriam vindicaret, in impetu animi insanientis gladio caput sacerdotis Christi percussit; sed Deo defendente servum suum nullam ex ictu ferientis lesuram sustenuit.*

⁶⁵ Alcuin. *Vita sancti Willibrordi* (siehe Anm. 61), 34, 36.

⁶⁶ Aus der Fülle an Studien zu Bonifatius sei stellvertretend auf folgende Titel verwiesen: Christoph Galle, „Bonifatius als Prediger. Zum Wandel des Predigtamtes und zur Entwicklung eines Predigerideals anhand hagiographischer Quellen des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts,“ *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 97 (2015): 5–45; Lutz E. von Padberg, „Verbreitung des Wortes: Willibrord und Bonifatius,“ *Macht des Wortes – Benediktinisches Mönchtum im Spiegel Europas*, hrsg. von Gerfried M. Sitar und Holger Kempkens (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009), Bd. 1: *Essays*, 73–82; Rudolf Schieffer, „Neue Bonifatius-Literatur,“ *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 63 (2007): 111–24; Theodor Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1954).

⁶⁷ Vgl. zu den Viten *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Levison. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover und Leipzig: Hahn, 1905).

⁶⁸ *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini* (siehe Anm. 67), 30.19–31.3.

und Wahrsagerei und Geisterbeschwörung genauso praktiziert wie Zauberei und Anrufung böser Geister. Auch Zeichendeutung, Vogelschau und verschiedene Opferfeten werden erwähnt.⁶⁹ In diesen Kontext ist auch die Verehrung der Donar-Eiche bei Geismar einzuordnen, die Bonifatius kurzerhand beschloss zu fällen, woraufhin ihn die anwesenden Heiden mit Flüchen belegten.⁷⁰ Dass diese nichts ausrichteten, muss Willibald gar nicht eigens erwähnen, denn kaum hatte Bonifatius die ersten Schläge getan, wurde die Eiche von göttlichem Wind geschüttelt (*divino desuper flatu exagitata*)⁷¹ und zerbarst in vier gleich große Teile. Dies genügte und die vormals hartnäckigen Heiden ließen von ihrem Aberglauben ab und priesen den Gott des Bonifatius, der das Holz zur Errichtung einer Kapelle verwendete, die er dem Apostel Petrus widmete.

Was hier in Kürze praktisch realisiert wurde, fand auch seinen Niederschlag in den Beschlüssen der unter Leitung des Bonifatius abgehaltenen Synoden. In einem Brief an Cuthbert von Canterbury berichtet er 747 davon, dass festgesetzt wurde, dass ein jeder Bischof jährlich sorgfältig die Verhältnisse in seiner Diözese prüfen, das Volk im Glauben stärken und unterrichten solle und daneben pagane Kulte, Zauberer und Weissager genauso ausfindig machen und an weiteren Praktiken hindern solle wie Zeichendeutung, Amulette, Geisterbeschwörungen und sonstiger Unflat zu beseitigen seien.⁷²

Mit derartigen Verlautbarungen trat die Abwehr paganer Kulte in ein neues Stadium. Während die Missionare im Rahmen der Christianisierung in ihren Begegnungen mit Akteuren heidnischer Religiosität konfrontiert und dazu herausgefordert wurden, das Christentum als die wirkmächtigere und somit für wahr gehaltene Religion zu bezeugen, konnte nun, nachdem das Christentum bereits eine gewissen Ausbreitung und Akzeptanz gefunden hatte, ein Festhalten an

69 *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini* (siehe Anm. 67), 31.3–10: *alii etiam lignis et fontibus clanculo, alii autem aperte sacrificabant; alii vero aruspicia et divinationes, prestigia atque incantationes occulte, alii quidem manifeste exercebant; alii quippe auguria et auspicia intendebant diversosque sacrificandi ritus incoluerunt; alii etiam, quibus mens sanior inerat, omni abiecta gentilitatis profanatione, nihil horum commisserunt.* In der von Otloh von St. Emmeram verfassten Bonifatius-Vita ist die Aufzählung der heidnischen Kultpraktiken kürzer, beinhaltet aber die gleichen Begriffe. Vgl. dort auch, 135.8–10: *Alii namque lignis et fontibus clam vel aperte sacrificabant, alii vero aruspicia et divinationes, prestigia et incantationes exercebant.*

70 *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini* (siehe Anm. 67), 31.10–32.2.

71 *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini* (siehe Anm. 67), 31.19.

72 *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini I*, hrsg. von Ernst Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), Nr. 78, 351.18–21: *Statuimus, ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parochiam suam sollicitè circumeat, populum confirmare et plebes docere, et investigare et prohibere paganas observationes, divinos vel sortilocos, auguria, filacteria, incantationes vel omnes spurcicias gentilium.*

paganen Kultpraktiken unter Strafe gestellt werden. Ganz wesentlich trug dazu der Herrscherwille bei. Im Falle des Bonifatius konnte auf die Unterstützung der fränkischen Hausmeier und König Pippins gesetzt werden, die auch auf politischer Ebene sowohl die Verbreitung des christlichen Glaubens förderten als auch den Fortbestand heidnischer Religiosität sanktionierten. Der von Bonifatius erstellte und 744 vorgelegte *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum* steht am Anfang dieser Entwicklung, die die Beseitigung paganer Reste nicht mehr einzelnen Predigern überließ, sondern nun politisches Ziel der Herrschaft wurde und sich folglich in Legislative und Judikative niederschlug.

II Akkomodation, Selektion, Sanktion. Kirchliche und weltliche Maßnahmen gegen Zauberei und heidnische Kultpraktiken

Eine Sanktionierung von Zauberei und anderen heidnischen Kultpraktiken von Seiten einer christlich geprägten oder zumindest die Ausbreitung des christlichen Glaubens befürwortenden Herrschaft erscheint als logische Konsequenz. Voraussetzung war, dass eine eindeutige Definition dessen erfolgte, was noch tolerierbar und was schon unter Strafe zu stellen sei. Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters zeichnete sich in diesem Fall durch eine ausgesprochen große Flexibilität aus. Von Anbeginn an war das Christentum von Akkommodation gekennzeichnet, und so sind auch im Rahmen des kulturellen Kontakts mit paganer Religiosität im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert verschiedene Beispiele von Inkulturation nachweisbar. Bereits im Falle der von Gregor dem Großen initiierten und konsultierten Mission der Angelsachsen ist ein Transfer von paganen Kulturen zum Christlichen zu beobachten, wobei es sich in aller Regel um eine Anpassung an christliche Vorstellungen handelte. So wurde die Verehrung der germanischen Gottheiten Odin, Thor und Freya sowie die ihnen gewidmeten Kultplätze und Amulette kurzerhand christianisiert und durch die Verehrung des christlichen Gottes, der ihm dienenden Heiligen, ihre Gräber und Reliquien ersetzt.⁷³

⁷³ Vgl. James C. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity. A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 188: „Gregory’s letter to Mellitus is also significant in its Old Testament analogy. The redirection of sacrifice from idols to God is descriptive of the effect that Gregory’s missionary policy had upon the Anglo-Saxons and upon their continental Germanic brethren. The worldly, magicoreligious, heroic, folk religiosity of the pre-Christian Germanic peoples was transferred from Odin, Tiwaz, Thor, and Freyja, and the shrines and amulets dedicated to them, to Christus Victor, his loyal saints, and their shrines and

Eine ähnliche Empfehlung machte Bischof Daniel von Winchester um die Jahre 723 bis 725 an Bonifatius, der ihn in dieser Frage konsultiert hatte. Daniel riet ihm zu einem moderaten Umgang mit paganer Religiosität, um die Germanen durch aggressive Vorgehensweise nicht zu verärgern. Außerdem solle Bonifatius in regelmäßigen Abständen deren kultische Verehrung mit den christlichen Lehren vergleichen, damit sie nicht irritiert und verstört seien, sondern vielmehr an Bekanntes anknüpfen könnten. Eine gute Gelegenheit böten, so Daniel weiter, Gottheiten, denen man Allmacht, Güte und Gerechtigkeit zuschreibe, oder Vorstellungen, wonach göttliche Strafe auf Ablehnung eines Gottes gelehrt werde.⁷⁴ Auf diese Weise wurde nicht nur der eigene Glaube verkündet, sondern eine gleichzeitige Auseinandersetzung mit der bereits vorhandenen Religion gefordert. So konnte zum einen an die Vorstellungswelt der Heiden angeknüpft werden, zum anderen erschien diesen die christliche Religion nicht mehr als etwas völlig Fremdes. Dies gelang einerseits durch Inkulturation sowie Umwandlung bereits vorhandener Traditionen, andererseits durch die bewusste Aufnahme von Motiven der lokalen Traditionen.

In diesen Kontext sind die christliche Umwidmung paganer Festtage genauso einzuordnen wie die Vermittlung christlicher Inhalte unter dem Mantel paganer Religiosität. So hat G. Ronald Murphy am Beispiel des altsächsischen *Heliand* nachgewiesen,⁷⁵ dass christliche Inhalte literarisch in einer Weise präsentiert wurden, dass sie von jenen Rezipienten, die durch pagane Traditionen geprägt waren, verstanden werden konnten. Die Wandlung von Blut und Leib Christi im

relics.“ Vgl. zu den Verboten, die sich auf kultische Plätze und Objekte bezogen, Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 204–16.

74 Vgl. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini* I (siehe Anm. 72), Nr. 23, 271–3, hier 272.26–38: *Haec et his similia multa alia, quae nunc enumerare longum est, non quasi insultando vel irritando eos, sed placide ac magna obicere moderatione debes. Et per intervalla nostris, id est christianis, huiusmodi comparandae sunt dogmatibus superstitiones et quasi e latere tangendae, quatenus magis confuse quam exasperate pagani erubescant pro tam absurdis opinionibus et ne nos latere ipsorum nefarios ritus ac fabulas estimant. Hoc quoque inferendum: Si omnipotentes sunt dii et benefici et iusti, non solum suos remunerant cultores, verum etiam puniunt contemptores. Et si haec utraque temporaliter faciunt, cur ergo parcent christianis totum pene orbem ab eorum cultura avertentibus idolaque evertentibus? Et cum ipsi, id est christiani, fertiles terras vinique et olei feraces ceterisque opibus habundantes possident provincias, ipsi autem, id est pagani, frigore semper rigentes terras cum eorum diis reliquerunt, in quibus iam tamen toto orbe pulsi falso regnare putantur.* Vgl. dazu auch Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity* (siehe Anm. 73), 193–94.

75 Vgl. G. Ronald Murphy, „Magic in the *Heliand*,“ *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht, deutsche Sprache und Literatur* 83 (1991): 386–97.

Abendmahl wurde daher als magisches Moment dargestellt und auch Christus selbst wurden magische Fähigkeiten zugeschrieben.⁷⁶

Selbst die Homileten der Karolingerzeit suchten in ihren Predigten an die Kenntnis und Lebenswelt der Heiden anzuknüpfen, um ein höheres Maß an Verständnis und einen größeren Erfolg bei der Vermittlung christlicher Inhalte erzielen zu können.⁷⁷ Dass diese Erwägungen aus der Frage resultierten, wie man den Heiden eine neue Religion möglichst erfolgreich und ohne größere Komplikationen aneignen konnte, ist leicht nachvollziehbar. Indes überrascht ein wenig, dass auch versucht wurde, soweit wie möglich religiös-politische und mit Blick auf die Zauberei magisch-religiöse Elemente der germanischen Religiosität zu implementieren.⁷⁸ Schließlich wird Magie in den hagiographischen Quellen doch allzu leicht als etwas Schlechtes charakterisiert, während hingegen die von Heiligen vollbrachten Wunder als gut dargestellt werden.⁷⁹ Abgesehen davon, dass sie letztlich die Superiorität der christlichen Religion bezeugen, unterscheiden sich die Heiligenwunder bei genauerer Betrachtung doch nur wenig von den Künsten paganer Zauberer. „Die gleichen Personen, die ‚heidnische‘ Umtriebe geißelten, erzählten [...] lange Wundergeschichten, die für uns zum Teil nicht viel

⁷⁶ Murphy, *Magic in the Heliand* (siehe Anm. 75), 389–90, 396.

⁷⁷ Vgl. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity* (siehe Anm. 73), 201.

⁷⁸ Vgl. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity* (siehe Anm. 73), 212: „3. To advance the process of Christianization among the Germanic peoples, its advocates sought to accommodate the religiopolitical and magicoreligious elements of Germanic religiosity. 4. In attempting to demonstrate the superior power and reliability of the Christian God, and in employing terms derived from the comitatus institution to convey Christian concepts, advocates of Christianization were implicitly reinterpreting Christianity in accordance with the world-view of the Germanic peoples.“ Vgl. dazu Blum, *Das staatliche und kirchliche Recht des Frankenreichs* (siehe Anm. 9), 48, Anm. 1: „So gestattete die Kirche anfangs das Abhalten geräuschvoller Gelage mit Tanz und Gesang in den Kirchen, um von der Teilnahme an den heidnischen Opfermahlen [...] fernzuhalten [...] oder sie beseitigte altheidnische Gebräuche beim Gottesurteil des Zweikampfs, ließ ihn selbst aber bestehen, und schuf ein christliches Zeremoniell dafür (z. B. can. 6 conc. Neuching, 772 M. G. Leg. III, II, 1 S. 100). Auf dem Gebiet der Wahrsagerei hatte sich dasselbe in den sogenannten Sortilegien oder sortes sanctorum vollzogen. An Stelle heidnischer Mittel, etwa der Sibyllinischen Bücher oder germanischer Runenzeichen schlug man die Hl. Schrift auf und schrieb dem zufällig gefundenen Text zukunftsdeutende Kraft zu. Dieser Brauch, anfangs auch unter den Klerikern viel verbreitet, sogar Gregor von Tours übte ihn, wurde dann jahrhundertlang immer und immer wieder verboten.“ Vgl. daneben Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (siehe Anm. 73), 403.

⁷⁹ Karl Brunner, „Über Mächte und Zauber“, *Umgang mit Geschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Wissenschaftstheorie, Kultur- und Umweltgeschichte*, hrsg. von Karl Brunner. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband, 54 (Wien: Böhlau, 2009), 291–300, hier 294–95.

anders aussehen.⁸⁰ Ging es beispielsweise um die Beseitigung einer Krankheit, war das verbindende Merkmal von Zauberern und Heiligen, dass sie beide Heilung aufgrund von übernatürlichen Mächten versprachen.⁸¹

In diesen Fällen dürfte der Zauberer jedoch, solange er keine Dämonen oder Geister zur Heilung anrief, sondern sich auf die Anwendung von Kräutern und Pflanzen verstand, als ‚medicus‘ verstanden werden. Zu einem Zauberer, den es zu bekämpfen galt, wurde er erst in dem Moment, wenn er die Kraft seiner Heilung einer höheren Macht verdankte, die nicht mit dem christlichen Gott gleichgesetzt wurde.⁸²

Aus diesem Grund konnte Alcuin respektvoll von ‚medici‘ sprechen und bei Isidor trat der ‚medici‘ sogar in engen Kontakt mit dem Heiligen und beide wandten sich gemeinsam gegen einen Zauberer.⁸³ Verfügte der ‚medicus‘ lediglich über die Kenntnis außergewöhnlicher und wirkungsvoller Heilmethoden, unterschied er sich nach Gregor von Tours nicht von einem Heiligen, der zur Krankenpflege geweihtes Öl, heiliges Quellwasser oder Fasten und Gebet verwendete.⁸⁴ Die von einem Heiligen vollbrachten Wunder werden in den zeitgenössischen Quellen hingegen im Gegensatz zu den Taten eines Zauberers, der seine Fähigkeiten auf eine übernatürliche Instanz zurückführte, nicht als Zauberei angesehen. Die Erklärung ist in der Vorstellung zu sehen, dass er nicht aufgrund eigener übernatürlicher Fähigkeiten die Wunder vollbrachte, sondern nur von Gott als Werkzeug benutzt wurde, der durch ihn wirkte.⁸⁵

Im Umkehrschluss erhielt nach der gleichen Vorstellung jeder, der seine Wirkmächtigkeit nicht auf Gott zurückführte, seine Fähigkeiten vom Teufel und von Dämonen. Aus diesem Grund wurden die Praktiken von Zauberern meist sanktioniert, die von ‚medici‘ hingegen kaum. Sowohl für die Akkommodation

80 Brunner, *Über Mächte und Zauber* (siehe Anm. 79), 295.

81 Vgl. Valerie J. Flint, „The Early Medieval ‘Medicus’, the Saint – and the Enchanter,“ *Social History of Medicine* 2 (1989), 127–145, hier 130; vgl. auch Wolfgang Ernst, *Beschwörungen und Segen. Angewandte Psychotherapie im Mittelalter* (Köln: Böhlau, 2011), bes. 122–33.

82 Zur medizinischen Zauberei vgl. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (siehe Anm. 73), 240–53.

83 Vgl. Flint, *The Early Medieval ‘Medicus’, the Saint – and the Enchanter* (siehe Anm. 81), 133, 141; vgl. daneben Tuczay, *Magic and Divination* (siehe Anm. 5), 945–46.

84 Flint, *The Early Medieval ‘Medicus’, the Saint – and the Enchanter* (siehe Anm. 81), 134, 137.

85 Vgl. Murray, *Missionaries and Magic in Dark-Age Europe* (siehe Anm. 24), 192: „In one, the accidentia of pre-Christian magic have been absorbed into Christianity; in the other, vice versa. The most obvious case of the first is the healing miracle done by a saint, a type of miracle which was daily bread for hagiographers. Strictly a miracle was done through a saint, by God – so not magic at all. But narrators could underplay God’s role, almost to nothing, so that the saint then does appear as a kind of magician, only more effective for being of the right party.“

wie für die Sanktion war eine Selektion, eine Differenzierung nach guter und schlechter Magie, erforderlich.⁸⁶ Dies geht jedoch mit dem Problem einher, dass die zeitgenössischen Quellen keine eindeutigen Begriffe verwenden. Genauso wie der ‚medicus‘ meist völlig anders als der ‚maleficus‘, der schlechte Magie praktizierende Zauberer, bewertet wurde, scheint es auch unter Zauberern selbst deutliche Unterschiede gegeben zu haben. Während einerseits das gesamte Mittelalter hindurch Zauberer als Gefahr und im Bunde mit dem Teufel angesehen wurden, finden sich doch noch am Hofe Lothars II. Magier.⁸⁷ Karl Brunner hat daher zu Recht auf die Notwendigkeit einer Binnendifferenzierung hingewiesen:

Personen, die zaubern konnten, waren Spezialisten, vor denen man zunächst nicht mehr Angst haben sollte als vor Politikern, Richtern oder Wissenschaftlern; es gab gute und schlechte. Die Schlechten können viel Schlimmes anrichten, daher gab es Gesetze gegen das Wirken der malefici, der Übeltäter; der Pharao hatte . . . sapientes et maleficos, Weise und Zauberer (Ex 7, 11; Luther-Übersetzung), die fast dasselbe konnten wie Moses.⁸⁸

Genauso wie Kultplätze und Feste paganer Religiosität eine christliche Umgestaltung erfuhren, versuchte man, auch manche heidnischen Wundertäter zu christianisieren und ihre Fähigkeiten in den Dienst der christlichen Religion zu stellen. Die zahlreichen lateinischen Quellenbegriffe verdeutlichen, wie ungenau und pauschal die Vokabel ‚Zauberer‘ im deutschen Sprachgebrauch ist. Es fand im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert durchaus eine Differenzierung statt, und nicht alle Zauberer wurden gleich als Gefahr wahrgenommen. Das beste Zeugnis dieser Selektion stellt der *Indiculus* des Bonifatius dar,⁸⁹ der paradigmatisch für die gesamte

86 Wenn Blum (*Das staatliche und kirchliche Recht des Frankenreichs* [siehe Anm. 9], 43) darauf hinweist, dass sich die fränkische Gesetzgebung „im allgemeinen [sic!] mit dem generellen Verbot der Zauberei [begnügte], ohne alle die einzelnen Mittel und Formen zu nennen“, so bezieht sich diese Aussage auf die unter Strafe gestellten Formen von Zauberei, während andere Praktiken, die zuvor ebenfalls als Zauberei verstanden worden waren, nach christlicher Umformung toleriert und nicht mehr als Zauberei aufgefasst wurden. Zu den unter Strafe gestellten Zauberpraktiken vgl. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (siehe Anm. 73), 217–53.

87 Vgl. Murray, *Missionaries and Magic in Dark-Age Europe* (siehe Anm. 24), 190.

88 Brunner, *Über Mächte und Zauber* (siehe Anm. 79), 298.

89 Vgl. Wood, *Pagan Religions and Superstitions east of the Rhine from the fifth to the ninth century*, S. 254. Zur Selektion vgl. Murray, *Missionaries and Magic in Dark-Age Europe* (siehe Anm. 24), 191: „The entire history of medieval religion is a commentary on Gregory’s letter. In its field so is this book, whose burden is that churchmen both adapted and adopted their converts’ magic. Since adaptation involves selection, chapters here appropriately distinguish ‚Forbidden Magic‘ from ‚Encouraged Magic‘, ‚The Discredited Practitioner‘ from ‚The Figure of Esteem‘ (the priest; the Gospel magic; St. Benedict; the bishop; the sacral king.) Magic, that is, was split into good and bad, along the diaphanous boundary of defined orthodoxy. This selective adoption, the

kirchliche Strafjustiz steht: Es ging hier nicht nur um Christianisierung von Heiden, sondern auch um die Regulierung des alltäglichen Lebens der bereits Christianisierten, die teilweise hartnäckig an paganen Traditionen festhielten.⁹⁰

Durch die Selektion nach guter und schlechter Zauberei wurde die Zahl der Zauberer reduziert und als logische Konsequenz mussten Fälle von Häresie ansteigen.⁹¹ Den verschiedenen Sanktionsmaßnahmen, egal ob von kirchlicher oder später auch von weltlich-herrschaftlicher Seite, ist eigen, dass nicht per se sämtliche Zauberer mit Strafe belegt wurden, sondern nur derjenige als häretisch galt, der der Magie Glauben schenkte, weil dies als Widerstand gegen den christlichen Glauben empfunden wurde.⁹² Daher beschloss bereits das 721 unter Papst Gregor II. in Rom abgehaltene Konzil, dass jeder exkommuniziert werden solle, der Beschwörer, Wahrsager oder Zauberer befragte, d.h. ihre Dienste in Anspruch nahm und ihnen Glauben schenkte.⁹³ Die Praktizierenden hingegen wurden hier nicht unter Strafe gestellt. Das ein Jahr später stattfindende *Concilium Germanicum* legte zumindest für das fränkische Reichsgebiet fest, dass nicht nur heidnische Bräuche, sondern auch Zauberei beendet werden sollten.⁹⁴ Der Hausmeier Karlmann bekräftigte diese Bestrebung in einem Kapitular vom 21. April 742 und erneut 743 auf einer Versammlung in Les Estinnes.⁹⁵ Auch seine Nachfolger wandten sich gegen Zauberei: Karl der Große erneuerte 769 das Verbot

argument goes, entailed a paradoxical increase in the sum-total of magic as Christianity took over command of the high places.“

90 Vgl. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (siehe Anm. 18), 64–65. Die rechtlichen Bestimmungen im Frankenreich beschränkten sich vor der Mission des Bonifatius darauf, heidnische Kulte und Zauberspraktiken aus der Öffentlichkeit zu vertreiben. Vgl. dazu Blum, *Das staatliche und kirchliche Recht des Frankenreichs* (siehe Anm. 9), 42: „Mit der allgemeinen Reform der fränkischen Kirche, hervorgewachsen aus den vereinten Bemühungen der Päpste und ihrer Sendboten, vor allem des heiligen Bonifatius, in Verbindung mit den karolingischen Herrschern setzte mit dem Jahre 742 eine neue Epoche ein. Die kirchliche und staatliche Gesetzgebung dieser Zeit beginnt wiederum damit, öffentlich geübte heidnische Kulthandlungen zu verbieten. Sie bleibt aber hierbei nicht stehen, sie geht ins einzelne, spürt den unauffällig und heimlich geübten ehemals religiös begründeten, jetzt weithin nicht mehr verstandenen und zu Aberglauben gewordenen Sitten und Gebräuchen nach.“

91 Vgl. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (siehe Anm. 18), 64–65.

92 Vgl. Brunner, *Über Mächte und Zauber* (siehe Anm. 79), 294.

93 Vgl. Hansen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 47.

94 Hansen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 63.

95 Hansen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 63.

jedweder Zauberei und legte im *Capitulare Saxonicum* fest, „daß alle Wahrsager und Zauberer der Kirche als Sklaven übergeben werden sollten.“⁹⁶

Es verwundert nicht, dass die 789 verbreitete *Admonitio generalis*, die das gesamte kirchliche Wesen nach Vorstellung Karls des Großen regeln sollte, die umfangreichsten Äußerungen zum Kampf gegen Zauberei beinhaltet.⁹⁷ So wird den Priestern aufgetragen, dass man gegen Wetterzauberer, Schadenzauberer, Heilzauberer oder Heilzauberinnen vorgehen solle;⁹⁸ daneben wird allen verboten, Wahrsagerei zu betreiben, einen Wahrsager zu befragen, Träume oder Zeichen zu deuten sowie Schaden-, Heil- und Schutzzauber zu betreiben und Geister zu befragen; die betreffenden Personen sollen entweder davon abgebracht oder verurteilt werden; außerdem sollen die Verehrung von Bäumen, Felsen und Quellen sowie ähnliche Kulte beseitigt werden.⁹⁹ Auf der bairischen Synode des Jahres 799 wurde auf Anordnung Karls des Großen sodann beschlossen, Zauberer mit der Folterstrafe zu belegen.¹⁰⁰ Das *Capitulare missorum* um 802 wiederholte diese Forderung gemeinsam mit den Bestimmungen, die in der *Admonitio generalis* formuliert worden waren.¹⁰¹

Die 813 in Tours tagende Synode berief sich auf die Lehren des Hieronymus und des Augustinus, wonach jegliche Zauberei vom Teufel sei,¹⁰² und so verwundert es nicht, dass noch auf den Reformsynoden im Jahr 829 in Paris, Mainz, Lyon und Toulouse die vereinzelte Existenz von Zauberei thematisiert wurde und „unerbittlich zu strafen“¹⁰³ sei. Vor diesem Hintergrund erklärt sich, wieso der Fuldaer Abt und Mainzer Bischof Hrabanus Maurus Zauberei als Idolatrie und

96 Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 64. Zu den verschiedenen Arten verbotener Zauberei vgl. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (siehe Anm. 73), 204–53.

97 Vgl. Michael Bailey, „The Age of Magicians. Periodization in the History of European Magic,“ *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* 3 (2008), 1–28, hier 9; Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (siehe Anm. 18), 66.

98 Vgl. *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen* (siehe Anm. 12) 193.102–103; 18. *Sacerdotibus. Item in eodem concilio, ut cauclearii, malefici, incantatores vel incantatrices fieri sinantur.*

99 *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, 216.263–71: 64. *Omnibus. Item habemus in lege domini mandatum: Non auguriamini. Et in deuteronomio: Nemo sit, qui ariolus sciscitetur vel somnia observet vel ad auguria intendat. Item: Ne sit maleficus nec incantator nec phitones consolator. Ideo praecipimus, ut cauculatores et incantatores nec tempestarii vel obligatores non fiant, et ubicumque sunt, emendentur vel damnentur. Item de arboribus vel petris vel fontibus, ubi aliqui stulti luminaria vel alias observationes faciunt, omino mandamus, ut iste pessimus usus et deo execrabilis, ubicumque inveniatur, tollatur et distruiatur.*

100 Vgl. Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 66.

101 Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 66.

102 Vgl. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (siehe Anm. 18), 71.

103 Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 67.

Dämonenkulte brandmarkte und sich die normativen Quellen auch noch nach Ludwig dem Frommen entschieden auf die Beseitigung der Zauberei konzentrieren.¹⁰⁴ So fand 859 unter Vorsitz von Hinkmar von Reims eine Synode in Metz statt, an der auch neun fränkische Bischöfe teilnahmen, die in Anlehnung an Cyprian von Karthago die Aufgabe eines christlichen Königs formulierten, schändliche Zauberer zu vernichten.¹⁰⁵ Karl der Dicke griff diese Forderung auf der 873 in Quierzy tagenden Versammlung des westfränkischen Reichs auf und gelobte, resolut gegen jegliche Art von Zauberei vorzugehen.¹⁰⁶ Auch anlässlich der Triburer Synode von 895 schlug Arnulf von Kärnten vor, jeder Zauberer solle „wie der schlechteste Mörder mit doppelter Buße bestraft werden.“¹⁰⁷

Wie diese Beispiele bezeugen, wandte sich im achten, vor allem aber im neunten Jahrhundert die kirchliche und weltliche Gerichtsbarkeit entschieden gegen die Überreste paganer Religiosität in bereits christianisierten Gesellschaften. In diesem Zusammenhang stellte die Beseitigung von Zauberei eine besondere Herausforderung dar, was wohl vor allem darin begründet liegen dürfte, dass Zauberei eine Faszination ausübt und die Zuschauer allzu leicht von sichtbaren Zeichen gefesselt werden können. Doch scheint nicht alles, was von uns unter dem Oberbegriff der Zauberei summiert wird, tatsächlich auch von den Zeitgenossen als Zauberei, schon gar nicht als teuflisch oder schlecht verstanden worden sein. Dies bezeugt die bereits zeitgenössische Differenzierung nach guter und schlechter Magie, d.h. nach Formen von Zauberei, die toleriert werden konnten oder verboten werden mussten. Diese Selektion konnte indes erst vorgenommen werden, wenn eine gewisse Konsolidierung der christlichen Religion und eine gewisse Durchdringung des christlichen Glaubens erzielt worden war. Diese Selektion hatte daher ihren Ursprung in den konstitutiven kirchlichen Versammlungen, nachdem Missionserfolge verzeichnet und eine kirchliche Infrastruktur zumindest einigermaßen errichtet worden waren.

Im weiteren Verlauf erfuhren die Selektionsmaßnahmen weitere Diversifizierungen und hielten Einzug in die weltliche und geistliche Legislative. Aller-

104 Vgl. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (siehe Anm. 18), 74: „The equation of pagan practices and magic with demon worship had now become the rule, witness a letter of the scholar Raban Maur specifically stating that magic is the equivalent of idolatry and demonism.“ Vgl. auch Hans-Werner Goetz, „Was wird im frühen Mittelalter unter ‚Häresie‘ verstanden? Zur Häresiewahrnehmung des Hrabanus Maurus,“ *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen im früheren Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 56): 47–88; Raymund Kottje, *Die Bußbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus. Ihre Überlieferung und ihre Quellen*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 8 (Berlin und New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980).

105 Vgl. Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 68.

106 Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 68–69.

107 Hausen, *Zauberwahn. Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter* (siehe Anm. 5), 69.

dings stellte die Selektion nur eine mögliche Umgangsform mit der paganen Zauberei dar. Sie war Voraussetzung dafür, dass eine Akkommodation und eine Sanktion erfolgen konnten: Genauso wie Kultplätze und heidnische Feste im christlichen Sinne umgewandelt wurden, wurde versucht, den tolerierbaren Zauberer für den christlichen Glauben zu gewinnen, auf dass er seine Fähigkeiten zur Verherrlichung und Verifizierung des christlichen Gottes einsetzte. Die übrigen Formen paganer Zauberei wurden sanktioniert, verboten und unter Strafe gestellt. Aufgrund regionaler Unterschiede und sich im zeitlichen Verlauf verändernder Rechtsbestimmungen ist eine eindeutige Definition nach Gut und Böse nicht möglich. Dies erklärt auch, wieso die als schlecht empfundenen und gegen die kanonischen Bestimmungen und weltlichen Gesetze verstoßenden Formen paganer Zauberei nicht gänzlich und flächendeckend beseitigt werden konnten, sondern sich noch in der frühen Neuzeit Überreste finden.

Nurit Golan

Magic and Science: The *Portail des libraires*, Rouen

Hybrid creatures were part of the medieval Christian world. Their presence is evident in visual art and literature – ecclesiastic and secular, and in local beliefs. Hybrids appear throughout the Middle Ages, traversing nationalities and social classes. They attest to a deep cultural trend with deep roots in the past.

The north portal of the transept of the cathedral of Rouen, the so-called *Portail des libraires*, features about eighty carved hybrids framed in quatrefoils. This is one of the largest collections of hybrids depicted in one single artifact in Christian art. Previous research has explained this unusual feature as a grotesque, a drollery, or as merely the result of artistic freedom. This article will demonstrate, however, that when the north portal was constructed, at the end of the thirteenth century, the borders between natural philosophy and natural magic were still blurred and that “practical cosmology,” meaning divination and magic, was probably studied alongside theoretical cosmology, even if not at the universities. The hybrids to be discussed seem to be related to these ideas. As such, these reliefs can also be read as a document attesting to the diverse clerical intellectual life in the late thirteenth century.

The fact that the top tier of this artifact features the cosmological creation, a rather unusual phenomenon in medieval sculpture on public display, supports my contention that this portal, through which the clerics entered the choir, was not “free of thought,”¹ but was carefully planned and beautifully executed to communicate specific ideas and concepts, some of which were connected to magic.

The north portal of the transept of the Cathedral of Rouen in France, the *Portail de Libraires*, constructed between 1281 and 1300, features 189 reliefs in total, framed in quatrefoils.² The architectural platform on which they appear has been

1 Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century: A Study in Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, ed. Harry Bober, trans. Marthiel Mathews (1925; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 60.

2 Markus Schlicht, *La cathédrale de Rouen vers 1300: Portail des Libraires, Portail de la Calende, Chapelle de la Vierge*. Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie, 41 (Caen: Société des antiquaires de Normandie, 2005), 30–31; Franc Thénard-Duvivier, *Images sculptées au seuil des cathédrales: Les portails de Rouen, Lyon et Avignon (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)* (Mont-Saint-Ai-

considered by art historians as a socle, a pedestal for the sculptural program above it, and thus discussed merely as marginal sculptures.³ The prominence of this artifact, however, is obvious to every observer, as it constitutes the centerpiece of the decoration. The reliefs dominate both sides of the entrance, at the eye level of those entering the choir via this portal. They are abundant in number and meticulously arranged in rows, both horizontally and vertically, on ten triangular pillars and two adjacent square ones, five triangular and one square one on each side of the portal (Fig. 1). This arrangement confers upon this cluster of quatrefoils quite an orderly appearance, which stands in contrast to the content of many of them. Over 80 of the 189 reliefs depict hybrid creatures, making it one of the largest and most varied collections of hybrid images to appear in one artifact in Christian ecclesiastic art.

These non-human creatures, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic, are depicted wearing human clothing, displaying human attributes, and occupied in various human activities, such as scratching an ear, dancing, playing music, fighting, or grooming themselves (Figs. 2, 3, 4). Such a large number and broad variety defeats any classification, whilst accentuating a strong sense of otherness.⁴ Some of these creatures are vaguely familiar from bestiaries, Romanesque capitals, geographical maps, marginal drawings in manuscripts, and misericords. An occasional familiar mythological figure, like that of Heracles killing the Nemean lion, or a centaur, can be recognized, but as a whole the identification and significance of most of these extraordinary artifacts remains an enigma (Fig. 5). The unusual arrangement created by the triangular pillars, and the grid-like arrangement of the reliefs in tiers and columns, suggests a diagram or some kind of a matrix, bearing some resemblance to an illustration from a didactic scientific manuscript. The purpose of such illustrations, then and still today, is to help their viewers to understand and memorize the subject matter.⁵ There is a

gnan: Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2012), 43. See the images online at http://www.mediavalart.org.uk/Rouen/Portals/North%20Transept/Rouen_North_Transept_right.htm (last accessed on Oct. 17, 2016).

³ Michael Camille, *Images on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, Essays in Art and Culture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 86–93. Some ten reliefs are missing and their content is not known.

⁴ The many variations seem to defeat any effort at classification. Although they seem to be familiar from different sources, many of them are novel iconographic variations. See Camille, *Images on the Edge* (see note 3), 87. Camille terms them “Anti Bestiary” and claims that they defy classification.

⁵ Thénard-Duvivier compares it to a carpet, of Oriental origin, that has a geometrical pattern. See Thénard-Duvivier, *Images sculptées* (see note 2), 38.

clear contrast here, however, between the form and content, as if disorder is being forced into order.

Particularly interesting is the Creation cycle that forms the top tier of the quatrefoils and is composed of 22 reliefs (Fig. 6). Seven reliefs of this cycle, on the right side, are dedicated to the cosmological creation, including the creation of Adam and Eve, Genesis 1–2 (Fig. 7). The others, on the left side, depict the first era of humanity as told in Genesis 3–4, with the Original Sin in the center.

This unique collection of reliefs has attracted the attention of art historians since the end of the nineteenth century. Most of the previous interpretations, however, have discussed them as grotesques, caricatures, the caprice of the sculptor, or drolleries, but invariably failed to explain this peculiar artifact.⁶ Émile Mâle took this approach to the extreme, claiming that there is no significance to be found in these reliefs: “If a work was ever free of thought, these surely are.”⁷ If any interpretation, other than iconographic connections, was posited by later research, it was that the non-human images signify the degradation of Man.⁸ Later art historians have accepted this notion of the hybrids as expressing the decline of sinful humanity after the Original Sin, which is, as noted, depicted on the left side of the top tier.⁹ This raises the questions as to why do hybrids necessarily signify sin and why are so many of them needed, and in such a large variety, in order to express an idea that is neither new nor unique?

6 Schlicht, in his most extensive work on the Rouen Cathedral, surveys art historians’ responses to the hybrids on the north portal. None of them found any significance in the hybrid creatures worth mentioning. He refers to Jules Adeline (1878), Champfleury [pseud., Jules Fleury] (1875), Camille Enlart (1904), Louise Lefrançois-Pillion (1907), Robert Flavigny (1935–1939), Anne-Marie Carment-Lanfray (1977), Françoise Baron (1998), and others. For details, see Schlicht, *La cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 204, ns. 63 and 64.

7 Interpretations that attribute significance to the hybrid monsters have been rejected by many art historians, the most radical of whom was Mâle in his *Religious Art in France* (see note 1), 50–61, the quoted sentence is on page 60. Mâle claims that although in the Middle Ages people conceived the world as symbolic, this was not the case of everything that was created by artists. Regarding the hybrid monsters at Rouen Cathedral “the artists played with them, shaping and deforming them, according to their fancy” (51). Quoting St. Bernard of Clairveaux, who in his famous *Apologia* to Abbot William spoke against those senseless and meaningless sculpted hybrid capitals, Mâle concludes: “Let us acknowledge that St. Bernard was right, and try not to be more subtle than he” (52). Mâle’s opinion is that the reliefs of the *Portail des libraires*, and other thirteenth-century sculptures of its kind, mark a “joyous fantasy and good spirits” (59); He continues that the reason for the wealth of hybrid monsters in quatrefoils is the fact that their “supple limbs could be bent in any direction to fill all parts of the space” (61).

8 As for example by Hartmut Krohm, “Die Skulptur der Querhausfassaden an der Kathedrale von Rouen,” *Aachener Kunstblätter* 40 (1977): 40–153; here 80–87.

9 Schlicht, *La cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 204–10.

Michael Camille, in his work on marginal art, contended that the depicted creatures were intended to offer a safeguard, preventing the evils of commerce and financial business that took place in the courtyard from entering the sacred place.¹⁰ This interpretation, however, creates some difficulties, as the commercial stalls in the yard flanking the north of the transept were encouraged by Archbishop Guillaume de Flavacourt, who was responsible for the expansion of the transept and the construction of the north portal and its decoration.¹¹ Furthermore, many churches face areas of commerce, such as market places, and do not feel or display the need for such protection.

The history of Rouen and its cathedral makes it very difficult to accept the idea that the decoration of the north portal was carried out without any thought behind it, and that the artist was simply given full freedom. Rouen was the capital and the center of the governance of the Dukedom of Normandy and became part of the French kingdom in 1204. It was a rich and powerful city with over 50,000 inhabitants, second only to Paris. Its archbishop, servicing no less than 1,400 parishes, was equally powerful. The ability to finance the archbishopric was just as important as the spiritual disposition of the archbishop. Archbishop Guillaume de Flavacourt (1278–1306) was involved in vast building projects. He enlarged the transept and was the person responsible for the north portal, the *Portail des libraires* (1281–1300). The master of the reliefs is considered to have been Jean Davi. At the beginning the portal was called the *Portal des boursièrs*. This title seems to indicate all kinds of financial business, from money-changing to money-lending that took place in the courtyard in front of the portal. Later it became a center for book selling and the name was changed accordingly, into *Portail des libraires*.¹² The courtyard was flanked on the east side by the archbishop's residency and on the west side by a college for the clergy and a library. It was Guillaume who turned the archbishop's residence into a palace. He also established the College of the Holy Spirit and enlarged the Chapel of St. Mary in the cathedral, which he intended to be the necropolis, the burial place for the dukes and archbishops of Normandy.¹³ His ideas of architectural achievements were clearly connected to his political aspirations, using architecture and art as a means in his politics of prestige.

If one needed convincing that the hybrid quatrefoils were not merely a decoration of marginal importance, perhaps the fact that within the following fifty years two additional important churches had their portals decorated in a very

10 Camille, *Images on the Edge* (see note 3), 86–93.

11 Schlicht, *Le cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 13–22.

12 Schlicht, *Le cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 30–31.

13 Schlicht, *Le cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 13–22, 42–45.

similar way, may support this claim. Similar hybrids were sculpted on the west portals of Lyon Cathedral (1308–1332), initiated by the Archbishop of Lyon, Pierre de Savoie (1308–1332) (Fig. 8), and on the portal of the Grand Chapel at the Pope's palace in Avignon (1347–1351), initiated by Pope Clement VI (1342–1352) (Fig. 9).¹⁴ None of these individuals had time for drolleries when decorating their churches, an endeavor that stood at the heart of their political ambitions.¹⁵

Markus Schlicht saw in the portal a depiction of hierarchical values, in which all the parts of the sculptural program were connected thematically by a vertical movement between the poles of Heaven and Hell: the Original Sin and the Fall of Man, as depicted in the creation cycle, caused the descent of mankind into a beastly existence, which is depicted by the hybrids on the lowest level. On the top, Heaven – the Last Judgment is depicted on the unfinished tympanum.¹⁶ However, Schlicht ignores the horizontal movement, accentuated by the Creation cycle and by the abundance of hybrids underneath it, arranged not only vertically but also horizontally. Seeking significance in the hybrids, he suggested that the reliefs were intended specifically for the clergy who used this portal, as a warning against sin. As an example he referred to the relief of the male siren combing his long hair while looking into a mirror (Fig. 10).

Sirens were normally portrayed as female and were understood to represent *luxuria*, but here the male siren with the beautiful masculine body and long hair might refer to the demand that the clergy be modest and preserve a strict etiquette.¹⁷ Such interpretation, however, is relevant only for a small number of the reliefs, whereas most of them depict monsters of a hybrid nature, and it is difficult to point to any specific offence they might be warning against. Another possible source for the hybrids, according to Schlicht, can be found in the carnival, in which both the clerics and lay people participated, all wearing masks.¹⁸ Although one can accept this explanation for some of the reliefs, it

¹⁴ Schlicht, *Le cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 161–166. Clement VI was the archbishop of Rouen (1330–1342).

¹⁵ The sum of reliefs that depict hybrid creatures in three portals is 230. The question why this was considered to be a worthwhile topic to be elaborated on these portals was never asked. This article will only deal with the *Portail des libraires*. The politics of Lyon and Avignon are beyond the scope of this article.

¹⁶ Schlicht, *Le cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 213–17; On Clement VI and the Grand Chapel, see Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 43–73.

¹⁷ Schlicht, *Le cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 204–07.

¹⁸ On the carnival in medieval society and its cultural centrality, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (1965; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 96.

does not account for the overall artifact. While I agree that the potential main addressees were the clergy, or educated lay persons, I nonetheless consider the overall message to be different.¹⁹ I contend that this artifact can be read as a document attesting to the intellectual life of the educated ecclesiastics and burghers in which topics such as cosmology, natural philosophy, literature, Latin literature, etc. as well as a fair acquaintance with magic played an important role.

Kirk Ambrose, in his extensive work on monsters in twelfth-century Romanesque sculptures, abandoned the notion that hybrids were always considered to be totally wicked and sinful. He demonstrated that some of the hybrid animals that appear in Romanesque sculpture had a dual significance, which was not always only negative. Sometimes they had an important didactic function, serving as guides or even teachers to humans (such as fauns, centaurs etc.).²⁰

That a didactic approach was intended for the “cognizants,” I argue, is at the heart of the discussed artifact, and is further supported by two additional observations: Although the collection of hybrid creatures ostensibly resembles a vast bestiary, it is not one, and only “pretends” to be such, as noted in an earlier study. The bestiaries were a didactic genre meant to teach about the world’s creatures and were widely read.²¹ The description of the animals, real or imaginary, was based on real characteristics, but at the same time on the imaginary literature, both oral and written. Very few of the discussed hybrids ever appeared in a bestiary. Using the content of a “fake” bestiary thus served to draw the attention

This theory nonetheless does not offer an explanation for the abundance of these creatures in Rouen Cathedral and many of the reliefs are not carnivalesque in appearance.

19 We should take into account that many lay people would have been exposed to these reliefs, as the court was an area of commerce, see Schlicht, *Le cathédrale de Rouen* (see note 2), 30–31.

20 Kirk Ambrose, *The Marvelous and the Monstrous in the Sculpture of Twelfth-Century Europe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 27–39. On the complexity of the cultural meaning of hybrid creatures, of monsters, see Jeffrey J. Cohen, “Monster Theory (Seven Theses),” Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3–25; here 4: “The monstrous body is pure culture. A construct and a projection, a monster exists only to be read: *monstrum* is etymologically ‘that which reveals,’ ‘that which warns,’ [...]”

21 The use of fake diagrams in magic books like the *Ars Notoria* and its purpose in blurring the borders between the permissible content of philosophical treatises and the not so permissible content of magic rituals is discussed by Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*, The Magic in History Series (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 112–29; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 122–88; here 126–27. Carruthers discusses the didactic power of the bestiaries, teaching morals through pleasurable reading. She also deals with the mnemonic power of graphical presentation such as diagrams, which simplify complicated intellectual content.

of the learned, while both form and content also helped to create the illusion of a scientific presentation. The arrangement of the quatrefoils in tiers and columns is reminiscent of the form of diagrams as illustrated in scientific manuscripts.²² Diagrams constitute a didactic and mnemonic medium used in manuscripts and initially belonged to the world of the educated.²³ I therefore suggest that in both content and form this artifact's intention was to draw the attention of the erudite viewer or to educate him/her.

The various interpretations of this sculptural decoration given to date have related only to the reliefs that depict the Original Sin and the first era of humanity, claiming that the beasts underneath simply offer a depiction of the descent of Man after that fatal event. The reliefs on the top tier of the right side have almost invariably been ignored. They depict the Creation of the Cosmos: The Creation of Heavens and Earth (Gen. 1:1) (Fig. 11); the Separation of the Waters and Creation of the Firmament (Gen. 1:6–7) (Fig. 12); the Creation of the Plants (Gen. 1:12–13) (Fig. 13); and the Creation of the Luminaries (Gen. 1:16) (Fig. 14).²⁴ These reliefs have been treated by art historians as if depictions of the cosmological creation

²² For examples of diagrams accompanying scientific texts see Oxford Digital Library, St. John College, Ms 17, <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/folio.php?p=24v> (last accessed on Nov. 5, 2016), fols. 29v–34v and many more.

²³ Eric Auerbach, *Figura* (1938; New York: Meridian Books, 1959), 1–76; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (see note 21), 248–57; Christoph Lüthy and Alexis Smets, “Words, Lines, Diagrams, Images: Toward a History of Scientific Imagery,” *Early Science and Medicine* 14 (2009): 398–439; Harry Bober, “An Illustrated Medieval School-Book of Bede’s ‘*De natura rerum*,’” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19/20 (1957): 64–97; Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Thing: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2003), 65–221; Eckart Conrad Lutz, “Diagramm, Diagrammatik und diagrammatisches Denken,” *Diagramm und Text: Diagrammatische Strukturen und die Dynamisierung von Wissen und Erfahrung*, ed. Eckart C. Lutz, Vera Jerjen, and Christine Putzo (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2014), 9–22; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, “*Hrabanus redivivus*: Berthold of Nuremberg’s Marian Supplement to *In honorem sanctae crucis*,” *Diagramm und Text*, 175–204; Eric Ramírez-Weaver, “‘So you can understand this better’: Art, Science, and Cosmology for Courtiers, William of Conche’s *Diagrammatica philosophiae*,” *Diagramm und Text*, 319–48.

²⁴ The rest of the reliefs from left to right depict: 5. Creation of the Beasts and Birds (Genesis 1:20–24; and 6. Creation of Man (Gen. 1:26): The creation of Adam by three figures has no precedents. The figure in the middle sits and has a nimbus. He holds a disc on his lap in which the creation of Adam is taking place. On each side stands a human figure. All three figures resemble each other in physiognomy, clothing, and their benediction gestures. The one on the left has a halo, while the one on the right has neither halo nor wings, which makes it unclear as to what kind of a being he is. If this depicts the Trinity, as was accepted by previous research, it is certainly an unusual representation of it; 7. The Creation of Eve (Gen. 2:22); 8. The Creator rests on the seventh day and blesses His work while holding a disk of the earth (Gen. 2:2–3); 1–4, and 8 are descriptions of the Creation of the Cosmos itself and not of its inhabitants.

were commonplace and not worthy of mention. This could not be further from the truth, as monumental sculptured Creation cycles were, in fact, extremely rare.²⁵ During the Middle Ages only sixteen such cases are known, of which the Rouen cycle is one.²⁶ Art historians, such as Tikkanen, Bober, D'Alverny, Jan van der Meulen, Zahlten, André Grabar, Conrad Rudolf, and many others have considered that portraying the first days of Creation is indicative of an interest in the sciences, mainly in cosmology.²⁷ The depiction of the first four days

25 "Cosmological cycle" in this context means a presentation of the cosmological creation in more than two depictions. It differs from the "Roman type," which Jan Van der Meulen explained as the presentation of the Creation in a single depiction. On the difference between a Creation cycle and the single depiction and their literary sources, see Jan van der Meulen, "Schöpfer, Schöpfung," *Lexikon der Christlicher Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum and G. Bandmann (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1968–1978), 103–10; Van der Meulen and Nancy Waterman Price, *The West Portals of Chartres Cathedral: The Iconology of the Creation* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981), 35–60.

26 On the rarity of the cosmological creation in sculptured cycles, see Johannes Zahlten, *Creatio mundi: Darstellungen der Sechs Schöpfungstage und Naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter*. Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik, 13 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 218–22. A possible explanation for the rarity of the cosmological creation in monumental sculptures might be the fact that the use of natural philosophy theories to interpret the Holy Scriptures was not accepted by all. Theories regarding the cosmos reached Christianity through translations from Greek and Arabic during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although these theories were part of the curriculum of the liberal arts at Paris University, since 1252 the masters of that Faculty had been sworn not to use them when engaging with questions regarding faith. Only at a higher stage of study, in the Faculty of Theology, could natural philosophy be used for interpreting the Scriptures. One thing, however, was made clear in many writings: this kind of teaching, using science to interpret the Holy Scriptures, should not be shared with lay people.

27 Johan J. Tikkanen, "Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbible nebst einer Untersuchung über die Ursprünge der mittelalterlichen Genesisdarstellung, besonders in der byzantinischen und italienischen Kunst," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 17 (1891): 205–358; Wilhelm Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrhundert und die altspanische Buchmalerei, eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte des Auslebens der altchristlichen Kunst in Spanien und zur frühmittelalterlichen Stilgeschichte* (Bonn and Leipzig: K. Schröder, 1922); Pavel Springer, "Trinitatis-Creator-Annus: Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Trinitätsikonographie," *Wallraff-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 38 (1976): 17–45; Gerhart B. Ladner, *God, Cosmos, and Humankind: The World of Early Christian Symbolism*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1992), 65–156; Ingrid F. Schultz, "Beiträge zur Baugeschichte und zu den wichtigsten Skulpturen der Parlerzeit am Ulmer Münster," *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 34 (1955): 7–38; Harry Bober, "In Principio: Creation Before Time," *Essays in Honor of Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 1:5–28; Zahlten, *Creatio mundi* (see note 26), 13–23; Marie-Thérèse D'Alverny, "Le cosmos symbolique du XII siècle," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 20 (1953): 38–43; André Grabar, "L'iconographie du ciel dans l'art chrétien de

is not just of allegoric significance, but is a depiction of events that had cosmological and physical significance, and therefore could be explained by studying natural philosophy, as was done at the cathedral schools and universities, and not only through the Holy Scriptures.²⁸ This was, probably, the result of a new and a wider encounter between a broader selection of texts and new groups of recipients.

Thierry of Chartres (d. after 1156) further articulated this orientation, arguing that the Scriptures have to be interpreted based on the laws of physics.²⁹ In his commentary on the Six Days of Creation, Thierry described God's creative activity as an intervention that took place in the first instant of time. Everything that followed was a natural physical unfolding stemming from this initial creative act. The intervention of God was understood to happen in a single instant, but what followed was the result of natural causation. For example: the light created on the first day illuminated the air and heated the water that evaporated to create "the water above the firmament". The idea of the evaporation was also an answer to the question how could the water, the element second only to the Earth in heaviness, be placed above the firmament.³⁰ More evaporation resulted from the heating which caused the land to appear; this was considered the ex-

l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 30 (1982): 5–24; Conrad Rudolph, "In the Beginning: Theories and Images of Creation in Northern Europe in the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 22.1 (1999): 3–55; here 30–31. The physical and astronomical questions connected to the *hexaemeron* are beyond the scope of this article.

28 While the cosmological creation was an abundant topic of manuscript illustrations, such manuscripts were available only to a minority of educated people, such as the clergy or aristocracy. Other potential addressees were the lay people active at the commercial stalls in the courtyard. The presentation of this topic openly to the public is not self-evident and needs explanation.

29 Thierry von Chartres, "De opera sex dierum," *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, trans. and ed. Nicolaus M. Häring (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1971), 232–49; Werner Beierwaltes, "Die Erschaffung der Welt und ihr Schöpfer nach Thierry von Chartres und Clarenbaldus von Arras," *Platonismus in der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, ed. Beierwaltes (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), 161–276; David C. Lindberg, "The Medieval Church Encounters the Classical Tradition: Saint Augustine, Roger Bacon, and the Handmaiden Metaphor," *When Science and Christianity Meet*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Roland L. Numbers (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), 10–32. The "handmaiden" in this case was natural philosophy. See also Andreas Speer, *Die entdeckte Natur: Untersuchungen zu Begründungsversuchen einer "scientia naturalis" im 12 Jahrhundert*. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 45 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1995), 222–88. On the inevitable connection between cosmography and theology, see also Barbara Obrist, "The Physical and the Spiritual Universe: *Infernus* and Paradise in Medieval Cosmography and its Visual Representations (Seventh–Fourteenth Centuries)," *Studies in Iconography* 36 (2015): 41–78.

30 The four elements are, from heavy to light, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire.

planation of why the plants appeared on the third day. The further heating and illumination created the celestial bodies on the fourth day.

Having this particular kind of depiction of the cosmological creation on this portal might indicate that the artifact was meant not just for the clerics but also for the eyes of the growing population of educated burghers.³¹ As an example one may consider the relief describing the Creator resting on the seventh day. Here the Creator holds a disc on which an inverted T can be seen (Fig. 15). This refers visually to geographical maps of the type of O-T (*orbis terrarum*).³² The use of cartography clearly attests to a connection to learning and scientific erudition. It is also interesting that geographical maps in medieval times frequently relate to monsters of various kinds and their geographical distribution.³³

In all the creation reliefs the Creator holds a disc as a main iconographic device, in which the Creation that took place on the specific day is depicted as occurring. This iconography was widely used in scientific illustrations. The diagrams that used circles, *rota*, were intended to simplify complex forms of knowledge and were mnemonic summary pictures meant to facilitate access to knowledge of such cosmological topics as the planets and spheres, the four elements, the winds, the seasons of the year, and more.³⁴ Scientific manuscripts were available to the clergy and students, being part of the curriculum of the cathedral schools and the universities. Needless to say that the clergy entering the choir, or on their way from the cathedral school and library close by, were ex-

31 Hans Belting and Dietrich Blume, *Malerei und Stadtkultur in der Dantezeit: Die Argumentation der Bilder* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1989).

32 Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), 22–24, 28, 228–29; Examples of O-T maps can be seen in a twelfth-century version of *Ety-mologiae* by Isidore of Seville and other sources on this site: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/T_and_O_map.

33 On monsters and medieval cartography, see Chet Van Duzer, “Hic sunt dracones: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters,” *The Ashgate Research Companion on Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 387–435; Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (see note 32), 93–164.

34 On the use of circles, see Reed Kline, “The Circle as a Conceptual Device: The Cosmological Wheel,” *Maps of Medieval Thought* (see note 32), 7–48; Bober, “An Illustrated Medieval School-Book” (see note 23), 64–97; Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things* (see note 23), 65–221; Barbara Obrist, “The Physical and the Spiritual Universe: *Infernus* and Paradise in Medieval Cosmography and its Visual Representations (Seventh – Fourteenth Centuries),” *Studies in Iconography* 36 (2015): 41–78; Diagrams using circles in scientific illustration, describing the planets and spheres, the elements and their mixtures etc. can be seen in Oxford, St. John College, Ms 17, fols. 7r, 7v, 13r, 27r, 27v, 34r, 35v, 37r, 37v, and more. Oxford digital Library, St. John College Ms 17, <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/folio.php?p=24v> (last accessed on Nov. 5, 2016).

pected to recognize the model and be able to decipher the significance of these reliefs.

Any comprehensive attempt at a full interpretation of the portal at Rouen must therefore encompass the entire program, that is, both the unusually rare depictions (the display of the cosmological creation, the monsters underneath it), and the form in which they are presented. Contrary to what has previously been assumed, I argue that all the reliefs were well thought out by the patron who initiated the portal, and were in no way simply the caprice of the artist. Since education had become a status symbol in late medieval society, presenting the various subjects that were being studied in the cathedral school and the library nearby,³⁵ like cosmology, astronomy, astrology, Latin, classical literature, mythology, vernacular literature, and magic, was intended to manifest an erudite appearance.³⁶

Thénard-Duvivier's work was the beginning of a breakthrough regarding the Rouen enigma. He argued that since the symbolic or allegoric explanations fail most of the reliefs, it is metamorphosis itself, from human into beast, described step by step, that stands at the heart of this artifact.³⁷ There does not, however, seem to be any internal gradual development or logic to the hybrids' arrangement, with order simply forced upon them by the framework into which they are placed. Metamorphosis was considered to originate from two sources only:

35 On the ecclesiastics' education, see Michèle Mulchahey, "*First the bow is bent in study...*": *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998), 1–47, 351–84; Neslihan Senocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209–1310* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 76–143, 215–52; Kurt Ruh, *Die Mystik des deutschen Predigerordens und ihre Grundlegung durch die Scholastik. Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik*, 3 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1996); Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundation of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan (1961; London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 7–139. The education of the clergy was an issue discussed at the Church council in Lyon, 1215. The mendicant orders placed much emphasis on studies of the seven liberal arts, including cosmology and Latin before theology studies were undertaken. Nurit Golan, "The North Portal of the Freiburg im Breisgau Minster: Cosmological Imagery as Funerary Art," *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 16 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 155–91.

36 Golan, "The North Portal" (see note 35), 179–88, 190–91.

37 Thénard-Duvivier devoted chapter 7 to the culture of metamorphosis, see Thénard-Duvivier, *Images sculptées* (see note 2), 233–268, especially 243–253. In his argument he looked for a kind of logic and order in the arrangement of the hybrids, claiming that they depict the stages by which humans turn into beasts.

the divine, meaning God's creation and miracles; and the man-made. This latter kind of metamorphosis, if not performed by God, could only have been done with the assistance of magic. In this artifact we find both kinds of metamorphosis depicted – the divine and that created by magic.

Metamorphosis and hybrids were interwoven into medieval culture. They were part of the hagiographic tales and oral secular literature that narrated different kinds of magical miracles. These stories told of *automata* that replaced humans,³⁸ magical metamorphosis in which humans became hybrids, the influence of the planets (like the tales of werewolves), spells or potions concocted from special herbs collected in remote places on a specific night of the month, which could induce love or kill an enemy.³⁹ Many of these tales, which were based on classical literature, became part of the courtly literature and spread among the educated lay people in the towns.⁴⁰ Classical mythology was studied and assimilated into the Christian culture.⁴¹ Classical works such as Ovid's *Metamorphosis* or Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* were widely read and studied, also by clerics. Magic was described as a means to achieving metamorphosis and was an integral part of this literature and learning. An illustrated manuscript of *Ovide moralisé*, probably from the Paris area, dated 1325, depicting various kinds of hybrid animals, indicates the continuing interest in this topic (Fig. 16).

In the medieval secular culture it was accepted that metamorphosis existed, as it was described in detail in the secular literature.⁴² In this literature, the craft and knowledge of astrology and magic often featured in achieving metamorphosis for different ends. Magic, and especially divination, which was considered

38 Assaf Pinkus, *Sculpting Simulacra in Medieval Germany, 1250–1380* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 1–27.

39 Elly R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); A very popular book, widely read, known from the 1360s in England and northern France, indicating the fascination with hybrids, was Sir John Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels and Travels*, trans. Anthony Bale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); On the theory of hybrids and monsters, see Jeffrey J. Cohen, "Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales," *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey J. Cohen. *The New Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 85–104; Cohen, "Monster Theory (Seven Theses)" (see note 20), 3–25.

40 On the spread of magic and divination in the medieval society, see Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 157–203.

41 Bernard Roling, *Drachen und Sirenen: Die Rationalisierung und Abwicklung der Mythologie an den europäischen Universitäten*. *Mittelateinische Studien und Texte*, 42 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010).

42 See the Introduction to this volume and Albrecht Classen's contribution, among other studies assembled here.

“practical cosmology,” was part of daily life, and was used pragmatically in the attempt to change the human condition on earth by using occult powers.⁴³ It was used not only to predict the future and protect from enemies or wild beasts, but also for daily practical ends such as memorizing texts, retrieving lost goods, or catching thieves.⁴⁴ The Church opposed such magic, claiming that it was the work of demons; the only creation and metamorphosis to be accepted was the divine metamorphosis performed by God. Any other form of metamorphosis was strictly condemned as connected to magic and magicians.

The metamorphosis, so believed, resulted in magically created mixtures (*mixtura*), as hybrids were named. The abundant number and variety of the hybrid creatures at Rouen, which have hitherto not been fully explained, could thus be connected to magic as a practical subject of learning, understood by those with erudition. The reliefs on the threshold of Rouen Cathedral indicate that linking science, or natural philosophy, and magic as connected topics of study, could be considered as having constituted, for a while, a wider and more general approach than we might normally have expected from ecclesiastic decoration.

Much research has been carried out on the connection between natural philosophy and magic, mainly divination, and the reception of magic into Christianity.⁴⁵ In the Middle Ages educated men raised arguments regarding natural magic that drew upon forces inherent in the universe, which might be hidden or occult,

⁴³ Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 3–24.

⁴⁴ Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 112–114.

⁴⁵ On the spread of magic and divination in medieval society and its connection to learning in the sciences, see Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance* (see note 38), 13–278; Michael D. Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present* (London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 77–106; see also Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 164, n. 46 who mentions the fact that William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris (1228–1249) claimed to have seen and handled magic books as a young student in Paris; Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe*, *Magic in History* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1974, 2008), 17–43; in regard to William of Auvergne and his relation to magic books, see Láng, *Unlocked Books*, 25, ns. 30 and 31; Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, *Cambridge Medieval Textbooks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 56–94; Legends about the involvement of known scientists and theologian, such as Albertus Magnus, with magic, that then spread to the lay society, indicate that for the average person there was a strong link between science and magic. For more on this, see Truitt, *Medieval Robots* (see note 39), 69–95; Charles Burnett, “Talismans: Magic and Science? Necromancy among the Seven Liberal Arts,” Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996), 1–15.

but were not demonic.⁴⁶ Such forces, including the natural forces of the stars, which were considered a legitimate approach by almost all systems of ancient thought, were accepted.⁴⁷ Magic texts that were translated in Byzantium, Sicily, and Spain employed the same concepts as the scientific works that were translated at the same time and places. The Greek and Arabic traditions offered a huge corpus of astrological and magical texts that could be partly incorporated into Christian natural philosophy.⁴⁸ These texts were widely disseminated. To help their dissemination as legitimate and scientific, magic works were attributed to known classical authorities, like Aristotle, Plato, Ptolemy, or later ones such as Albertus Magnus, and others.⁴⁹

Christian thinkers tried to avoid the realm of the demonic, but the borders between natural philosophy and magic remained somewhat vague as that between official and unofficial religion.⁵⁰ The idea of the possibility of humanity influencing the cosmos by influencing the planets, or by creating a metamorpho-

⁴⁶ Ulrich of Straßburg (1225–1277) related in his *De summo bono* to his master's scientific and theological work, mentioning explicitly his exceptional expertise in magic: *Vir divinus . . . miraculum . . . et in magicis expertus* (Divine man . . . miraculous . . . expert in magic). His master, the magician, was no less than the renowned scientist and theologian Albertus Magnus (1200–1280). On the connection between natural philosophy and magic attributed to Albertus, see Loris Sturlese, “Albert der Grosse und die deutsche philosophische Kultur des Mittelalters,” *Averroismus in Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, ed. Friedrich Niewöhner and Loris Sturlese (Zurich: Spur, 1994), 133–47; here 136.

⁴⁷ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 45), 19–42.

⁴⁸ Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 3; Burnett, “Talismans: Magic and Science” (see note 43), 1–15; Lång, *Unlocked Books* (see note 43), 35.

⁴⁹ Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), 2:267; Lynn Thorndike, “The True Place of Astrology in the History of Science,” *Isis* 46 (1955): 273–78; Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003); On the attribution of magic books to philosophical and scientific authorities like Aristotle, and Albertus Magnus, see Steven J. Williams, “The Vernacular Tradition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian ‘Secret of Secrets’ in the Middle Ages: Translations, Manuscripts, Readers,” *Philosophia in volgare nel Medioevo: Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Pensiero Medievale (SISPM), Lecce, 27–29 settembre 2002*, ed. Nadia Bray and Loris Sturlese (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d’études médiévales, 2003), 451–82; Paola Zambelli, *The Speculum Astronomiae and its Enigma: Astrology, Theology, and Science in Albertus Magnus and his Contemporaries*. Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, 135 (Dordrecht, Boston, and London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992); Burnett mentions astrological works that were attributed to Aristotle to give them legitimacy and a secure scientific aura: *Magic and divination* (see note 44), 84–96.

⁵⁰ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 45), 151–175; Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 114–29.

sis of existing beings or even creating new ones, or turning stones into gold, either with the help of angels, spirits, or demons, began to penetrate the scholarly world.⁵¹ Stories from the Bible, like that of Balaam's ass, were considered as proof of the possibility of a mixture between the human and the animal worlds.⁵²

Many kinds of magic, such as hydromancy, geomancy, pyromancy, weather magic, and the influence of the planets, were used for divination and continued to flourish.⁵³ These employed rituals, prayers, images, and complex philosophical texts, and at times it was not easy to differentiate between them and proper religious behavior, or scientific activity.⁵⁴ Magic was used everywhere and magic books were frequently disguised as accepted philosophy or theology books. Magic was used in monasteries to enhance learning and the memorizing of complex data. Texts such as *Ars Notoria*, for example, were written for the student seeking help with his studies, and for monks aspiring to attain a visionary experience. These texts deliberately employed what resembled philosophical diagrams.⁵⁵ The Rouen artifact, in resembling a bestiary and a diagram, is no different in this respect.

It seems that the thirteenth century was a time when science and magic co-existed as two intellectual endeavors.⁵⁶ In today's world of science and rational approach we tend to overlook the fact that sciences are rule-based systems, each with its own postulates and operators. These systems are human constructs. Magic is no different, even if it is remote from our way of thinking.⁵⁷

Theologians like Isidore of Seville (560–636) in his *Etymologiae* and Adelard of Bath (1080–1152) claimed that the science of the stars, which included astron-

51 Thénard-Duvivier, *Images sculptées* (see note 2), 254; Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 16–31.

52 Bernd Roling, *Physica Sacra, Wunder, Naturwissenschaft und historischer Schriftsinn zwischen Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 45 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 9–64.

53 Lång, *Unlocked Books* (see note 45), 36–43.

54 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 45), 8–12, 24–26, 56–94.

55 Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 114–21.

56 Sometimes this vagueness was caused by magic books that were similar in their outer appearance to scientific ones (see note 21).

57 On the general issue of magic as an intellectual activity and its place in human culture, see Robin Horton, *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West: Essays on Magic, Religion, and Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), especially 118–37, 197–230; Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. Robert Brain (1972; London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 15, 22–30. Mauss terms “magic” as “Pre-science.” See also the discussion of these issues by Albrecht Classen in his Introduction to this volume.

omy and astrology, was fundamental for any learning.⁵⁸ Adelard even considered astronomy and astrology a precondition for proceeding to the science of making talismans, which was considered, not only by him, the higher science.⁵⁹ King Alfonso X of Castile, known also as “The Wise” and “The Astrologer,” was a patron of magic. He initiated in his court the Alfonsine Tables (*Tabulae alfonsinae*), which were based on Ptolemy and were used to cast horoscopes. Starting with the horoscope of the year 1252, the coronation year of the king, they became popular throughout Europe.⁶⁰ Astrology and its different uses, especially in medicine, became the state of the art, and was widely used by lay people as well as clerics. In the thirteenth century it penetrated the highest ecclesiastic courts.⁶¹ Books on ritual magic were collected for secular libraries as this art was understood to be a continuation of the royal art of astrology.⁶² Scientific theories and magic were popular in various genres such as recipe collections, encyclopedias, and medical texts. This was a result of the effort to explain and classify those natural phenomena that could not be explained by logic or physics. Natural magic was concerned with the manipulation of natural properties, and topics like the influence of the stars, magnetism, the power of stones, animals, and herbal properties, had to be studied.

The texts of natural magic presented an image of a porous human body, open to the influence of animal parts and other substances. These were thought to endow a person with remarkable properties, making the human body immune

58 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 45), 118–121; Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe* (see note 42), 93; Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 2, 73, 77, 190–91, 213; Adelard of Bath, *Conversations with his Nephew: On the Same and the Different. Questions on Natural Science, and On Birds*, ed. and trans. Charles Burnett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 5, 17, 27, 67, 69, 151; Charles Burnett, “Adelard, Ergaphalau, and the Science of the Stars,” Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages* (see note 44), 133–45; see also the contribution by Thomas Willard to this volume.

59 “The bodily parts of the talisman are to be sculpted at the astrologically appropriate time [...] Whoever is skilled in geometry and philosophy but without experience of the science of the stars, is useless; for the science of the stars is, of all the arts, both the most excellent in its subject matter and the most useful because of the effect of talismans.” *Liber prestigiorum*; quote in Patricia Aakhus, “Astral Magic and Adelard of Bath’s *Liber prestigiorum*: or Why Werewolves Change at the Full Moon?” *Culture and Cosmos* 16.1–2 (2012): 151–61; online at http://www.cultureandcosmos.org/pdfs/16/Aakhus_INSAPVII_Astral_Magic.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 17, 2016).

60 On the place of magic at King Alfonso X’s court, see Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance* (see note 40), 187–198; see also Veronica Menaldi, “Miracle or Magic? The Virgin’s Intervention of the Necromantic Practices Found in the Magically Inclined *Cantiga* 125,” in this volume.

61 Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance* (see note 40), 157–203; here 163–68 and 198–99. See also the comments about Ulrich of Straßburg and others (see note 46).

62 Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 24.

to weapons, repellent to wild beasts, and generally safe from danger.⁶³ In magic texts, the physical and conceptual boundaries between humans and animals were crossed through the assimilation of the useful qualities of a being of one kind, the animal, by a being of another kind, the human being. It was also used for other kinds of manipulations of nature, as for example in alchemy, or in the endeavor to create new beings.⁶⁴ Albertus Magnus's work on animals, *De animalibus libri*, was the source for the teachings on these animalistic qualities.⁶⁵ The basilisk, lion, vulture, eagle, wolf, and hoopoe were believed to have occult properties, which became part of the medieval culture. One of the fiercest enemies of man, the basilisk, was said to have the power to kill a man by its gaze alone. Here at Rouen the basilisk appears ten times.⁶⁶ The lion appears six times, the cockatrice and the dragon eight, the centaur five times, and so on.

The tradition of magic had a practical side that is difficult to reconstruct today. One magic book among others that is of relevance here was the *Liber vaccae* (The Book of the Cow) which was attributed to Plato and was a recipe book.⁶⁷ The book was rejected by the Church because it claimed that the magician possessed the divine power to create new beings. Around 1300, however, the work *De mirabilibus mundi*, ascribed for a while to Albertus Magnus, quoted *Liber vaccae* widely, an indication that it had become very popular.⁶⁸ The aim of the recipes in the "Book of the Cow," was to create *Homunculi* out of human sperm inserted into a cow's vulva. This was supposed to create creatures – humans in the shape of animals. The blood of this supposedly created being, which was considered not to have a soul, was meant for medical and magical uses. The belief in the possibility of creating entirely new living species by mixing the sperm of dif-

⁶³ Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 31–32.

⁶⁴ Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 36–44.

⁶⁵ On the reasons for the attraction of Albert's work on animals for magicians, see Katie Krause, "Albert the Great on Animals and Human Origin in his Early Works," *Lo sguardo: Revista di filosofia* 18 (2015): 205–32.

⁶⁶ Albert distinguished between natural magic, which uses natural powers, like that of the planets and four elements, and the demonic nature of other kinds of magic. On this topic, see Henryk Anzulewicz, "Magie im Verständnis Alberts des Grossen," *Mots médiévaux offerts à Ruedi Imbach*, ed. I. Atucha, D. Calma, C. König-Pralong, and I. Zavatiero. Text et études du Moyen Âge, 57 (Porto, Portugal: Fédération International des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2011), 419–31; also notes 43 and 48.

⁶⁷ Here again a magic book is attributed to a known classical philosopher.

⁶⁸ The *Liber vaccae* was also known as *Liber anguemis* and was classified as a medical source. On this topic, see Lång, *Unlocked Books* (see note 45), 28. On the *Homunculus* and other mixtures (hybrids), see Maaïke van der Lugt, "Abominable Mixtures: The *Liber vaccae* in the Medieval West, or Dangers and Attractions of Natural Magic," *Traditio* 64 (2009): 229–77; Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 21), 49–72.

ferent animals, at a specific time and with the aid of various substances and rituals as proposed by the *Liber vaccae*, was accepted by many.⁶⁹

Learned magical texts circulating in manuscripts described complex rituals, and often drew on the same intellectual concepts as the scientific works. At times there was an integration of the learning of magic with the sciences. All this meant that the practitioners of magic were necessarily educated. There was an explicit effort to systemize and classify the literature of magic that accompanied the huge scientific corpus available. The theologian William of Auvergne (1180–1249) mentions that as a student in Paris he had seen many magic books for sale. He classifies a long list of such books, distinguishing those that are demonic from those that are angelic, while also claiming that those theologians who will not accept his division are merely ignorant of these books.⁷⁰

Some aspects of the occult activity were clearly connected to theories widely accepted and studied in the cathedral schools and at the University of Paris. Maybe it is not a coincidence that the trumeau displays four reliefs depicting four of the liberal arts: music, astronomy, grammar, and geometry, and above them King Solomon the Wise. These theories engaged with the cosmos through astronomy and astrology, the study of meteorological and physical phenomena, or of the animals and plants, as well as of stones and their qualities. The Rouen artifact displays the same duality and presents it to the clergy studying nearby, perhaps expecting them to be experts in all these topics.

The location of the hybrids below the creation cycle indicates that they are the lowest and most degraded of all beings; but they nonetheless have a presence that cannot be ignored.⁷¹ Hybridity produces an unstable corporality, being neither human nor animal. As a kind of monster they warn the beholder, but at the same time reveal to him things about himself and the world around

⁶⁹ David Pingree, “Plato’s Hermetic “Book of the Cow,” *Il Neoplatonismo nel Rinascimento*, ed. Pietro Prini (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1993), 133–40; David Pingree, “From Hermes to Jābir and the “Book of the Cow,” *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan. Warburg Institute Colloquia, 7 (London: The Warburg Institute, 2006), 19–28. Editor’s note: in light of contemporary genome research, we might come very close to the practical realization that such hybridity might indeed be a possibility.

⁷⁰ Láng, *Unlocked Books* (see note 45), 24–27.

⁷¹ Camille refers to the location and possible origin of the hybrids: “The opposite of God’s ordered creation, the Rouen carvings display its crazed corollary, the flawed distorted products of purely human invention.” See Camille, *Images on the Edge* (see note 3), 90. Camille ignores the possibility that the “crazed corollary” is a result of a premeditated effort to depict the irrational which the occult belongs to.

him; and hence their unstable character.⁷² For an erudite person, be he a cleric or an educated burgher, hybrids were those sub-human creatures with which he was familiar from his reading. Such creatures may indeed warn against sin, amuse, or arouse the beholder's interest, but it is certain that they were placed there for the viewing by those who knew them. They were there for the beholders for whom hybridity and its diverse meanings was part and parcel of their natural philosophical education.

In the late Middle Ages intellectuals could argue, in a limited fashion, in particular in medicine, for the positive benefits of certain types of the theory and practices of magic (Fig. 17). These practices were connected to the idea of magic without necessarily using the term 'magic,' which had a negative connotation. The dual significance comes from the fact that we recognize some of the elements in the hybrid figures from every-day experience, but at the same time they are alien to the viewer. They belong and do not belong simultaneously. Their particular location at Rouen might indicate that hybrids are at the crossroads of what was permissible, but still had to be sort of concealed, very much like magic itself. The form of horizontal and vertical tiers and columns indicates what might be considered an effort to put both the Rouen hybrids (and magic?) under constraint and acceptable.

At Rouen the hybrids' location is very visible, while their liminal qualities are disguised and almost concealed by their resemblance to a legitimate bestiary, and by their diagrammatic arrangement. They might have been considered as subversive to the dominant discourse, whereas as part of the portal's overall sculptural program they become incorporated into the legitimate discourse. Situated at the threshold of the cathedral, a liminal space in itself,⁷³ they offer a powerful message, both as signifying sin, but also as offering an entire intellectual universe. They are thus not merely an empty sign, as has been claimed, but a polysemic sign.

Based on the connection between the unusual sculpted cosmological cycle, and the abundance of strange hybrid creatures, I claim that the discussed artifact can, among other things, be understood as a demonstration of clerical learning and erudition also in magic. It presents a well-planned and deliberate message, since learning and erudition had recently become a status symbol among both ecclesiastics and lay people. The combined appearance of a cosmological

⁷² Cohen, "Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands," (see note 39), 85–104; here 85–86; Cohen, "Monster Theory (Seven Theses)" (see note 20), 3–25.

⁷³ Christine Sauer, *Fundatio und Memoria, Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild, 1100 bis 1350*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Institute für Geschichte, 109 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1993), 11–32, 59.

cycle and hybrid creatures in a work of art raises questions concerning the circulation of these ideas and the connections between what otherwise might seem to us to be entirely separate and distinct fields of knowledge. Magic was part of the medieval culture; and, indeed, theologians and scientists could sometimes be termed magicians, as in the case of Albertus Magnus.⁷⁴ The two fields of study received a visual depiction on the *Portail de libraires*, and one that was meant for the eyes of the learned and those aspiring to become learned.

Occult ideas and texts offered ways of achieving all kinds of man-made changes in nature, and metamorphosis, which had deep roots in the medieval culture, was among them. The place of all this on the *Portail des Libraires* is below the Creation cycle, which presents the ultimate conceivable manipulation of nature, only achievable by God. The opposition between external order and the internal inexplicable mixture of forms and content is at the center of this artifact. This integration of many diversities was aimed at introducing and propagating intellectual erudition in a very sophisticated way. The people who could decipher the full meaning of the hybrids, as well as fully understand the scientific implications of the cosmological creation, were the intellectuals, ecclesiastics, and lay educated burghers who used the north portal, or spent time next to it. It demonstrated the erudition of the commissioner of the portal, Guillaume de Flavacourt, and his clerics; an erudition that conferred prestige. The Rouen portal is thus not a hidden and subversive advertisement for magic. Rather, as I would like to suggest, it attests to a specific intellectual culture of the time that tolerated certain aspects of magic and actually treated it as part of the larger cosmos, allowing individuals to comprehend more in details the miraculous workings of God Himself, the greatest magician of all.

⁷⁴ See note 46.



Fig. 1: *Portail des libraires*, north portal of the transept, cathedral of Rouen (photo: author)



Fig. 2: From top down: Creation of the plants, Genesis, 1:12–13; a man killing a basilisk; a basilisk, *Portail des libraires*, right flank (photo: author)



Fig. 3: Hybrid monster, *Portail des libraires* (photo: author)



Fig. 4: Hybrid monsters, *Portail des libraires* (photo: author)



Fig. 5: Heracles killing the Nemean lion (photo: author)



Fig. 6: The creation cycle on the top tier, right flank, *Portail de libraires* (photo: author)



Fig. 7: Creation of Adam, Genesis, 1:26, the Creator unusually shown as a Trinity, *Portail des libraires* (photo: author)



Fig. 8: A family of sirens: two adult sirens, one playing a violin, the other holding a baby siren, west portal, cathedral of Lyon (photo: author)



Fig. 9: Hybrid monster, Grand chapel, Pope's palace at Avignon (photo: author)



Fig. 10: A male sirens combing his hair, *Portail des libraires* (photo: author)



Fig. 11: Creation of the Heavens and Earth, Gen. 1:1 (photo: author)



Fig. 12: Separation of the Waters and Creation of the Firmament, Gen. 1:6–7 (photo: author)



Fig. 13: Creation of the Plants, Gen. 1:12–13 (photo: author)



Fig. 14: Creation of the Luminaries, Gen. 1:16 (photo: author)



Fig. 15: The Creator is resting on the seventh day, holding the cosmos depicted as an O--T map (photo: Stuart Whalting, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Rouen/Portals/Rouen_Portals_default.htm, last accessed 24.10.2016)



Fig. 16: *Ovide moralisé*, Paris, 1325 ca. MS 04, fol 16, Collection de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.



Fig. 17: Hybrid doctor with a urine flask, *Portail des libraires*, cathedral of Rouen (photo: author).

Christopher R. Clason

The Magic of Love: Queen Isolde, the Magician Clinschor, and “Seeing” in Gottfried’s *Tristan* and Wolfram’s *Parzival*

In two of the most significant epic poems of the German Middle Ages, Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival* (ca. 1205)¹ and Gottfried von Straßburg’s *Tristan* (ca. 1210),² love and magic play central roles.³ Two characters in particular at-

1 Wolfram’s *Parzival* has generated a vast quantity of critical studies for many years. Aids in navigation through the immense scope of research include: Martin Schumacher, “Kritische Bibliographie zu Wolframs Parzival, 1945–1958,” Ph.D. diss. Frankfurt a. M. 1963; *A Companion to Wolfram’s Parzival*, ed. Will Hasty. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1999); and Joachim Heinze, ed., *Wolfram von Eschenbach: ein Handbuch*, 2 vols. (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011); also useful are the sporadically appearing *Wolfram-Studien* (the 24th volume of which will appear in January, 2017), as well as Joachim Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*. 8th, rev. ed. Sammlung Metzler 36 (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2004) and Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 220–71 and 439–99.

2 The volume of critical work on Gottfried von Straßburg’s *Tristan* has become monumental and bears witness to the interest the epic poem has ignited over the past two centuries. Fortunately, there are several volumes that can serve as guides through the labyrinth of research: Reiner Dietz, *Der Tristan Gottfrieds von Straßburg: Probleme der Forschung (1902–1970)*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 136 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1974); Hans-Hugo Steinhoff, *Bibliographie zu Gottfried von Straßburg II. Berichtszeitraum 1970–1983* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1986); Gottfried Weber, *Gottfried von Straßburg*, 5th ed., updated by Werner Hoffmann. Sammlung Metzler, 15 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1981); Christoph Huber, *Gottfried von Straßburg: Tristan*. Klassiker-Lektüren, 3 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2000); and the journal *Tristania*, which regularly updated research trends through 2012, terminating with vol. 25.

3 Regarding magic in medieval literature, see especially Richard Kieckhefer, “The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic,” *The American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 813–36; Matthias Meyer, “Struktureller Zauber: Zaubersalben und Salbenheilungen in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur,” *Zauberer und Hexen in der Kultur des Mittelalters*, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok. Wodan 33, Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter, 18 (Greifswald: Reineke, 1994), 139–51; Stephan K. Maksymiuk, *The Court Magician in Medieval German Romance*. Mikrokosmos: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung, 44 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 1996); Helmut Brall, “Die Macht der Magie: Zauberer in der hochmittelalter-

Christopher R. Clason, Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-007>

tempt to wield magic in order to effect love: the Irish Queen Isolde,⁴ the mother of the central female protagonist and the source of the infamous, magical love potion; and the magician Clinschor,⁵ whose misadventures in love lead him to bewitch 400 maidens and to deprive them of the joyful participation in the courtly activities of *minne*.

At first glance it may appear that these two figures bear little in common. Queen Isolde, whose magic seems firmly grounded in the matriarchal wisdom

lichen Epik," *Artes im Mittelalter* 1 (1999): 215–29; Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York and Chichester, UK: Columbia University Press, 2004); Alastair Matthews, "From Seeing to Feeling: Constructions of Simultaneity in Medieval German Narrative," *From Magic Columns to Cyberspace: Time and Space in German Literature, Art, and Theory*, ed. Daniel Lambauer, Marie Isabel Schlinzig, and Abigail Dunn (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2008), 17–30; Jon B. Sherman, "The Magician in Medieval German Literature," Ph.D. diss. University of Vermont 2008; and Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (1989; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

4 There are several important studies of the significant role the powerful Queen Isolde of Ireland plays in Gottfried's work; see for example: Albrecht Classen, "Royal Women in Middle High German Romances," *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 12/13 (1987–88): 81–100; Marion Mälzer, *Die Isolde-Gestalten in den mittelalterlichen deutschen Tristan-Dichtungen: Ein Beitrag zum diachronischen Wandel*, Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Winter, 1991); Ann Marie Rasmussen, "'Ez ist ir g'artet von mir': Queen Isolde and Princess Isolde in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan und Isolde*," *Arthurian Women*, ed. Thelma S. Fenster (New York: Routledge, 1996), 41–57; and Ann Marie Rasmussen, "The Female Figures in Gottfried's *Tristan and Isolde*," *A Companion to Gottfried von Strassburg's "Tristan"*, ed. Will Hasty. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY, and Woodbridge, UK: Camden House, 2003): 137–57.

5 Regarding Clinschor as a magician, see especially Norbert Richard Wolf, "Die Gestalt Klingsors in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters," *Südostdeutsche Semesterblätter* 19 (1967): 1–19; Walter Blank, "Der Zauberer Clinschor in Wolframs 'Parzival,'" *Studien zu Wolfram von Eschenbach: Festschrift für Werner Schröder zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1989), 321–32; Timothy McFarland, "Clinschor Wolfram's Adaptation of the *Conte du Graal*: The Schastel Marveille Episode," *Chrétien de Troyes and the German Middle Ages: Papers from an International Symposium*, ed. Martin H. Jones and Roy Wisbey. Arthurian Studies (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer; and London: Institute of Germanic Studies, 1993), 277–94; Jean-Marc Pastré, "Terre de Salvae-sche et terre marveille: magie haute et magie basse dans le *Parzival* de Wolfram von Eschenbach," *Zauberer und Hexen in der Kultur des Mittelalters*, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok. Wodan, 33, Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter, 18 (Greifswald: Reineke, 1994), 153–63; Wolfgang Spiewok, "Clingschor/Klingsor: variations sur un magicien," *Magie et illusion au Moyen Age*, ed. Danielle Buschinger. Sénéfiance, 42, Publications du Centre universitaire d'études et de recherches médiévales d'Aix (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1999), 521–29; and Rüdiger Krohn, "'habt ir von Klingsor nye vernumen?': Der Zauberer Klingsor im Mittelalter," *Verführer, Schurken, Magier*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich. Mittelaltermythen, 3 (St. Gall, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2001), 509–27.

of herbal and floral concoction and who wields her power out of caring for her land and, especially, her daughter, is depicted as perhaps the most astute and prudent individual at the Irish court, where her decisive actions and positive influence steer matters toward the best possible outcomes for those she loves. On the other hand, Clinschor, whose experience with love has left him direly wounded and bitterly infuriated with the courtly society that he believes victimized him, wishes to exercise his wrath particularly on the women and men who can participate in the pursuit of love at court, by depriving them of the ability to do so.

However, one can also draw numerous parallels between them. In this essay I would like to show how the two magicians establish a relationship among magic, love, and courtly life that ultimately reveals the great importance of vision in the psychology of love. In one of the most significant medieval utterances regarding love, the thesis statement of a commonly cited medieval dissertation on love and loving, *De amore*, Andreas Capellanus defines the origins of love in visual terms and grounds the process of loving in “seeing”:

Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus, ob quam aliquis super omnia cupit alterius potiri amplexibus et omnia de utriusque voluntate in ipsius amplexu amoris praecepta compleri.⁶

[Love is a certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex, which causes each one to wish above all things the embraces of the other and by common desire to carry out all of love’s precepts in the other’s embrace.⁷]

According to the Occitan poet Giraut de Bornelh, “tam cum los oills el cor ama parvenza” (“through the eyes love attains the heart”).⁸ The central importance of vision in motivating love gains expression again and again in medieval epic tales where love becomes a central issue – indeed, a majority of such narratives fit into this category. For example, in Hartmann von Aue’s *Der arme Heinrich*, the eponymous main character peeks through a keyhole at the great beauty of the

⁶ Andreas aulae regiae capellanus, *De amore / Von der Liebe: libri tres*, Text of the edition by E. Trojel. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen und einem Nachwort versehen von Fritz Peter Knapp (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 6.

⁷ Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John J. Parry, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, 33 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 28; see also Andreas aulae regiae capellanus, *De amore: Libri tres*. Text nach der Ausgabe von E. Trojel. Fritz Peter Knapp (see note 6).

⁸ See John Rutherford, *The Troubadours: Their Loves and their Lyrics* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1873), 34–35.

young, naked heroine about to be willingly sacrificed so that he might be cured of leprosy, and he puts a stop to the procedure; soon, he and the girl, apparently having fallen in love, are married.⁹ Similarly, Parzival's love for Conduiramur is catalyzed by her great beauty (she is indeed the *bea curs* among all women he encounters), while her love for him awakens as soon as she first sets eyes on him entering her castle:

Ein minneclîch antlûtzes schîn,
 Dar zuo der ougen süeze sîn,
 von der kûneginne gienc
 ein liehter glast, ê si in enpfîenc. (186, 17–20¹⁰)

[a lovely countenance's radiance, and his eyes' sweetness – from the queen shone a bright glow, even before she received him. (80¹¹)]

And there can be no doubt that Tristan's mother becomes visually enamored with Riwalin,¹² Tristan's father, when she laments the pain she feels deep in her heart, after she

“... mit ougen selbe sach
 die tugende, der man von im jach,
 und allez in mîn herze las,
 swaz lobelîches an im was:
 dâ von ergouchete mîn sin,
 hie von geviel mîn herze an in.” (1033–38)¹³

⁹ See A. C. Spearing, *The Medieval Poet as Voyeur: Looking and Listening in Medieval Love-Narratives* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Middle High German text taken from Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. Karl Lachmann, trans. into New High German by Wolfgang Spiewok, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1981), with verse references following.

¹¹ English translation text taken from Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival and Titurel*, trans. with notes by Cyril Edwards. Oxford World Classics (2004; Oxford, New York, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2009), with page references given in parentheses.

¹² See James A. Schultz, “Why Do Tristan and Isolde Make Love?: The Love Potion as a Milestone in the History of Sexuality,” *Visuality and Materiality in the Story of Tristan and Isolde*, ed. Jutta Eming, Ann Marie Rasmussen, and Kathryn Starkey (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 65–82; here, 72.

¹³ Middle High German text taken from Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed. by Friedrich Ranke, re-edited and trans. into New High German by Rüdiger Krohn, 3 vols. (1980; Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983), with verse references following.

[“ . . . saw with my own eyes the fine qualities they [other ladies at court] gave him, and dwelt on all his virtues, I became infatuated, and that is why my heart was fixed on him!” (54)]¹⁴

While the significance of visuality for love is well-established in the medieval epic, the connections between “seeing” and “loving” in Gottfried’s *Tristan* and Wolfram’s *Parzival* to magical practices by absent magicians is remarkable. In the former work, the magician intends to facilitate love from a distance, since she cannot be present, and employs a potion to this end, whereas in the latter the magician employs a spell to obstruct the process of loving, and does so also *in absentia*. Thus, in both cases, the magic operates as a kind of mechanism, projecting power over a distance when a set of conditions activates it.

Queen Isolde and the Love Potion

In Gottfried’s *Tristan*, King Mark of Cornwall, formerly a bitter enemy of the court at Dublin, wishes to marry a beautiful Irish princess, Isolde, who bears the same name as her mother; thus he sends his nephew to woo the Irish maiden for him. Tristan has already made the princess’s acquaintance, and may indeed bear strong affections for her. By accomplishing the adventure of slaying a dragon, he “wins” Princess Isolde’s hand, and then reveals his purpose in wooing her, much to her bitter disappointment, since she will have to leave her parents and homeland, and may also harbor a secret attraction to the young knight from Cornwall. Prospects are certainly not ideal for a successful match between Mark and Isolde the Fair! Her mother, however, possesses knowledge of herbal remedies and medicines that can help her daughter in her distress, and perhaps ease her transition to a new life.¹⁵ Anticipating nuptial difficulties between Princess Isolde and Mark, doubtless a far less-than-ideal match than one involving

¹⁴ English translation text taken from Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan: with the ‘Tristan’ of Thomas*, trans. A. T. Hatto (London, New York, et al.: Penguin, 1967), with page references following.

¹⁵ There is a substantial body of critical literature regarding Queen Isolde’s medical skill; see, for example, Peggy A. Knap, “The Potion/Poison of Gottfried’s *Tristan*,” *Assays* 3 (1985): 41–56; Peter Meister, *The Healing Female in the German Courtly Romance*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 523 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1990), 113–35; Nancy P. Nenno, “Between Magic and Medicine: Medieval Images of the Woman Healer,” *Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill*, ed. Lilian R. Furst (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1994): 43–63; and Katja Altpeter-Jones, “Love Me, Hurt Me, Heal Me – Isolde Healer and Isolde Lover in Gottfried’s *Tristan*,” *German Quarterly* 82 (2009): 5–23.

the handsome, courtly and brilliant Tristan, Queen Isolde prepares a love potion for her daughter and the Cornish king to imbibe on their wedding night. The fate of the youngsters is widely known: to their great joy and their great sorrow, on the return sea voyage to the Cornish court at Tintagel young Isolde and Tristan mistakenly drink the aphrodisiac liquid, gaze into each other's eyes, and thus cement their bonds of their love while ensuring their tragic downfall.

Although Queen Isolde's effect on the story (as creator of the love potion) is profound and crucial, her actual appearances are, relatively speaking, extremely few and brief, and it is only as a result of her reputation as healer that her name is initially mentioned in the text, on two occasions. The first occurs while Tristan is doing battle with the prodigious warrior Morold, Isolde's brother, who, during the period of enmity between Ireland and Cornwall, was tasked to fetch tribute periodically from the court at Tintagel. The youthful Tristan, newly arrived at his uncle's court, is the only one of Mark's knights with the courage to stand against this "Goliath," and to all appearances Tristan's cause seems hopeless. Furthermore, during the fight Morold manages to land a blow with his sword on Tristan's thigh, and reveals to his opponent that there is more to the wound than the mere cut:

wan zwäre, Tristan, disiu nôt
 diu ist dîn endeclicher tât.
 ich eine enwende ez danne,
 von wîbe noch von manne
 sone wirdestû niemêr gesunt.
 du bist mit eime swerte wunt,
 daz toedic unde gelüppet ist.
 arzât noch arzâte list
 ernert dich niemer dirre nôt,
 ez entuo mîn swester eine, Îsôt,
 diu kûnegîn von Îrlande.
 diu erkennet maneger hande
 wurze und aller crûte craft
 und arzâtliche meisterschaft.
 diu kan eine disen list
 und anders nieman, der der ist.
 diun ner dich, dû bist ungenesen.
 wiltû mir noch gevolgic wesen
 und mir des zinses jehende sîn,
 mîn swester diu kûnigîn
 diu muoz dich selbe heilen. (6937–57)

[“. . . believe me Tristan, your plight must irrevocably end in your death! Unless I alone avert it you will never be cured by man or woman – the sword that has wounded you is bated with deadly poison! No physician or medical skill can save you from this pass,

save only my sister Isolde, Queen of Ireland. She is versed in herbs of many kinds, in the virtues of all plants, and in the art of medicine. She alone knows the secret, and no other in the world. If she does not heal you, you will be past all healing. If you will listen to me and admit your liability for tribute, I will get my sister the Queen herself to cure you.” (134)]

Of course, Tristan refuses Morold’s somewhat generous offer and instead responds by burying the edge of his sword in the top of his opponent’s head, killing him and leaving behind in his skull a tell-tale metal shard. But severe damage has been done as well to the youthful knight: he grows deathly ill, his wound festers with the poison and it begins to putrefy. When the hope that a physician at Cornwall might effect a cure eventually disappears, Tristan thinks of Queen Isolde of Ireland. Her fame seems widespread: Tristan recalls not only what Morold said, but can rely on other sources as well regarding the Irish Queen’s reputation for efficacious medical treatment:

. . . erkande ie baz unde baz
 Môroldes rede, ouch haete er daz
 ê mâles dicke wol vernomen,
 wie schoene und wie vollekomen
 Îsôt sîn swester waere.
 wan von ihr vlouc ein maere
 in allen den bîlanden,
 diu ir namen erkanden:
 diu wîse Îsôt, diu schoene Îsôt
 diu liuhtet also der morgenrôt. (7283–92)

[. . . he understood more and more the meaning of Morold’s words. Tristan had often heard in days past how beautiful and accomplished Morold’s sister Isolde was, for there was a saying about her that flew from mouth to mouth in all the adjacent lands where she was known: “Wise Isolde, fair Isolde, / She shines out like the Dawn! (138)]

And so it happens that Tristan, critically ill, disguised as a musician and calling himself “Tantris” (a somewhat obvious moniker, but still clever enough to mask his identity as Morhold’s slayer), suddenly appears in a skiff outside the harbor at Dublin. The sonorous strains of the music he strums on his harp capture the attention of the Dubliners, and they bring him to their queen. One might easily ask: what incentive would compel Queen Isolde to welcome this foreigner to her court and to heal him? There is no doubt that she can choose to heal or not to heal, and as she explains to Tristan, the choice is entirely her own. However, she is clearly willing, for after she hears him play his harp, she suggests that he teach her daughter this and any other arts he may know, and for so doing,

„ . . . dar umbe wil ich dir dîn leben
 und dînen lîp ze miete geben
 wol gesunt und wol getân.
 diu mag ich geben unde lân,
 diu beidiu sint in mîner hant.” (7855–59)

[“In return, as a reward, I will restore your life and body to you in perfect health and looks. I can give or refuse: both are in my power!” (145)]

Certainly, his music is uncommonly pleasant, his ways are courteous, and his talents teachable, therefore enabling him to “pay” for his treatment through service. But at the same time one must acknowledge that the queen bears an unusually charitable disposition toward the stranger. She heals “Tantris,” and in return he tutors her daughter in music and languages, and thus Tristan comes to know his later paramour very well before returning to Cornwall a year later.

At this juncture, one might question whether this healing actually constitutes an act of magic. Medicine and magic were often linked in the medieval mind, particularly when the practitioner employed herbal remedies, “since there was no popular understanding of the chemistry that made the drugs effective.”¹⁶ However, two aspects of Queen Isolde’s medical prowess place it especially in the realm of magic: she seems to exercise a personal charisma for effecting a cure, and only she holds the key to its success. No one at the Cornish court and beyond, including the doctor who examines and treats Tantris/Tristan in Ireland, possesses the knowledge required to heal him, as Altpeter-Jones indicates:

Indeed, so immense is Queen Isolde’s wisdom and set of skills that she surpasses male, and in this case presumably university-trained, physicians in her abilities to heal. . . . Where the science of male doctors fails, Queen Isolde’s – and only Queen Isolde’s – will succeed.¹⁷

The queen’s art thus outstrips the competencies developed by the men who reflect the scientific *status quo* of their time, and she is able to perform a miraculous cure of the ailing Tantris/Tristan when doctors’ knowledge proved ineffective. Based on Morhold’s words and what Tristan has otherwise heard about Isolde, as well as on the other doctors’ failures, one must conclude that she is the only practitioner who *can* wield this curative power. Although the text refers to both kinds of practices as *liste* (“art”), Isolde’s qualifies as a superior, “mag-

¹⁶ Nancy P. Nenno, “Between Magic and Medicine” 46 (see note 15).

¹⁷ Katja Altpeter-Jones, “Love Me, Hurt Me, Heal Me” (see note 15), 10–11; see also Peter Meister, *The Healing Female in the German Courtly Romance* (see note 15), 137; and Nancy P. Nenno, “Between Magic and Medicine” (see note 15), 46–47.

ical” one, for its demonstrated preeminence over all others, as well as the queen’s unique mastery of it.

The queen restores Tristan’s health again later, having discovered him unconscious and lying in a pool of water. She correctly diagnoses the cause of his malady and so removes a severed dragon’s tongue from within his armor. Tristan himself had placed the tongue there, for it was to serve as proof that Tristan had killed a dragon that was plaguing the Irish countryside, thereby securing the hand of Princess Isolde for marriage to his Cornish lord, King Mark. While Tristan bathes, the princess avails herself of the opportunity to examine his clothing and possessions, and she discovers a gap in his sword’s edge, perfectly matching the shape of the metal shard she earlier removed from Morold’s skull, and revealing Tristan as the slayer of her uncle. When the vengeful princess threatens to kill Tristan in the bath, her mother intervenes, again revealing a positive side that doubtlessly would have been missing in many others. Her wise counsel calms her daughter, the threat to Tristan disappears, and soon thereafter Princess Isolde and Tristan sail off to Cornwall in anticipation of the wedding between Mark and the Irish princess, thus securing peace between the two kingdoms. By this time, however, one can detect early signs of a budding attachment between Tristan and the princess. In any case, the royal mother senses that her daughter will have difficulty in properly falling in love and consummating a marriage with a man she has never seen, and thus she concocts the “love potion,” a powerful aphrodisiac, to facilitate this.

The specific process by which Queen Isolde’s love potion operates makes it imperative that only the royal couple, Mark and Isolde, partake of the magic drink. The plan, which the magician-queen designs, follows a formula in which the betrothed individuals’ first erotic experience of each other becomes essential and critical: the intended lovers, Mark and Isolde, who have never met and so, one assumes, will be suffering in their relationship from a lack of amorous, libidinous love, will drink the potion after consummating their marriage on their wedding night. As Queen Isolde exhorts her daughter’s lady-in-waiting:

vlîze dich wol starke:
 swenne Îsôt unde Marke
 in ein der minne kommen sîn,
 sô schenke in disen tranc vûr wîn
 und lâ si’n trinken ûz in ein. (11459–63)

[“When Isolde and Mark have been united in love, make it your strict concern to pour out this liquid as wine for them, and see that they drink it all between them.” (192)]

At this instant, love on a deeper level would awaken in their hearts and, hopefully, they would love each other exclusively and intensely for the rest of their days. Thus, the potion provides a supernatural mechanism for affecting a relationship, which the magician-queen and her entire court much desire. Of course, because the queen remains in Dublin, the potion should exert its potency despite the absence of its creator.

According to the great majority of medieval theological texts, God would consider it sinful to employ magic, even when the magician intends a “good” outcome.¹⁸ St. Augustine had been very clear in his condemnation of all magic, whatever the intention, stating “all acts pertaining to a trifling or noxious superstition constituted on the basis of a pestiferous association of men and demons as if through a pact of faithless and deceitful friendship should be completely repudiated and studiously avoided by Christians.”¹⁹ Nevertheless, Queen Isolde appears relatively assured that divine judgment would not condemn her actions here. One must ask oneself if there is a basis for the queen’s confidence that God will permit the desired action to take place, despite the clearly articulated condemnation of magic by Augustine, perhaps the most influential medieval Christian theologian of the Middle Ages. In other words, are the medieval religious assertions regarding the sinfulness of magic wrong, and is there a mitigating circumstance in the case of Queen Isolde that convinces God to allow her to exercise magic? Is there good will in her heart, a good outcome in her intention, and might this sway God to favor her attempt?

If we take into consideration the political relations between Ireland and Cornwall, which were tenuous at best before Tristan’s wooing expedition, we must deem Queen Isolde’s act of providing the potion as essentially an unselfish act of kindness and generosity: until recently, Mark had been the leader of her people’s vanquished enemy, and since her brother was slain by one of Mark’s knights, she has every reason to bear Mark, Tristan, and the entire Cornish kingdom ill will. However, it is clear that her love for her daughter takes precedence, as well as the prosperity and peace such a marriage between the houses of Ireland and Cornwall should bring with it, and so with the potion she altruistically intends to ensure the happiness of the young Isolde and the Cornish king in their marriage, as well as the happiness and welfare of her people. This positive image of the magician-queen fits well with what the audience knows of her already, that she was willing to extend the benefits of her healing potions to a complete

¹⁸ See, for example, Ingrid Schröder, “Zwischen Medizin und Magie: das mittelalterliche Arzneibuch,” *Der Deutschunterricht* 55 (2003): 8–18.

¹⁹ Saint Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D. W. Robertson, quoted in Stephan Maksymiuk, *The Court Magician in Medieval German Romance* (see note 3), 42–43.

stranger, the wounded Tristan/Tantris, earlier in the tale. Thus, the queen’s intent in all of these actions reflects the compassion that God apparently privileges to “letter of the law” adherence to church teachings and dogmas, as the audience later witnesses repeatedly in the lovers’ success, despite the adulterous nature of their relationship.²⁰ The audience cannot but conclude that Queen Isolde is morally and ethically pure, a most positive character who employs her power as well as her wisdom in order to achieve the best results for her people and her family.

Yet, her best-laid plans contain the germ of their own destruction. Queen Isolde places the potion in the care of Isolde’s lady-in-waiting, Brangæne, with the warning:

“diz glas mit disem tranke nim,
daz habe in dīner guote
hüete es vor allem buote.
sich, daz es ûf der erde
ieman innen werde.
bewar mit allem vlīze
daz es ieman enbize.” (11452–58)

[“Take this flask with its draught, have it in your keeping, and guard it above all your possessions. See to it that absolutely no one gets to hear of it. Take care that nobody drinks any!” (192)].

It is most doubtful that Isolde could have placed the potion in the hands of a more faithful servant, but one tragically unskilled in safeguarding it. Brangæne hides the bottle on board the ship in an insecure location where, early in the course of the voyage to Cornwall, it is soon discovered by one of the youthful servants, who dutifully brings it to Tristan and Isolde, and they, believing it is merely wine, partake of it. Of course, the first person to enter Tristan’s vision after he drinks is Isolde the Fair, and vice-versa. The effects of the magic potion are immediate and overwhelming, leaving the two of them both deeply in love and in great distress. After they declare their feelings for one another, they consummate their union aboard the skiff, while Brangæne, repentant but fully aware of the potion’s ineluctable power, watches over them and prevents their liaison

20 See my article “The Law, Letter and Spirit: Language, Transgression and Justice in Three Medieval German Epic Poems,” *Crime, Criminality, and Punishment in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period: Mental-Historical Investigations of Basic Human Problems and Social Responses*, ed. Connie Scarborough and Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 11 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 65–85.

from being discovered by their fellow voyagers. Thereafter, Brangæne throws the remainder of the draught into the sea, but the damage has been done.

Gottfried's description of the onset of love that comes immediately after the couple has drunk the potion, one of the many beautifully lyrical passages in the poem, presents the plight of the lovers in distinctively visual terms. Vision is crucial: not only does the visual image of the beloved inspire pleasure, but also pain, since both sensations necessarily result from authentic experience, as Gottfried claims in the prologue. Of course, the tell-tale symptoms of love-sickness include a lover's blushing or turning pale in the presence of the beloved, and as Gottfried is careful to indicate in his description of Tristan and Isolde falling desperately in love, they, in fact, alternately blanch and redden:

si twanc ein nôt genôte
 und in seltsaener ahte:
 ir dewederez enmahte
 gehaben ruowe noch gemach,
 wan sô ez daz andere sach.
 sô s'aber ein ander sahen,
 daz gieng in aber nâhen,
 wan sî enmohten under in zwein
 ir willen niht gehaben in ein.
 daz geschouf diu vremede und diu scham,
 diu in ir wunne benam.
 sô s'eteswenne tougen
 mit gelîmeten ougen
 ein ander solten nehmen war,
 sô wart ir lîch gelîche var
 dem herzen unde dem sinne.
 Minne die verwaerinne
 die endûhte es niht dâ mite genouc,
 daz man s'in edelen herzen truoc
 verholne unde tougen,
 sine wollte under ougen
 ouch offenbaeren ir gewalt.
 der was an in zwein manicvalt.
 unlange in ein ir varwe schein.
 ir varwe schein unlange in ein.
 si wehselten genôte
 bleich wider rôte;
 si wurden rôt unde bleich,
 als ez diu Minne in understreich. (11892–920)

[The selfsame woe afflicted them, and in the strangest way: neither could find rest or comfort except when they saw one another. But when they saw each other they were deeply

troubled by this, since they could not have their way together for the shyness and modesty that robbed them of their joy. When from time to time they tried to observe each other through eyes which Love had limed, their flesh assumed the hue of their hearts and souls. Love the Dyer did not deem it enough that she was hidden in the recesses of two noble hearts: she meant to show her power in their faces. Indeed, they bore many marks of it, since their colour did not stay the same. They blushed and blanched, blushed and blushed in swift succession as Love painted their cheeks for them. (198)]

One can scarcely imagine a more visual representation of evidence for love than this passage, wherein the discourse alternates between looking and showing, between seeing and being seen, and between subject and object. Their hearts work in cooperation with their eyes. Throughout the passage Gottfried refers to the lovers with the collective, third person plural pronoun: they are no longer merely “he” and “she,” but rather “they.” They act as a mirror for one another, reflecting visually a shared identity through their newly found love, reflected in this passage through their mutual blushing and turning pale.

Although Queen Isolde’s goal for her potion is to catalyze love between her daughter and her son-in-law-to-be, King Mark, fate takes a hand and creates a completely undesired and tragic situation. The passion of true love in Tristan and Isolde violates the boundaries of what society can sanction, and condemns Isolde’s approaching marriage with the King to remain sterile and unfulfilling. Despite the Irish Queen’s ethically pure intention, her magic works mischief, destroying the courtly order in Cornwall and propelling the future into a chaos of deception and intrigue.

Of course, this reading of the potion strips it of much of its symbolic value and holds it to be the cause of the love between the princess and the knight. However, textual evidence suggests at least the possibility of another perspective on the potion: there is ample evidence that Tristan and Isolde are experiencing feelings of love and desire for one another long before they share the drink. The two have spent plenty of time in one another’s presence, especially since he, under the thin disguise of “Tantris,” once served as Princess Isolde’s tutor, fictionally echoing the actual, historical role that the famous scholastic philosopher Peter Abelard had played in the life of his paramour, Héloïse d’Argenteuil, a century before the composition of Gottfried’s *Tristan*. Tristan and Isolde are each paragons of beauty and courtliness, and one can easily imagine their mutual attraction.²¹ The paeans Tristan sings upon his return to the Cornish court,

21 Albrecht Classen, “Abaelards *Historia Calamitatum*, der Briefwechsel mit Heloise und Gottfrieds von Straßburg *Tristan*: Historisch-biographische und fiktionale Schicksale. Eine Untersuchung zur Intertextualität im zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert,” *arcadia* 35.2 (2000): 225–53.

honoring Isolde's great beauty, as well as the extremity of his actions during the subsequent wooing expedition to Ireland, while courting her for his uncle (including the very dangerous deed of slaying a dragon)²² bear witness to the metaphorical "spell" of *amour* she already casts upon him.

Furthermore, there is evidence of strong and honest feelings in Isolde's behavior toward Tristan (exemplified, for example, by her fascination with his clothing and armor while he bathes, her hesitancy to kill him in the bath when she discovers his identity as the slayer of her beloved uncle, and her bitter disappointment at the realization that he has come to Ireland to woo her for another). If the reader examines these passages closely, there remains little doubt that Isolde's passions for Tristan, and his for her, are well stirred long before the introduction of the potion motif.

Thus, the text presents a crucial dilemma: does the potion cause love, or does it represent love that is already present? In other words, does the potion function as a plot device, emphasizing its causal and magical attributes, or does it serve a symbolic purpose, representing an authentic love that has evolved "naturally," in the face of courtly attempts to impose love through artificial means, such as betrothal and wooing by substitute. To endeavor a solution here would extend far beyond the scope of this paper, but it becomes clear that, if we affirm the former case, then the complications presented by the potion in *Tristan* are merely the results of a drug, significantly removing will and choice from the equation and greatly curtailing the symbolic and socially critical import of the work. However, if the latter, symbolic role can be ascribed to the potion, then free will and the ability to make a moral decision remain with the lovers, ensuring a far more interesting and provocative tale, which not only offers a new view of selecting one's spouse based on individual choice but also strongly criticizes the contemporary view of arranged marriages for political and economic reasons. Thus, in the latter scenario the magician, Queen Isolde, despite her use of powerful magic in the form of a potion, cannot control love; instead, love assumes mastery of the aphrodisiac, steering it toward its own symbolic ends.

Of course, there is another factor to consider regarding the relationship between the King of Cornwall and his bride-to-be, namely, the role of the eyes as

22 The extremity of Tristan's dragon-slaying is discussed in Timo Rebschloe, *Der Drache in der mittelalterlichen Literatur Europas*. Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2014), 267–76; regarding the dragon's role in the medieval psychology of love, see Christopher R. Clason, "Animals, Birds, and Fish in the Middle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, vol. 1 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 18–54.

catalysts for the natural beginnings of love: Mark and Isolde do not see each other before she and Tristan have consumed the potion. The lack of the visual component in Mark’s and Isolde’s relationship before her arrival at Tintagel further undermines any chance that an amorous relationship can develop between them. The calamitous result becomes painfully clear in the bed-trick scene, where Mark fails to see that his first sexual experience is with someone other than his wife; Brangæne is able to mask Isolde’s loss of virginity by substituting for her on the royal wedding night. This is far more than an unfortunate lack of attention to detail, and underscores the dispassionate attitude Mark has adopted toward marriage with his new spouse.

Gottfried’s attitude toward magic, especially in the form of the love potion, remains somewhat ambiguous, as we have seen.²³ On the one hand, it may either cause or, minimally, symbolize the authentic love of Tristan and Isolde, which de-stabilizes Mark’s kingdom and condemns the royal couple to a troubled marriage filled with suspicion and doubt. On the other hand, it fosters a very hard and critical look at the institution of marriage-by-betrothal, wherein the spontaneity of true love takes a secondary position to rationalized unions for economic or political purposes. In any case, magic is potent, but far from absolutely so: Queen Isolde, the magician, cannot exercise complete control over the results of her magic, and its efficacy remains secondary to the incursion of circumstance, fate, and perhaps even Divine Providence.

Clinschor, Gawan, and the *Schastel Marveille*

In Book VI of Wolfram’s *Parzival*, after the Grail Messenger Cundrie has made allegations against Parzival for his failure to pose the “question of compassion” to the wounded Fisher King Anfortas and has initially failed his adventure, she lays down a challenge to Arthur’s court regarding another, separate adventure that requires immediate attention:

si sprach “ist hie kein ritter wert,
des ellen prîses hât gegert,
unt dar zuo hôher minne?”

23 See also the contribution to this volume by Rosmarie Morewedge, where she maintains that, when Isolde (the daughter) plucks the magic bell, which guarantees joy to its hearer, worn by the fairy dog Petitcreiu, and throws it away, she is actually making a moral decision to refuse the salutary effects of magic:, and states: “The [lovers’] rejection of magic becomes a means of beginning to realize and sublimate themselves into what Gottfried calls ‘*edele herzen*.’”

ich weiz vier küneginne
 unt vier hundert juncvrouwen,
 die man gerne möhte schouwen,
 ze Schastel marveile die sint:
 al âventiure ist ein wint,
 wan die man dâ bezalen mac,
 hôher minne wert bejac.” (318, 13–22)

[She said: “Is there no worthy knight here whose courage has desired fame, and lofty love as well? I know of four queens and four hundred damsels well worth beholding. They are at Schastel Marveil. All adventure is but a breath of air compared with what may be won there, lofty love’s noble booty.” (134)]

Gawan answers Cundrie’s call, and departs to search for the marvelous edifice and to solve the adventure Cundrie has proposed. After traveling a great distance, he emerges from thick woods and spots a magnificent castle, which proves to be the Schastel Marveile, and Wolfram’s text shifts from a narrative mode to one of visual description:

eine burg er mit den ougen vant:
 sîn herze unt diu ougen jâhen
 daz si erkanten noch gesâhen
 deheine burc nie der gelîch.
 si was alumbe ritterlîch:
 türne unde palas
 manegez ûf der bürge was.
 dar zuo muose er schouwen
 in den venstern manege vrouwen:
 der was vier hundert oder mêr,
 viere under in von arde hêr. (534, 20–30)

[With his eyes he found a castle. His heart and his eyes averred that they had never known nor beheld any castle like it. It was of knightly aspect all around. High up in the citadel were many towers and great halls. Moreover, he could see many ladies in the windows. There were four hundred of them or more, four amongst them of proud lineage. (225)]

Gawan’s powerful visual acuity demonstrated in this scene evidences perhaps somewhat less his knightly prowess than the fact that there are so many women held captive in the castle, and that at even this distance from the castle they can be *seen*. Thus, the text offers first-hand, visual evidence, through the protagonist’s perspective, that the women do, in fact, exist and are present in the castle. With the emphasis on visual images and language, Wolfram prepares the audience for the upcoming sleight-of-hand that constitutes the enchantment under which the many women suffer.

The expository narrative comes in bits and pieces, and somewhat typically for Wolfram’s storytelling techniques the tale must be puzzled together out of numerous fragments.²⁴ Gawan eventually discovers that a great and powerful male magician by the name of Clinschor has cast a spell, which holds a multitude of women captive. Although the magician does not even once appear in the tale in person, his spell’s darker power weighs like a dark shadow over the lands where he holds sway. Orgeluse, Duchess of Longroys and Gawan’s much-beloved mistress, explains:

“Clinschore ist staeteclichen bî
der list von nigrômanzî,
daz er mit zouber twingen kan
beidiu wîb unde man.
swaz er werder diet gesiht
dien laet er âne kumber niht.” (617, 11–16)

[“Clinschor keeps constant company with the lore of necromancy, so that he is capable of overpowering by magic both women and men. Wherever he espies noble folk, he will not leave them without troubles.” (259)]

The magician had not always been so unmannerly, however. Clinschor is a duke, and a nephew of the Roman poet Virgil, who in medieval folk traditions became associated with acceptable forms of magic while he enjoyed a relatively positive image among some medieval intellectuals.²⁵ From one narrator, Gawan learns that in his early years Clinschor was even considered a paragon of courtly virtue:

“Clinschor des neve warp alsus.
Câps was sîn houbestat.
Er trat in prîs sô hôhen pfat,
an prîse was er unbetrogen.

24 Regarding Wolfram’s eccentric narrative style, please see Neil Thomas, “Wolfram von Eschenbach: Modes of Narrative Presentation,” *A Companion to Wolfram’s Parzival* (see note 1), 124–39.

25 There is a substantial body of literature on Virgil’s place as a magician in Christian medieval thought, including Domenico Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke and intro. Robinson Ellis (London: Swan Sonnenschein and New York: MacMillan, 1895); John Webster Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer: Studies in Virgilian Legends*. Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 10 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1934); and Juliette Wood, “Virgil and Taliesin: The Concept of the Magician in Medieval Folklore,” *Folklore* 94 (1983): 91–104; Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 3 above), indicates the somewhat complicated image of the Roman poet that developed among medieval scholars; he asserts that “Virgil, long revered for his great learning, came to be seen as a maker of magical artifacts, as an adept of the magical arts, and finally as a servant of the Devil,” and connects Virgil’s mirror to Clinschor’s magic pillar, 113.

von Clinschor dem herzogen
sprâchen wîb unde man,
unz er schaden sus gewan." 656, 18–24)

[“Clinschor, [Virgil’s] kinsman, acted thus – Capua was his capital – he trod such a high path of praise that he was undeceived of fame. Women and men alike spoke of Clinschor the Duke, until he met with affliction.” (275)]

Gawan must wait for a long while, however, to learn why the duke has become so irascible, and in fact he finally hears the most complete version of Clinschor’s story of “affliction” only after he has disenchanted the castle and while he is recovering from the ordeal. The details are provided by none other than the mother of King Arthur, Arnive, who was one of the prisoners at the castle and knows much about the background of the angry magician of the “Terre de Labur.” From her, Gawan learns of the affair Clinschor enjoyed with beautiful Iblis, wife of the powerful Sicilian King Iberty, and how, when the king discovered the interloper blissfully asleep in his wife’s arms, he became furious and vengeful, and castrated the Duke:

“ze eim kapûn mit eime snite
wart Clinschor gemachet . . .
er wart mit kûneges henden
zwischen den beinen gemachet sleht.
des dûhte den wirt, ez waere sîn reht.
der besneit in an dem lîbe,
daz er deheinem wîbe
mac ze schimpfe niht gevrumen.” (657, 8–9, 20–25)

[“By a single cut Clinschor was made into a capon . . . by the king’s hands he was trimmed between the legs. To his host it seemed it was his due. He cut him about his person in such fashion that he cannot make any woman merry.” (275–76)]

The parallel between Clinschor’s fate and the wounding of the Fisher King, Anfortas, in the Parzival plot, can scarcely go unnoticed.²⁶ Shortly after his castration, Clinschor sought to learn magic in order to exact his revenge on the courtly society that, in his opinion, had robbed him of his sexual power. Thus, he traveled to Persida, an Oriental city famed for having been the birthplace of magic, according to some sources, and there learned his craft. To establish a base for his

26 The parallels between the wounded Fisher King and the castrated magician have, indeed, gained the attention of many critics, including Norbert Richard Wolf, “Die Gestalt Klingsohrs in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters” (see note 5), 7; Walter Blank, “Der Zauberer Clinschor in Wolframs ‘Parzival,’” (see note 5), 330–32; Wolfgang Spiewok, “Clingschor/Klingsor” (see note 5), 525–26; and Rüdiger Krohn, “habt ir von Klinsor nye vernumen?” (see note 5), 513–14.

operations, he acquired land from a king named Irot, who could not defend himself from Clinschor’s sorcery. There, the magician built the Schastel Marveille, and has equipped it with various defenses, including machines and enchantments, enabling him to operate *in absentia*. With this stronghold as the base for his power, he now spreads misery among the nobility:

“Durch die scham an sîme lîbe
wart er man noch wîbe
guotes willen nimmer mêr bereit,
ich meine die tragent werdekeit.
swaz er den vröuden mac genemen,
des kann von herzen in gezemen.” (658, 3–9)

[“Because of the shame to his person, he has never again been well-disposed toward man or woman – I mean those who bear nobility. Whatever joys he can take from them suits him to the heart.” (276)]

Clinschor inflicts suffering on courtly society by attacking it in the way he feels that society offended him, by depriving it of joy (*vroüde*) in pursuing love. Thus, he employs his powers to abscond with four hundred women of the court, among which are four queens, including the Arthur’s mother Anide, Gawan’s own mother, and his two sisters. Hence, the men of the respective courts (and since there are so many women, we may assume there are several courts involved) cannot envision their female counterparts, rendering relationships between them impossible.²⁷

Furthermore, Clinschor casts a secondary spell upon the women, similarly denying male vision: when a male enters the castle the female captives disappear from view. A ferryman warns Gawan about this spell, so that the knight does not ride incautiously into the castle but rather leaves his horse behind before entering, since “al der vrouwen schîn / ist vor iu verborgen” (561, 14–15; “All the ladies’ bright sheen will be hidden from you” [236]). Gawan has already seen women at the castle through the windows, and thus he is certain that they are there, and yet when he arrives at Schastel Marveille to rescue Clinschor’s prisoners, he finds it deserted.

Of course, Gawan defeats Clinschor’s mechanized bed, the assault of arrows, and the ferocious lion, and thereby succeeds in disenchanting the castle. The imprisoned women are now visible to him, and Queen Arnive herself aids in nursing the hero back to health. During his rehabilitation, Gawan, suffering not only from the wounds Clinschor’s contraptions have inflicted on him but also from

27 See Stephan Maksymiuk, *The Court Magician in Medieval German Romance* (see note 3), 108.

insomnia (due to longing for the woman he loves), discovers a magical column,²⁸ which fosters strongly enhanced visual powers:

dehein sûl stuont dar unde
 diu dich gelîchen kunde
 der grôzen sûl dâ zwischen stuont.
 uns tuot diu âventiure kunt
 Waz diu wonders mohte hân.
 durch schouwen gienc hêr Gâwân
 ûf daz warthûs eine
 zuo manegem tiurem steine.
 dâ vand er solh wunder grôz,
 des in ze sehen niht verdrôz.
 in dûhte daz im al diu lant
 in der grôzen siule waeren bekant,
 unt daz diu lant umb giengen,
 unt daz mit hurte enpfîengen
 die grôzen berge ein ander.
 In der siule vand er
 liute rîten unde gên,
 disen loufen, jenen stên.
 In ein venster er gesaz,
 er wolt daz wunder prûeven baz. (589, 27–590, 16)

[No column that stood amongst them could compare with the great pillar in the middle. The adventure tells us what wonders it could command. To view it, Sir Gawan went, alone, up into the watchtower, where he saw many a precious stone. There he found such a great marvel that he could never weary of watching. It seemed to him that in the great pillar all countries were made known to him, and that the lands were going round and round, and that the great mountains were on the receiving end of one another's joust. In the pillar he found people riding and walking, some running, some standing. He sat down at one of the windows; he wanted to investigate the marvel further. (248)]

Arnive provides Gawan with an explanation for some of the wonders the column holds; the sense of sight pervades all of them:

Dô sprach si “hêrre, dirre stein
 bî tage und alle nâhte schein,
 sît er mir êrste wart erkant,
 alumbe sehs mîle in daz lant.

28 See Werner Wolf, “Die Wundersäule in Wolframs Schastel Marveile,” *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* 84 (1954): 275–314; Winder McConnell, “Otherworlds, Alchemy, Pythagoras, and Jung: Symbols of Transformation in *Parzival*,” *A Companion to Wolfram's Parzival* (see note 1), 203–22; Alastair Matthews, “From Seeing to Feeling” (see note 3), 22–25.

swaz in dem zil geschiht,
 in dirre siule man daz siht,
 in wazzer und ûf velde:
 des ist er wâriu melde.
 ez sî vogel oder tier,
 der gast unt der forehtier,
 die vremen unt die kunden,
 die hât man drinne vunden.
 über sehs mîle gêt sîn glanz:
 er ist sô veste und ouch sô ganz
 daz in mit starken sinnen
 kunde nie gewinnen
 weder hamer noch der smit.
 er wart verstolen ze Thabronit
 der kûnegîn Secundillen,
 ich waene des, âne ir willen.” (592, 1–20)

[She replied: “Lord, this stone has shone by day and every night since I first became acquainted with it, for a radius of six miles into the surrounding country. Whatever happens within that compass, in the water and in the fields, can be seen in this column – it gives a true report. Be it bird or beast, stranger or forester, foreigner or familiar, they have been found therein. Its beam ranges over six miles. It is so solid and so intact that even with powerful cunning, neither hammer nor smith could ever harm it. It was stolen in Tabronit from Queen Secundille – against her will, as I believe!” (249)]

Wolfram’s source for this pillar may be Chrétien, in whose *Perceval* the pillar served essentially as a hitching-post, designed by Merlin, for the horse of whoever might prove to be the “most noble knight”²⁹; thus, it possessed magic and provided a test for worthiness. However, in Wolfram’s *Parzival*, its remarkable augmentations of visual acuity render yet another magical device, providing Clinschor one more opportunity to compensate for what by now has become his painfully obvious impotence. The images one can see in the pillar are various and unfocused, corresponding to the magician’s wrath against all of the court. Love with an authentic human being, should it be accompanied by loyalty (certainly one of the key concepts developed in Wolfram’s *Parzival*), must remain exclusive and focus upon one human being. Therefore, for Clinschor, magical pillars and supernatural vision, which reveal all persons within a six-mile radius of the castle, have taken the place of actual, faithful love relationships within the courtly context, for which the magician holds such resentment. Gawan, however, has found love, and thus it is no surprise that the first recognizable person he

29 Winder McConnell, “Otherworlds, Alchemy, Pythagoras, and Jung,” (see note 27) 219.

beholds while gazing at the magic pillar is Orgeluse,³⁰ whom he misses tremendously.

The liberation of maidens and queens calls for a feast, and a company of knights joins the four hundred women to celebrate properly. It becomes immediately clear that the castle society has been long deprived of sight of each other, which Wolfram makes clear in his description of the knights and ladies' reaction to their sight of one another:

si mohten dô wol wirtschaft jehen
ez was in selten ê geschehen,
den vrouwen unt der ritterschaft,
sît si Clinschores craft
mit sînen listen überwant,
si wâren ein ander unbekant,
unt beslôz si doch ein porte,
daz si ze gegenworte
nie kômen, vrouwen noch die man.
dô schuof mîn hêr Gâwân
daz diz volc ein ander sach,
dar an in liebes vil geschach.
Gâwân was ouch liep geschehen:
doch muose er tougenlîchen sehen
an die clâren herzoginne:
diu twanc sîns herzen sinne. (637, 15–30)

[They had good reason to speak of a hospitable feast then. It had seldom befallen them before, those ladies and that company of knights, since Clinschor's power had overcome them by his cunning. They were so unacquainted, even though one gate enclosed them, that they had never come to converse with one another, those ladies and men. Now my lord Gawan saw to it that the members of this company beheld one another; much pleasure came to them from that. To Gawan, too, pleasure had accrued, although he was obliged to look in secret at the lustrous duchess – she afflicted his heart's senses. (267)]

With the restoration of their ability to see one another, the members of courtly society can participate joyfully in the rituals of love. Courtly *vroude* and *minne* are restored as Gawan breaks the spell of the vengeful magician. In the process, Gawan also discovers love. Clinschor's power is overcome, and since he makes no personal appearance in the work, he is rendered once again (and on a new level) powerless, and no longer a threat to King Arthur's family and kingdom. In the final analysis, Clinschor's magic in *Parzival* primarily functions as a device

³⁰ See D. H. Green, *The Art of Recognition in Wolfram's Parzival* (Cambridge, London, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 150.

to move the plot and the thematic treatment of vision and love forward, by introducing motifs that directly challenge love and establish the main impediment the hero, Gawain, must confront and overcome.

Taken together, then, these two works seem to offer three perspectives on the general efficacy of magic. First, we may think of both the Irish Queen and the Capuan Necromancer as powerful magicians, whose magic accomplishes precisely what it is designed to do, and that the undesirable outcomes result merely from unforeseeable coincidence in the first tale and Gawain’s almost superhuman abilities in the second one. Second, we may consider the magicians to be adequate, but not omnipotent, and that in each case the power of love, represented on the one hand by Tristan and Isolde and on the other by Gawain (inspired by the Duchess Orgeluse) matches and overpowers the attempt on the part of the magicians to enforce control on it. Finally, a third perspective is possible, in which case one might consider the magicians to be inept, unable to concoct a potion or to create a machine that can overcome the will of true lovers or a knight’s courage and skills. One must emphasize that in both stories, the attempts the two magicians make to wield their power *in absentia* is doomed to failure, and in both works this results in their disappearance into obscurity.

Thus, magic creates an environment in both Gottfried’s *Tristan* and Wolfram’s *Parzival*, wherein the author can discuss specific characteristics of love (especially viscosity) as well as problems lovers face. Most significant are those aspects of love where humans attempt to intervene and force artifice upon love; ultimately, the manipulation of love that Queen Isolde attempts through the love potion, as well as the interference that Clinschor’s magic inflicts upon courtly society are both doomed to failure. Whether at court or elsewhere, artificial impositions that attempt to force the will of another upon love have little chance for success, no matter how powerful the magician or the magic she or he employs. An important implication of this conclusion is, of course, that the practice of betrothal for the benefit of politics or economics has become doomed to disaster by the beginning of the thirteenth century, as yet another kind of artificial, social imposition upon love. For both Wolfram and Gottfried, love awakens when the eyes, scouting for the heart, fix upon a single image worthy of recommendation. Such love cannot be denied, and magic has no lasting influence on any of the characters because of the authenticity and sincerity of their feelings.

Rosmarie Thee Morewedge

Magical Gifts in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan und Isolde* and the Rejection of Magic

It has been amply noted that Gottfried's *Tristan und Isolde* (ca. 1210) is filled with magic, from the magical love potion Tristan and Isolde drink accidentally through their life in the *Minnegrotte*, where they live without the need for food or drink, to the end where – in the version of Thomas – only Isolde is capable of healing Tristan's wound that is festering with poison and finally when – again according to Thomas – Tristan wills himself to die in despair upon learning that Isolde is not coming to heal him.¹ This essay will focus primarily on the implications of the exchange of personal gifts by Tristan and Isolde: namely the magical dog Petitcreiu Tristan gives to Isolde in the Gottfried/Thomas tradition and the ring Isolde gives Tristan at their parting.² This exchange of objects endowed with great symbolical meaning in Gottfried's text will be interpreted as a move away from magic and a conscious transformation of their relationship from one of ineluctable passionate physical love to one that exists in shared memory and remembrance.

This turn away from magic is not the only action of its kind in the work; similar instances, such as Tristan's gift of Petitcreiu to Isolde and her destruction of the bell deserve due notice for the pattern that prefigures the insistence on mind, internalization and personal agency over external manipulation through magic. To determine the meaning of the reciprocal gifts more accurately in the Tristan tradition, it will be important to note and compare explicit magical intervention and a turn away from it in various related texts to which Gottfried's text alludes.

Richard Kieckhefer calls magic a diffuse and imprecise term in the early Middle Ages; in tracing the history of the concept, he turns to Isidore of Seville's cat-

1 Texts cited: Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan and Isold*, ed. Friedrich Ranke. 12th ed. (1930; Dublin and Zurich: Weidmann, 1967), and *Gottfried von Strassburg Tristan with the surviving fragments of the Tristan of Thomas*. trans. and intro. A. T. Hatto (Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1969). We commonly spell the name of the Irish princess 'Isolde,' a practice that I will follow here as well.

2 The exchange of Husdent, the hunting dog and a green jasper ring occurs already in Bérout 2696–2732. *Early French Tristan Poems*, I, ed. Norris J. Lacy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1968).

Rosmarie Thee Morewedge, Binghamton University, SUNY

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-008>

alog of different magical phenomena, all of which involve the art of demons.³ Subsequent medieval writers viewed both demonic and natural magic, divination, and healing as being closely related. Ireland is linked in *Tristan* to a rich magical tradition.⁴ Irish fairies, according to Kieckhefer, were seen not only in terms of demonology, but also as allied with Christian concepts of goodness and faith against pagan druids. The Celtic tradition abounded in links between fairies and human beings.

Magical intervention presupposes the external control of individuals affected by magical agents without their knowledge or consent. Experiencing the effects of magic implies a lack of personal agency. There is generally the implication that actions are controlled from the outside by an external source, rather than by individuals or agents who might be expected to set goals and pursue them actively on their own. In this vein, Tristan and Isolde can be said to be controlled by the love potion which is responsible for their passionate love for each other either for a fixed period of time (as in Eilhart) or permanently, as in Gottfried. When affected by magic, one's individual will and ability to exert self-determination or self-control are effectively rendered null and void as one is forced to submit to an external power.

For an illness, there exists usually the possibility of a cure through an identified remedy or procedure; for a poison there may exist no readily available antidote that is reliable and effective, but only a special source or "supernatural" power that can be appealed to, propitiated, or activated, to eliminate or to neutralize the poison. For magical intervention, secret means, special wisdom, arcane knowledge, or special mental powers are needed to eliminate, reduce, or neutralize the effect of the magical power. To be affected or governed by magic implies being under the sway of an external power that destroys or automatically overrides the autonomy, resistance, and agency of the subject; this power can compel a subject to perform acts and/or tolerate or suffer from unintended physical and/or mental consequences, actions or conditions against his/

3 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 11; see especially ch. 1 "Introduction: Magic as a Crossroads" and ch. 3, "The Twilight of Paganism: Magic in Norse and Irish Culture."

4 Gertrud Schoepperle Loomis, *Tristan and Isolde: A Study in the Sources of the Romance* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1963), 326. *Myths and Folktales of Ireland*, ed. Jeremiah Curtin (New York: Dover, 1975), republ. of *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1890); Donncha O'Corrain, "Women in Early Irish Society," *Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension*, ed. Margaret MacCurtain and Donncha O'Corrain (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 1–13. E. R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 17.

her will and without his/her express intent. In this vein, Tristan and Isolde can be called “slaves of poison” in Béroul and Eilhart.

Kieckhefer locates automata among which *Petitcreiu* might be classified, not in the West, but in the medieval Muslim world, where major advances were occurring in mechanics and engineering; in the West automata became associated with courtly culture and with the world of romances that are filled with magical objects.⁵ Interestingly, magical potions were said to call attention to psychological interaction and to the more inward states of mind and soul, calling for the subordination of magic to psychology, according to Kieckhefer.⁶

Alchemical readings of *Tristan* have also been suggested persuasively by Susan L. Clark and Julian N. Wassermann,⁷ by Peter Ober,⁸ and by Antje Wittstock,⁹ as a symbolic method of constructing poetological meaning in the work. While this is not the place to repeat Ober's erudite argumentation and documentation of the alchemical imagery occurring in Gottfried's *Tristan und Isolde* (hereafter *Tristan*), the principle of transforming a base metal into gold, and the representation of the *Minnegrotte* as an alchemical *vas mirabile* in which the *unio oppositorum* of the lovers occurs, appears well supported. Antje Wittstock reveals how much alchemical thinking was part of general medieval philosophical

5 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 3), 107. For automata in the Oriental medieval tradition, see the catalogue of the exhibit mounted at the Metropolitan Museum, *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs*, ed. Sheila Carry, Deniz Beyazit, Martina Rugladi and A. C. S. Peacock (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 2016). See the chapter on “Science, Medicine and Technology,” 166–97. Cf. also Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature and Art* (see note 4), ch. 5 “From Texts to Technology: Mechanical Marvels in Courtly and Public Pageantry,” 116–40.

6 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 3), 109.

7 Susan L. Clark and Julian N. Wassermann, *The Poetics of Conversion: Number Symbolism and Alchemy in Gottfried's <Tristan>*. Utah Studies in Literature and Linguistics (Bern: Peter Lang, 1977), 100, affirm: “Gottfried's fascination with alchemy lies in his awareness that the progressional nature of alchemy has the potential not only to be employed as a representation of Tristan and Isolde's movement toward union but also to be integrated into the general symbolism of the poem. Thus, the lovers, who are consistently portrayed as golden and as decorated with gold, embody the alchemical *unio oppositorum* and are contrasted to the fragmented multiplistic society of Tintagel, whose purified state is well characterized by base metals.”

8 Peter Ober, “Alchemy and the Tristan of Gottfried von Strassburg,” *Monatshefte* 57.7 (1965): 321–25.

9 Antje Wittstock, “Transmutation und Veredelung in Gottfrieds Tristan,” *Magia daemoniaca, magia naturalis, zauber: Schreibweisen von Magie und Alchemie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Peter-Andre Alt, Jutta Emig, Tilo Renz und Volkhard Wels. Episteme in Bewegung, 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 101–20.

thought and how it focused on processes of purification, transformation, refinement, sublimation, and transmutation.

To see how magic is viewed in Gottfried's *Tristan*, we must pay attention to its interpretation at the two courts introduced in the work: Gurmunt's Irish court and Mark's court in Cornwall. The antidote to the lethal poison of Morolt's spear is available only in Ireland – not among the physicians in Cornwall. Yet, when a moribund Tristan, instead of dying from Morolt's poisoned spear, returns from Ireland healed and with astounding stories to tell, he is accused of having become a magician – as if his expected journey to death had turned out to be a journey to the Other world, where he had become transformed into a sorcerer (a “*zouberaere* “):

sie begunden vil swinde
reden ze sinen dingen
und in ze maere bringen,
er waere ein zouberaere.
diu vorderen maere,
wier ir vint Morolden sluoc
wie sich sin dinc z'Irlant getruoc,
des begundens under in do jehen,
ez waere us zoubere geschehen. (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 8328–36)

[They began to run him down and hint that he was a sorcerer. His past deeds – how he had slain their enemy Morold, how his affair had passed off in Ireland – had been done by recourse to witchcraft, so they began to declare to one another. Hatto 151]

To remove the threat facing him at court, and to counter and dispel the suspicions of courtiers at Mark's court against him, who believe him to be a magician wielding potentially dangerous power over Mark, Tristan suggests that Mark marry, presumably to secure his succession with a child of his own. The nearly impossible feats Tristan accomplished at Mark's court with intelligence, courage, skill, and cunning are viewed as evidence of his magical powers in Cornwall but as commonplace at the Irish court, where Queen Isolde, the embodiment of matriarchal power, practices the magical arts of the wise woman. (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 6945–60)

As a matter of fact, the first of several ritual exchanges takes place in Ireland: Tristan receives the gift of healing from a living-death through Queen Isolde's wise ministrations,¹⁰ and he in turn bestows instruction in music and in the

¹⁰ Cf. Christopher R. Clason's contribution to this volume, “The Magic of Love: Queen Isolde, the Magician Clinschor, and ‘Seeing’ in Gottfried's *Tristan* and Wolfram's *Parzival*.” Clason cor-

art of *Bienséance* on Princess Isolde (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 7955–8015). The ritual exchange of gifts by Queen Isolde of Ireland and Tristan foreshadows a later ritual exchange of magical gifts by Tristan and Isolde: namely the gift of the magical dog *Petitcreiu* (tiny creature) from Tristan to Isolde and the gift of the ring from Isolde to Tristan.

Before we turn to a short description and analysis of this exchange in Gottfried's and Thomas of Bretagne's *Tristan*, it is important to point out that in the earlier common versions of Béroul and Eilhart von Oberg the motifs of the gift of the dog and the reciprocal gift of the ring are already present. Observing the difference between their functions in the earlier common version and the later courtly versions will enable us to appreciate their refinement in Gottfried/Thomas.

In Béroul's version at the parting of the lovers, after three years of being subject to a magic love spell, the love potion has stopped working and reason has returned to both partners, who have suffered greatly from the privations they had endured in the woods away from society. The result is a negotiated reconciliation between Iseut and Mark through the good offices of Ofrit, the hermit. At parting, when Iseut is to be returned to Mark, Iseut asks Tristram for Huskent, his amazing, loyal hunting dog, whose nature had been changed when he learned to hunt without barking (Béroul, 2696); Tristram gives the dog that had helped sustain them during their suffering in the woods to Iseut as a love token; he asks her to love Huskent in his absence, introducing the theme of love from afar or by proxy. She accepts the dog, and in return gives Tristram a ring with a jasper, asking him to wear it and to use it for verification purposes for any request he might make of her in the future (Béroul, 2707 ff). No special virtues are ascribed by Béroul to the jasper. She, in turn, promises to grant whatever he should ask of her, provided the request was verified by the ring.

Eilhart introduces a number of magic motifs, such as the dwarf with demonic magical knowledge in the realms of necromancy and astrology, with his companion *Satanas*; he introduces a magic pillow that makes an unwanted lover sleep rather than demand sex, and the magic potion that binds two individuals, who drank the potion, as lovers to each other for a period of four years, but he also introduces the dog *Utant* that was to be hung ritually in place of *Tristrant*, who had escaped from his captors using the ruse of the chapel. Feeling sorry for the beautiful loyal dog, a squire who liked *Tristrant* and was asked to kill the dog, saved it instead, allowing it to run free to track down its master in the

rectly focuses on the visibility involved in the magical act, affirming that Queen Isolde's magical competency outshines that of all male physicians in Cornwall and in Ireland.

woods (revealing Tristrant's daring escape route), where Tristrant teaches the dog to hunt silently, so as not to give Tristrant's and Isalde's whereabouts away. Tristrant manages to transform the nature of the dog, teaching the dog to change its traits. At the parting of Isalde and Tristrant at the end of the four years, when the effect of the potion has worn off, Tristrant gives Isalde this dog, asking her to care for it and to remember him, enjoining her to show her love for him by loving the dog. It is Tristrant, rather than Isalde, who invokes the remembrance topos in Eilhart:

Trystrant befalch do sinen hund
 der schönen küniginne
 und bat sie durch recht minne,
 dass sū sin selber pfleg
 und in all tag sech
 und sin gedächt da by:
 'ob ich uch lieb sy
 dass tund an dem hund schin.' (Eilhart, 5198–205) ¹¹

[Tristan commended his dog to the care of the beautiful queen. He asked her for the sake of true love to care for the dog personally, so that she would see the dog every day and think of him while doing so. "If you love me, show this through the dog."]

She accepts the dog, enfolding it in her arms. Nothing is said about the counter gift of a ring; however, subsequently, Tristrant verifies his requests to Isalde by having his messenger identify himself as Tristrant's messenger by means of the ring she had given to him (Eilhart, 9144).

Let us turn to Gottfried's *Tristan*. As an agreed-on reward for freeing him from paying tribute to the giant Urgan li vilu, Gilan of Swales awards to Tristan the object he values most in the world, namely his magical dog Petitcreiu that was said to have come from fairies living in the Celtic Islands of the Blessed, Avalun or Aballonia – the island of the magical golden apples of life mentioned in the *Vita Merlini*.¹² A brief attempt will be made to describe the magical appearance of this dog that defies specific description, which Gottfried calls "daz vre-

¹¹ Eilhart von Oberg, *Tristrant und Isalde, mittelhochdeutsch/neuhochdeutsch*, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok. Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter, 12 Serie WODAN, 27 (Greifswald: Reineke Verlag, 1993).

¹² Gottfried, *Tristan* 15798–810. Petitcreiu comes from the world of magic and fairies, from "Avalun der feinen lant." See also Ingrid Hahn, *Raum und Landschaft in Gottfrieds Tristan*. Medium Aevum. Philologische Studien, 3 (Munich: Eidos, 1963), 91–92. C. Stephen Jaeger, *Medieval Humanism in Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan und Isolde*. Germanische Bibliothek. Reihe 3: Untersuchungen und Einzeldarstellungen (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1977), 173–76, regards Petitcreiu as a representation of divine beauty.

mede werc von Avalun" (15838). Its multiple colors that fuse as a multiplicity or lack of colors – "missehaere" – (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 15822) in a shimmering effusion of light are at home in the Celtic tradition, according to Andreas Hammer.¹³ Gottfried describes this bricolage as follows:

daz was mit solher wisheit
 an den zwein dingen uf geleit,
 an der varwe und an der craft,
 daz zunge nie so redehaft
 noch herze nie so wise wart,
 daz sine schoene und sin art
 kunde beschriben oder gesagen.
 sin varwe was in ein getragen
 mit also vremedem liste,
 daz nieman rehte wiste,
 von welher varwe ez waere:
 ez was so missehaere,
 als man ez gegen der bruste an sach,
 daz nieman anders niht enjach,
 ezn waere wizer danne sne,
 zen lanken grüner danne cle,
 ein site roter danne gran,
 diu ander gelwer dan safran:
 unden gelich lazure,
 obene was ein mixture
 gemischet also schone in ein
 daz sich ir aller dekein
 uz vür daz andere da bot: (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 15811–33)

[It had been so ingeniously conceived in respect of two of its qualities, namely its colour and magic powers, that there was never a tongue so eloquent or heart so discerning that they could describe its beauty and nature. Its colour had been compounded with such rare skill that none could really tell what it was. When you looked at its breast it was so many-coloured that you would not have said otherwise than that it was whiter than snow; but at its loins it was greener than clover; one flank was redder than scarlet, the other yellower than saffron; underneath, it resembled azure, but above there was a mixture so finely blended that no one hue stood out from all the others. Hatto 249]

The marvelous dog appears almost like the answer to a riddle that goes somewhat like:

13 Andreas Hammer, *Tradierung und Transformation. Mythische Erzählelemente im 'Tristan' Gottfrieds von Strassburg und 'Iwein' Hartmanns von Aue* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 2007), 135.

What is whiter than snow?
 greener than clover
 redder than scarlet?
 more yellow than saffron?
 appears purplish-brown, yet lacks all color?

More like an automaton than a living dog, this fabulous creature exists magically without food or drink – like the lovers subsequently in the cave of love. It is important to analyze different magical emotional effects this dog has on sad listeners: For Tristan the sound of its magical bell removes the emotion of grief, leaving him temporarily without the feeling of loss, of grief and of pain. In the presence of the dog, Tristan is supremely happy, forgetting all about his grief. The joy he feels is second only to being with Isolde:

Tristan do er daz hundelin
 gewan in die gewalt sin,
 ern haete waerliche
 Rome und elliu riche,
 elliu lant und elliu mer
 derwider niht gahtet ein ber.
 sin herze dazn wart nie so vro
 ane mit Isolde also do. (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16263–70)

[When Tristan had gained possession of the little dog, he would truly have rated Rome and all the kingdoms, land, and seas, as nothing in comparison. He had never felt so happy as then, except in Isolde's company. Hatto 255]

Selflessly and altruistically, he would like to give this gift to Isolde, and he risks his life in battle with Urgan li viliu to be able to make this gift to Isolde, in order to relieve her chagrin in body and soul for him, caring more about her pain than his own – knowing how much she missed him. Tristan carries out barbaric feats in his battle to obtain the sophisticated, magically alluring dog, but feels supremely happy after having secured it for Isolde.

The magic of this dog consists in its ability to alter a person's mental and emotional state and to produce a different emotional state. For Tristan this means that the presence of the dog produces a lack of sadness and the ability to forget his suffering over Isolde's absence. Magically, for Tristan, the dog produces a feeling of happiness that is second only to being with Isolde. To Isolde, the dog brings the ability to forget grief¹⁴:

¹⁴ See also Jutta Eming, *Emotionen im 'Tristan': Untersuchungen zu ihrer Paradigmatik*. Berliner Mittelalter- und Frühneuzeitforschung, 20 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), 155–56; Louise

dar an [on the golden neck strap of Petitcreiu] so hienc ein schelle
 so süeze und so helle,
 do es sich rüeren began,
 der truraere Tristan
 daz er siner aventiure
 an sorge unde an triure
 ledic and ane gesaz
 unde des leides gar vergaz,
 daz in durch Isote twanc
 so süeze was der schellen clanc,
 daz si nieman gehorte,
 sin benaeme im und zestorte
 sine sorge und al sin ungemach." (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 15847–59)

[Round the dog's little neck went a chain of gold on which hung a bell so sweet and clear that, as soon as it began to tremble, melancholy Tristan sat there rid of the sorrows of his attachment and unmindful of his suffering for Isolde. The tinkling of the bell was so sweet that none could hear it without its banishing his cares and putting an end to his pain. Hatto 250]

To someone like Tristan, suffering from sorrow and grief over the separation from the beloved, it offers complete relief, forgetting and a feeling of joy.¹⁵ As will be shown, it has a different effect on Isolde.

The episode with Petitcreiu occurs at a critical threshold situation in the relationship of Tristan and Isolde. A grieving Tristan, who feels alienated without Isolde in Swales, experiences sudden joy in the presence of the magical dog. He uses this discovery to gain agency and thereby control of his love relationship with Isolde by changing the terms of engagement. He realizes that having possession of this magical dog will allow the lovers to gain control over their relationship.¹⁶

After his victory over the giant Urgan li vilu and the reward of Petitcreiu for this feat, he could have continued to experience this joy permanently in the presence of Petitcreiu; in effect, if he had kept the dog continually with him, Petitcreiu would have constituted the perfect permanent magical antidote to the

Gnädinger, *Hiudan und Petitcreiu. Gestalt und Figur des Hundes in der mittelalterlichen Tristan-dichtung* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1971), 42.

15 It recalls the lotus eaters of the *Odyssey* – the difference being that it leads not only to forgetfulness, but that it is an antidote to grief and sadness.

16 See also Heinz Stolte, *Eilhart und Gottfried, Studie über Motivreim und Aufbaustil*. Sprache, Volkstum, Stil. Forschungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte und Volkskunde, vol. 1 (Halle a.d. S.: Max Niemeyer 1941), 152–53, cited also in Louise Gnädinger, *Hiudan und Petitcreiu* (see note 14), 28.

magic potion, canceling out one magical effect (suffering pain over the absent Isolde as a result of the magic potion) with another equally potent magical antidote (forgetting the suffering and experiencing a form of joy). Through Petitcreiu, Tristan could have acquired the psychological means to undo the effect of magic (i.e., the magical potion, the *Minnetrank*), by making a rational choice and expressing personal agency. Keeping Petitcreiu for himself would have enabled him to make rational choices to achieve personal gains (i.e., happiness) through the use of magic; building on his heroic performance in Germany, a life with Petitcreiu would also have set the stage for him to start a new life in Arundel without Isolde and away from Cornwall.

On the other hand, giving Petitcreiu away to Isolde became a different but nonetheless rational choice made for unselfish, noble and altruistic reasons; this choice implied his acceptance of continued suffering from the absence of Isolde for himself while giving her the opportunity to live in the joy he experienced at the first sight of Petitcreiu. Understanding these choices, Tristan used reason and emotions (empathy for Isolde) to choose and to affirm his intent to continue to suffer from love and loss (*liebe und leit*). Knowing that in the past he had been manipulated by an external magical force (namely the magic potion) into this ineluctable relationship of *liebe und leit* with Isolde, he now consciously opts for this painful state by choosing it rationally with nobility of spirit and personal integrity, confirming thereby his *edeler muot* (*noble spirit, noble soul*). If he was a slave of the potion before the receipt of Petitcreiu, he is now a free agent. As Tristan was proclaimed to be the new man of inner nobility (“das neue wunder,” Gottfried, *Tristan*, 6635) before his battle with Morolt, he demonstrates through this altruistic, virtuous gift to Isolde that he consciously chooses *staete leit* (*constant suffering, constant grief*) as his fate.¹⁷ This transmutation of the status of their relationship, which could be compared to an alchemical transmutation and refinement, progressing from an accidental occurrence to a conscious choice that shows the highest nobility of soul, namely “*edeler muot*,” is matched by Isolde in her response to his gift.

Petitcreiu becomes the vehicle for thinking through, for choosing rationally, and for re-establishing consciously the nature of the love relationship Tristan and Isolde wish to maintain. Tristan altruistically gives her his magical dog, which she accepts and treasures as a magnificent gift from him, having a golden house built for it that resembles a reliquary. In the presence of Petitcreiu, Isolde

17 C. Stephen Jaeger would take this as evidence of Tristan’s humanist integrity, combining “*edeler muot*” with nobility of spirit. *Medieval Humanism in Gottfried von Strassburg’s Tristan und Isolde* (see note 12), 41–49; 94–104.

experiences initially the same emotion of joy that Tristan felt (Gottfried, *Tristan* 16359–64), forgetting her grief over Tristan's absence:

Wan diu getriuwe künigin
da mite daz ir daz hundelin
zem aller[e]rsten kam
und si die schellen vernam,
von ders ir triure vergaz,
iesa betrachtete si daz
daz ir vriunt Tristan waere
durch sie beladen mit swaere,
und gedahte ouch iesa wider sich:
ohi, ohi! und vröuwe ich mich,
wie tuon ich ungetriuwe so? (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16359–68)

[For as soon as the faithful Queen had received the dog and heard the bell which made her forget her sorrow, she had reflected that her friend Tristan bore a load of troubles for her sake, and she immediately thought to herself: 'O faithless woman, how can I be glad'? Hatto 256]

However, she decides right then and there that the grief over Tristan's absence defines her being and that she will not allow any external force to diminish or transform it.¹⁸ Locating the external cause for this forgetfulness in the bell rather

18 Stressing the similarity of their response, Werner Schröder sees in the Petitcreiu episode the high point of “der unbeirraren triuwe der Liebenden untereinander und gegenüber dem hochgespannten Ideal leidvoller Minne” (the unflinching loyalty of the lovers to each other and in face of the elevated ideal of woeful love, “Das Hündchen Petitcreiu im Tristan Gottfrids von Straßburg,” *Dialog Literatur und Literaturwissenschaft im Zeichen deutsch-französischer Begegnung: Festgabe für Josef Kunz*, ed. Rainer Schönhaar (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1973), 32–42; here 39. I do not share Silke Philipowski's interpretation that Tristan and Isolde experience the presence of Petitcreiu entirely differently, even though I agree with her assessment of Isolde's use of the dog. Philipowski states that Petitcreiu meant joy for Tristan and Gilan, but for Isolde only *leit*, since pain is the marker for her memory of Tristan. Philipowski interprets Petitcreiu as a loss of identity and a loss of remembrance for Tristan; Isolde, by contrast, is credited correctly, in my opinion, with the ability to reduce Petitcreiu's magic through her reflection (“iesa betrachtete si daz,” [“immediately she reflected on the fact” (that Tristan was suffering on her account)] Gottfried, *Tristan* 16364). While Tristan, in Philipowski's opinion, uses Petitcreiu to conquer remembrance, Isolde uses the dog to conquer forgetfulness. Petitcreiu emerges in Philipowski's interpretation as a prefiguration of the failure of the relationship between Tristan and Isolde. “Mittelbare und unmittelbare Gegenwärtigkeit oder Erinnern und Vergessen in der Petitcreiu-Episode des <Tristan> Gottfrieds von Straßburg,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 120.1 (1998): 29–35; here 32. It should be noted, that as a result of her reflection, she gains agency. See also Albrecht Classen, “Female Agency and Power in Gottfried

than in the dog, she is able to differentiate quickly between the effects the dog and the bell have on her. As a result she tears the golden chain off the dog, carrying out an act that stands symbolically for the refined, selfless, elevated noble love of both partners; she more than matches Tristan's strength of feeling and selflessness that had been shown in the depth of his concern for her, as Werner Schröder also argues.¹⁹

To contextualize Isolde's act, it should be remembered that Isolde has just been successfully reintegrated into the court of Mark with the confirmation of her innocence by means of the ordeal and with full restitution of the esteem and status she enjoyed previously. With great discernment and independence of mind Isolde recognizes that dog and bell can have different functions: in consonance with her feelings, she transforms Petitcreiu rationally into a symbol of her yearning for Tristan – transforming, indeed transmuting the magical dog into a symbol of the anguish she endures and the love she affirms for Tristan – “ze niuwenne ir senede leit” (to renew her tender love-pangs Hatto 256; Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16354) as the “getriuwe staete senedaerin” (the constant, faithful lover; Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16400). In an astounding intellectual and emotional feat, indeed, a remarkable tour de force, Isolde transforms Petitcreiu from a means of forgetting Tristan into a means of remembering him.

‘ohi ohi! und vröuwe ich mich,
wie tuon ich ungetriuwe so?
war umbe wirdich iemer vro
dekeine stunde und keine vrist,
die wile er duch mich truric ist,
der sine vröude und sin leben
durch mich ze triure hat gegeben?
wes mac ich mich gevröun ane in,
des triure unde des vröude ich bin?
war umbe erlache ich iemer,
sit daz sin herze niemer
dekein gemach gehabt kan,
min herze daz ensi dar an?
ern hat nicht lebenes niuwan min:
solt ich ane in nu lebende sin
vro und vröudebaere

von Straßburg's *Tristan*: The Irish Queen Isolde: New Perspectives,” *Tristania* XXIII (2005): 39–60.

¹⁹ For Werner Schröder, “Das Hündchen Petitcreiu” (see note 18), the Petitcreiu episode confirms Isolde's nobility of soul. Gnädinger, *Hiudan und Petitcreiu* (see note 14), 42, interprets this mechanical marvel as a prefiguration of the *Minnegrotte*.

und daz er truric waere?
 nun welle got der guote,
 daz ich in minem muote
 iemer vröude ane in gehabe!
 hie mite brach sie die schellen abe (16368–88)

. . . sin wolte doch niht vro sin:
 diu getriuwe staete senedaerin,
 diu haete ir vröude unde ir leben
 sene und Tristande ergeben. (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16399–402)

[O faithless woman, how can I be glad? Why am I happy for any time at all while Tristan, who has surrendered his life and joy to sorrow for my sake, is sad because of me? How can I rejoice without him, whose sorrow and joy I am? And however can I laugh when his heart can find no ease, unless my heart has a share in it? He has no life but me. Should I now be living without him, happily and pleasantly, while he is pining? May the good God forbid that I should ever rejoice away from him!" So saying, she broke off the bell, leaving the chain round the little dog's neck. . . . She did not wish to be happy. This constant, faithful lover had surrendered her life and joy to the sadness of love and to Tristan. Hatto 256]

There have been many ways of interpreting Petitcreiu as symbol, allegory, metaphor, but also as visually revealed, emotionally charged marvelous object. Jackson identifies the Petitcreiu motif as the signal that shows harmony at a distance; if Tristan cannot be with Isolde, his symbolic proxy can be with her.²⁰ Eming reveals self-discovery on his part, as Tristan discovers different sensuous pleasures through Petitcreiu, pleasures (through the eyes, ears, and touch) he wishes to give to Isolde, not realizing that she may respond emotionally differently to the marvelous creature.²¹ Isolde refuses to accept the pleasure Tristan takes in the sensuous dog, unless Tristan is there to share it with her. Petrus Tax, who interprets Petitcreiu as a symbol of courtly joy, sees in Tristan's and Isolde's actions agape-like qualities, a love that consists of *reine sene* und *triuwe*. Jaeger interprets it as symbol of beauty.²²

The amazing range of qualities attributed in medieval scholarship to Petitcreiu from liturgical and sacral associations to magical and mechanistic charac-

20 W. T. H. Jackson, *The Anatomy of Love: The 'Tristan' of Gottfried von Strassburg* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971), 117.

21 Jutta Eming, *Emotionen im >Tristan< Untersuchungen zu ihrer Pragmatik* (see note 14), 156–77. She correctly points out that Isolde would think of emotional joy in the presence of Petitcreiu as a display of disloyalty to Tristan (173).

22 Petrus Tax, *Wort, Sinnbild, Zahl im Tristanroman. Studien zum Denken und Werten Gottfrieds von Strassburg*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 8 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1971), 115–26. Tax (116) identifies this agape-like love chiefly with Isolde. See also C. Stephen Jaeger, *Medieval Humanism in Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan und Isolde* (see note 12), 175.

teristics has been researched and compiled superbly by Louise Gnädinger²³ and recently by Jutta Eming.²⁴ While most interpretations mention noble affective, moral and aesthetic responses that are evoked in both partners, they do not consider Isolde's refusal to rely on magic in substituting pleasure derived from Petitcreiu for the pleasure she wants from Tristan. Her refusal, furthermore, is an insistence on a rational, subjective but elevated mode of human existence with integrity, agency and *edeler muot* that accepts the necessity of suffering. Both Tristan and Isolde engage in rational decision making; both reject the magical agent that could give them happiness and erase their pain. Tristan does so to bring joy to Isolde, without realizing that she would refuse to experience any joy that excluded him. Isolde, by the same token, refuses to experience joy, as long as Tristan experiences the sad state of missing her.

To backtrack for a moment – it should not be forgotten that Tristan chose to risk his life to win the magic dog in order to give it selflessly to Isolde, knowing that missing him was the supreme pain in her life. By choosing to send the dog to her, he opted for a life of pain for himself, namely of suffering the continued pain of absence from Isolde; by sending the dog to Isolde and showing love and selflessness, Tristan opted by the same token for relief from that pain for Isolde. By giving the magic dog to her, he granted her freedom and agency in love; i.e., he gave her the means of ridding herself of the chagrin of longing for him and of experiencing joy again independent of him.²⁵ We noted that she treasures the dog as the most fabulous gift from Tristan, telling Mark a convenient but probable untruth that allowed her to keep it with her at all times – namely that her mother, who was known to be adept at magic, had sent the dog to her from Ireland. Deceiving Mark allows her to keep the dog constantly with her.

Above and beyond that, it must be noted that Isolde gives a different identity to the dog, for she transforms and re-purposes the dog symbolically; instead of using the dog to forget, she uses the dog to *remember* [my emphasis] Tristan. Again, in a totally unique and individualistic manner that speaks of her agency and individualism²⁶, she uses magic to renounce it. With Petitcreiu next to her, she has the embodiment of the memory of Tristan symbolically constantly at her side as she engages in active remembrance:

23 Gnädinger, *Hiudan und Petitcreiu* (see note 14), 18–48.

24 Eming, *Emotionen im >Tristan<* (see note 14), 157–77.

25 Eming, *Emotionen im >Tristan<* (see note 14), 177, observes that Tristan's response to Petitcreiu is an indication that his gift of the magical creature to Isolde can also be seen as a way of unburdening himself of a passionate love.

26 Cf. also Albrecht Classen, "Female Agency and Power in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*" (see note 18).

si haete die gewonheit,
 swa so si was, swar so si reit,
 dan kam ez uz ir ougen nie:
 man vuortez oder truogez ie,
 da siz mit ougen an sach;
 und entet daz durch dekein gemach:
 si tetez, als uns diz maere seit,
 ze niuwenne ir senende leit
 und ze liebe Tristande,
 derz ir durch liebe sande.
 sin haete kein gemach dervan; (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16347–57)

[In this way Petitcreiu was under Isolde's observation day and night, in public and in private – such was her custom wherever she was or wherever she rode. He never came out of her sight, he was always led or carried where she could see him. Nor did she have this done for any relief it might give her; she had it done (so we are told) to renew her tender love-pangs out of affection for Tristan, who had been moved by love to send her Petitcreiu. Hatto 256]

Again, this is a mental feat of intellect, will, of nobility and *edeler muot*, which matches Tristan's earlier noble deed. Isolde matches Tristan's nobility in her insistence on continuing to affirm the pain of remembering him and suffering from his absence until Tristan can return to her. The possibility of eliminating mental anguish through magical means becomes the impetus for Isolde's reflection on how to view and how to construct the nature of their love relationship. The subjectivity that enters her reflection is especially noteworthy.

To repeat: Petitcreiu offers in effect a predictable, happy magical cure from the grief over the absent or inaccessible lover. While Tristan and Isolde were affected involuntarily at the beginning of their love relationship by the magical effect of the Queen Mother Isolde's magical love potion without knowing in advance of its magical effect, they are now aware of the magical power of this dog to cancel out the effect of the magical potion. As Tristan had done earlier, Isolde rejects its magic soothing effect, choosing to preserve her suffering as part of the nature that defines their love. But she does even more: by intellectually transforming Petitcreiu into a symbol that reminds her of the absence of Tristan (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16354), she turns Petitcreiu in effect into a symbol of remembrance and a visible token of Tristan in absentia. Her achievement is an intellectual one.²⁷ In sum, albeit in different ways, their responses to the magical

27 Cf. also Leslie W. Rabine, "Love and the New Patriarchy: Tristan and Isolde," *Tristan and Isolde: A Casebook*, ed. Joan Tasker Grimbert (1995; New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 37–74; here 38: "The Isolde Story . . . recounts the birth of modern "femininity," without

dog enable both to regain the human autonomy and agency they had lost when they became pawns of the magic potion.

As Tristan and Isolde were later to reject living magically (without food and nourishment, except through their love) and joyously in the *Minnegrotte*, Isolde now rejects living in happiness when Tristan lives in sorrow, missing her body and mind. Emotional empathy for the feelings of the love partner governs both Tristan's and Isolde's behavior. Having this magical dog (without its bell) becomes the means for her to realize that she actively affirms sorrow as a part of her life, in empathy and union with Tristan, who she knows is suffering for her. The rejection of magic implied in the rejection of the magical power of *Petitcreiu* becomes a means of foreshadowing that they will not want to remain in the *Minnegrotte* to live magically in complete happiness, but will want to return to the court to live honorably as autonomous agents, albeit in pain. The rejection of magic becomes a means of beginning to realize and sublimate themselves into what Gottfried calls "*edele herzen*." In the subsequent excursus, Gottfried corroborates the transformation that has occurred in their ability to rely on the mental power of their joint conscious will to be together as substitute for actually being together; Gottfried relates this transformation to the transformation and sublimation of their noble love:

wan sos ir state under in zwein
niht wol mohten gehabt inein,
so duhte si der wille guot,
der gelieben dicke sanfte tuot:
der trost und der gedinge,
wie man daz vollebringe,
dar an daz herze danne lit,
daz gibet dem herzen alle zit
lebende lust und blüende craft.
diz ist die rehte trutschaft,
diz sint die besten sinne
an liebe und an der minne:
swa man der tat niht haben müge,
da nach als ez der minne tüge,
daz man ir gerne habe rat
und neme den willen für die tat.
swa der gewisse wille si,
da[n] si diu gute state bi,

which masculine individualism could not exist." See also Albrecht Classen, "Female Agency" (see note 18).

man sol gelangen stillen
mit dem gewissen willen. (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16411–30)

[for, when it was not propitious for them to seize their chance together, they deemed the will sufficient, which often consoles a pair of lovers. Hope and expectation of how to accomplish the desire on which the heart is set never fail to give it a blossoming vigour and living ecstasy. Here is true attachment, such are the best instincts in matters of love and affection – that where one cannot have the deed in a way that is serviceable to Love, one should forgo it, and take the will for the deed. Hatto 257]

When the lovers are banished from the court and live in the *Minnegrotte*, Petitcreiu is not even mentioned, for the lovers are in each other's presence. Here they rely on Huidan, the dog who is trained by Tristan to change his nature and to hunt silently in the pursuit of the pleasure of the hunt, since his services as a real hunting dog (cf. Eilhart, where Utant helped to provide food) are not needed. The lovers, as we know, live magically in the cave of love without physical nourishment. But they terminate this magical existence of their own accord, exercising conscious will power in making the rational decision to return to their conflicted anguished life at the court of Mark, guided by their conviction and understanding of their need to live with honor and for the sake of God. The rational decision to remove themselves from the magical, utopian existence is in keeping with the pattern of decision-making we have observed and with the agency they have chosen for themselves:

die vröude haetens aber do
vil harter unde maere
durch got und durch ir ere
dan durch iht anders, daz ie wart: (Gottfried, *Tristan* 17696–99)

[But they were happy far more for the sake of God and their place in society than for any other reason. Hatto 274]

Shortly thereafter comes the final, bitter separation of the lovers, following a brief experience of joining bodies and minds physically in passionate physical love in the bed in the orchard, to which Tristan had come at Isolde's request.

As Tristan takes leave from Isolde, he is the first to intone the memory topos as a mental construct:

herzevrouwe, schoene Isot,
nu müeze wir uns scheiden
so waetlich, daz uns beiden
so guotiu state niemer me
ze vröuden widervert als e.
nu *nemet in iuwer sinne*

wie luterliche minne
 wir haben geleitet unze her,
 und sehet, daz diu noch staete wer;
lat mich uz iuwerm herzen niht!
 wan swaz dem minem geschiht
 dar uz enkomet ir niemer:
 Isot die muoz iemer
 in Tristandez herzen sin.
 nu sehet, herzevriundin,
 daz mir vremede und verre
 iemer hin ziu gewerre!
vergezset min durch keine not.
 duze amie, bele Isot,
 gebietet mir und kisset mich! (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 18266–85; emphasis mine)

[Dearest Lady, lovely Isolde, we must part, and in such a way that, it seems, such chances of being happy together may never come our way again. Consider what perfect love we have cherished till now, and see that it endures. Keep me in your heart; for whatever happens to mine, you shall never leave it. Isolde must dwell in Tristan's heart for ever. See to it, dear mistress, that absence and distance do not harm me in your affections. Do not forget me, whatever befalls you. Fair Isolde, sweet friend, kiss me and give me leave to go! Hatto 281]

Tristan is the first of the two to affirm that their love was “*luterlich*” (pure and freely chosen) and to indicate that their love must be transformed from a physical passion into one that exists in mind (*sinne*) and in feeling (the heart). While he leaves open the possibility that his heart may seek new and different directions (*wan swaz dem minem geschiht*; whatever may happen to mine i.e., my heart),²⁸ he affirms that Isolde will have a chosen place in his heart, living in his emotions and in his mind. All images point to a complete internalization of the relationship. He shows a fear of the effects of absence and distance, but he asks that Isolde always keep him in mind. In her monologue Isolde responds directly to his concerns.

She gives a ring to Tristan, designating it both as symbol and physical, material sign of their love, in an intellectual feat that achieves more than magic could have done. Like Tristan, she affirms the freely chosen partnership of their love. With the symbolic gift of the ring, which is no longer intended to serve as a means of verifying Tristan's identity as was the case in Béroul and Eilhart, Isolde transforms, sublimates and transmutes – recalling Gottfried's alchemical imagery – the nature of their love from a passionate, physical love into a conscious mental state that is no longer dependent on the physical close-

²⁸ Tristan acknowledges the possibility that his heart may waver, or seek new directions; the opposite is true for Isolde, who remains adamant in her resolve.

ness of the lovers to each other.²⁹ Having used *Petitcreiu* to repudiate magic by breaking the spell imposed by the magic potion, as free agents they are now subject to the vagaries of reason, emotion – and by necessity of subjectivity.

Isolde affirms in this transformation that their love does not depend on physical proximity; through her evocative pulsating language that intones memory, (see bold print) she transmutes a physical love into something altogether new: namely into an internalized spiritual yet also affective force that can unite the two lovers subjectively and mentally in memory. In this transformation she evokes love with images of unity and separation, life and death, joy and sorrow and unending love; fearing only that some other woman will enter his life. Yet with the ring as symbol of their unending love – clearly, it is not a marriage ring – she accomplishes more than magic could have done, turning their love from one that existed physically in their passionate desire for each other into desire that exists in their minds only, in memory, as they remember their love. In effect, with this ring she again repudiates the idea of the magic potion: the gift of the ring is meant to keep Tristan steadfast in mind and will, to prevent him from ever loving anyone but Isolde, and to remind Tristan forever of the anguish of her heart. Both Tristan and Isolde commit themselves to remain “mindful” of each other rather than to respond to physical urges and the need for physical intimacy and presence. Love is to be turned from an experience based on the senses into a mind-dependent disembodied noble, internalized intellectual, even sacred, construct – namely into a remembrance that exists only in the mind and in memory:

und nemet hie diz vingerlin:
daz lat ein urkunde sin
der triuwen unde der minne:
ob ir dekeine sinne
iemer da zuo gewinnet,
daz ir ane mich iht minnet,
daz ir *gedenket* derbi,
wie minem herzen iezuo si.
gedenket an diz scheiden,
wie nahen ez uns beiden
ze herzen und ze libe lit.
gedenket maneger swaeren zit,
die ich durch iuch erliten han
und lat iu nieman naher gan
dan Isolde, iuwer vriundin!
durch *nieman so vergezzet min:*

²⁹ Cf. the earlier passage quoted from the excursus (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 16411–30) that describes the transformation of their love into a mental force.

wir zwei wir haben lieb unde leit
 mit solher gesellekeit
 her unz an dise stunde braht;
 wir suln die selben *andaht*
 billiche leiten uf den tot. (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 18307–28; emphasis mine)

[Now accept this ring. Let it be a witness to our love and our devotion. If you should ever be moved to love any thing but me, let this remind you of how my heart now feels. Remember this farewell, and how deeply it affects us. Remember many an anxious time that I have gone through for your sake, and let none be nearer to your heart than your friend, Isolde. Do not forget me for anyone. We two have brought our joys and sorrows up to this hour in such a companionship that we are bound to keep its memory till our dying day. Hatto 282]

To conclude: Queen Isolde of Ireland had provided the magic love potion to assure wedded bliss for Isolde and Mark. In so doing she had established magic as necessary existential premise of Isolde's future identity, in keeping with her Celtic magical heritage and identity. With her gift to Tristan of a ring as structural counterpart to magic (involved in the magic potion), and as reciprocal counterpart to the gift of the magical dog Petitcreiu, Isolde turns not only away from magic but by force of mind and will is shown to be changing and transmuting, even ennobling the nature of their love into a mindful affective and sacral relationship involving *andaht*.³⁰ By force of will she chooses consciously ritual remembrance, suffering and subjectivity – internal states of mind that are meant to transform the lovers and their feelings internally and ritually, in as much as religious ritual imagery is implicated in the use of the term *andaht*. Most importantly, internalized remembrance is intended to constitute and restore individual subjective agency.

Peter Wapnewski, who offers a careful comparison of the departure scenes by Thomas and by Gottfried, concludes that Thomas foregrounds Tristan as he takes leave, focused only on himself and his grief; Gottfried, on the other hand, allows Isolde to respond to Tristan, and in doing so, to restore balance and dignity to their relationship.³¹ In her monolog, she intones, as Wapnewski observes correctly, the “we” rather than the “I” of Thomas:

³⁰ Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, I (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1970), 54. *andäht die worauf gerichteten gedanken, aufmerksamkeit, absicht, erinnerung, besonders das denken an gott, andacht*.

³¹ Peter Wapnewski, “Tristans Abschied. Ein Vergleich der Dichtung Gottfrieds von Strassburg mit der Vorlage Thomas,” *Festschrift für Jost Trier zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. William Foerste und Karl Heinz Borck (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1964), 335–63; here 356.

ein lip, (und) ein leben daz sin wir.
 nu bedenket ie genote
 mich, iuvern lip, Isote
 lat mich an iu min leben sehen,
 soz iemer schierest müge geschehen,
 und sehet ouch ir daz iure an mir.
 unser beider leben daz leitet ir.
 nu gat her und kisset mich:
 Tristan und Isot, ir und ich,
 wir zwei sin iemer beide
 ein dinc ane underscheide.
 dirre kus sol ein insigel sin
 daz ich iuwer unde ir min
 beliben staete uns an den tot,
 niwan ein Tristan und ein Isot. (Gottfried, *Tristan* 18344–58)

[We are one life and flesh. Keep your thoughts on me, your very life, your Isolde. Let me see my life again, in you, as soon as ever possible, and may you see yours in me! The life we share is in your keeping. Now come here and kiss me. You and I, Tristan and Isolde, shall for ever remain one and undivided! Let this kiss be a seal upon it that I am yours, that you are mine, steadfast till death, but one Tristan and Isolde!] Hatto 282]

Gottfried and perhaps Thomas are the only authors up to that point in time who choose the narrative device of the magic dog from the Other world of the fairies as a way of enabling Tristan and Isolde to use magic to reject it in favor of the agency of the mind, and to reaffirm this tour de force symbolically with the gift and acceptance of the ring. The power of magic that exerts control from the outside is replaced by the internal and internalized subjective yet autonomous mental power of remembrance. Ineluctable love that had been dependent on physical passion involving the ecstatic union of body and mind is transmuted and sublimated into a subjective and affective consciousness associated with suffering that exists permanently in the mind as remembrance, according to Isolde. In agreement with R. Howard Bloch, our analysis affirms that “the birth of subjective conscience” is embedded in the myth of Tristan and Isolde.³² A new concept of magic has been born.

³² R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and the Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 238.

Cristina Azuela

Was Eustace Diabolical? Magic and Devilry in *Le roman de Wistasse le moine*

Eustace the Monk is the main character of the thirteenth-century French romance *Le roman de Wistasse le moine*. This anonymously written text from northern France was first published in 1834 from the only extant fifteenth-century manuscript¹ by Francisque Michel (who was an important nineteenth-century philologist known for having first published *The Song of Roland*).² Even though Eustace's story would later fall into oblivion until the late twentieth century, it is important to note that as early as the beginning of the nineteenth-century, Michel had already recognized the significance of the text.³ In 1972, Joseph Conlon

1 It is well known that there existed at least two other manuscripts, but they disappeared after the fifteenth-century. See *Li romans de Wistasse le moine, édité d'après le manuscrit, fond français 1553, de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*, ed. Denis Joseph Conlon. *Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures*, 126 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 11–12; for greater precisions on the missing manuscripts, see *Le Roman d'Eustache le moine*, ed. Anthony Holden and Jacques Monfrin. *Ktēmata*, 18 (Louvain and Paris: Peeters, 2005), 8; and *Saggi sul romanzo del XIII secolo*, vol. II: *Wistasse le Moine*, ed. and trans. Margherita Lecco. *Studi e ricerche*, 51 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orzo, 2007), 76–77; see now Didier Verney, “Le change et l'échange dans le *Roman d'Eustache le Moine*,” *Revue des Langues Romanes* 113 (2009): 435–62; here 435. As can be seen, both the title of the text and the name of its protagonist vary in the existing editions and translations, just as in the extant manuscript there will be no less than five forms for “Wistasse.” For the title in English, I will use *The Romance of Eustace the Monk*, as translated by Glyn Sheridan Burgess; see *Two Medieval Outlaws, Eustace the Monk and Fouke Fitz Waryn*, ed. Glyn Sheridan Burgess (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, VT: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 1–87; see also the first paperback reprint, 3–87; I will also refer to the French title *Le roman de Wistasse le moine*.

2 *Roman d'Eustache le moine, pirate fameux du XIIIe siècle publié pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Royale*, ed. Francisque Michel (Paris and London: Silvestre and Pickering, 1834), <https://archive.org/details/romandeustachel00michgoog> (last accessed on Sept. 20, 2016).

3 At the end of the nineteenth century there was a German edition: *Wistasse le Moine, altfranzösischer Abenteuerroman des XIII. Jahrhunderts nach der einzigen Pariser Handschrift von neuem herausgegeben*, ed. Wendelin Foerster and Johann Trost. *Romanische Bibliothek*, 4 (Halle a. d. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1891); see now the reprint (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1976), but, besides Leo Jordan, in 1903, and Henry Cannon, in 1912, apparently no further attention was given to the text

Cristina Azuela, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-009>

revived the text with a new edition from the manuscript, which by the end of the century had already generated significant interest among both historians and literary critics. Today there are not only three new editions and eight translations (three in modern French, three in modern English, one in Italian, and one in Spanish),⁴ but also numerous critical studies.

One reason for this new-found interest may be that Eustace is not merely another literary character. He was a well-documented historical figure in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century archives and chronicles.⁵ These documents do not portray him favorably; rather, they depict a dangerous pirate who razed territories and islands along the English Channel and who died decapitated in a sea battle in 1217. Moreover, Eustace switched sides whenever it suited his interests, alternating allegiances between the King of England and the King of France, acting as a corsair for both. As such, he was not highly esteemed by chroniclers who came to refer to him as a treacherous pirate and a diabolical being. What is more, even a hundred years after his death, he was considered to have been a Spanish tyrant called Monachus, or simply a traitor.⁶ However, we cannot ignore the fact that

until the 1972 edition by Denis Joseph Conlon, *Li romans de Wistasse le moine* (see note 1); cf. also Leo Jordan, "Quellen und Kompositionen von Eustache le Moine nebst Analyse des *Trubert* und Nachweis der Existenz mehrerer Robin Hood Balladen im 13. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 113 (1903): 66–100; see also Henry Cannon, "The Battle of Sandwich and Eustace the Monk," *The English Historical Review* 27.108 (1912): 649–70.

⁴ See Denis Joseph Conlon, *Li romans de Wistasse le moine* (see note 1). Ten years later, there was a French translation published as "La vie d'Eustache le Moine," *Contes à rire du nord de la France: Fabliaux abbeillois, amiénois, artésiens, douaisiens, flamands*, trans. Roger Berger and Aimé Petit. Trésors de la littérature médiévale du Nord de la France, 4 (La Ferté-Milon: Corps 9 Éditions, 1987); and at the end of the century, two more English translations: Glyn Burgess's "The Romance of Eustace the Monk" (see note 1) and "Eustache the Monk," trans. Thomas Kelly, *Medieval Outlaws. Ten Tales in Modern English*, ed. Thomas H. Olhgren (West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press, 1998), 61–98. See as well the bilingual (old French-modern French) edition, based on Francisque Michel's: *Eustache le moine: pirate boulonnais du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Édouard Mousseigne (Lille: La Voix du Nord, 1996). See also the revised bilingual edition in French by Anthony Holden and Jacques Monfrin, *Le Roman d'Eustache le moine* (see note 1). Also, Margherita Lecco published her own critical edition and Italian translation in 2007, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1); finally, there is a Spanish version to appear: *Eustaquio el monje. Novela del siglo XIII francés*, trans. Cristina Azuela and Tatiana Sule (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, forthcoming).

⁵ Both Burgess and Kapferer refer to these documents; see Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 82–84; see Anne-Dominique Kapferer, "Banditisme, roman, féodalité: le Boulonnais d'Eustache le Moine," *Économies et sociétés au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Edouard Perroy*. Études, 5 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1973), 220–40.

⁶ It is worth observing that during this period, noblemen were obliged to submit to a multiple vassalage system, which would inevitably imply loyalty conflicts. Several lords of the Boulon-

the French and British monarchies were interested in maintaining an alliance with Eustace even though, as Burgess notes, neither King John nor King Philip Augustus were able to control his piracy throughout the English Channel.⁷

Like most French romances produced during the twelfth-century and onward, the *Romance of Eustace the Monk* is composed in octosyllabic couplets, and even as it claims to narrate Eustace's real life story, there is no doubt that the work creates a literary character. Although the text abounds in historical names and events, the accounts of Eustace's deeds are structured using literary devices and folk motifs; there are medieval echoes of outlaws, tricksters, and magician-thieves as well as similarities with other well-known literary figures like Renart, Tristan and Trubert, among others.

Also, in the opening lines of the text – most notably in line 14 – almost immediately after identifying the protagonist by name, the narrator describes how the devil himself taught magic to Eustace, thus enabling him to perform a series of supernatural tricks from the outset of the story. Although the first 280 verses of the text deal with the character's magical activities, they are not mentioned again for the remainder of the work. In fact, critics have generally ignored this aspect,⁸ whereas the only miniature illustrating the story is found right at the beginning of the work, showing Eustace and the devil together as if this were an important issue. We will come back to this image further.

Actually, in an article dealing with the historical sources for the text, Kapferer points out that there is no document prior to the fourteenth-century alluding to Eustace's necromancy.⁹ For instance, the *Polistorie of Canterbury*, written at the beginning of that century, relates that Eustace's magical powers were such as to

nais region had simultaneous obligations with the two enemy kings. See Holden and Monfrin, *Le roman d'Eustace le moine* (see note 1), 3. Thus, as this texts shows, the protagonist will not be unique in his tendency to switch lords (Count Renaud himself will do the same). For the various opinions on Eustace among the chroniclers of that age, see Francisque Michel, *Roman d'Eustache le moine* (see note 2), VI–XXIII; cf. also Glyn Burgess's noteworthy introduction to his *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 3–4.

7 Matthew Paris narrates that when a papal legat, Cardinal Gualo, asked for a safe-conduct through King Philip Augustus's realm in 1216, the king answered he could vouchsafe it willingly for all his travels through his land; but if by any chance he “should happen to fall into the hands of Eustace the Monk or any other of Louis' men, who guard the sea-routes,” he would not feel responsible at all; see Francisque Michel, *Roman d'Eustache le moine* (see note 2), XXIX; see also Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 30–31 (both critics include the original Latin quotation from Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* in their notes).

8 Except for Anne-Dominique Kapferer, see “Mépris, savoirs et tromperies dans le roman bouloinnais d'Eustache le Moine (XIIIe siècle),” *Littérature et société au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque (mai 1978)*, ed. Danielle Buschinger (Paris: Champion, 1978), 333–51; here 334, 337–39.

9 See Anne-Dominique Kapferer, “Banditisme, roman” (see note 5), 223, note 29.

make his own ship invisible during the Battle of Sandwich, while all the other ships of the French fleet were still visible.¹⁰ The fact is that the *Roman de Wistasse* begins with the narrator stating that, owing to Eustace's necromancy, which he learned in Toledo, "N'ot homme el roiaume de Franche, / Ki tant seüst ars ne caraudes" (lines 8–9).¹¹ There was no one in the kingdom of France who was so skilled in the arts of magic and sortilege (my translation),¹² and specifying that these arts enabled the hero to play all sorts of tricks on many people.¹³

Nevertheless, the thirty lines in which the narrator describes how Eustace acquired the magical arts from the devil, are followed by a series of magical performances he and his fellow magician friends accomplished. But from line 281 on, we no longer hear anything else about these magical skills. Moreover, this line suddenly offers a "new prologue," which surprises the reader when the narrative voice unexpectedly addresses his audience to state:

A l'entendre ne vous anuit:
Je vous dirai encor anuit
Tel chose qui vous fera rire,
Ja me l'orés conter et dire (lines 281–83)

[I trust you won't be bored to hear this, as tonight I'll also tell you something that will give you a good laugh. You will hear me tell and relate it all now (My translation)].¹⁴

Little has been said with reference to this unsuspected "Second Prologue,"¹⁵ which gives rise to a new dimension of the character, to wit, the outlaw. Not

10 See Francisque Michel, *Roman d'Eustache le Moine* (see note 2), XVII–XX and note 19, see also Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 5–6, and Anne-Dominique Kapferer, "Mépris, savoirs" (see note 8), 337.

11 All quotations of the Old French *Wistasse le Moine* are from Margherita Lecco's edition, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1).

12 Even if there are very good English translations of *Le roman de Wistasse le moine*, like Burgess's *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1); see also Thomas Kelly, "Eustache the Monk" (see note 4). I have often found it more useful to offer a more literal version. Nonetheless, I have checked my own against theirs.

13 "A maintes gens fist maintes caudes" (line 10; "He played many tricks on many people"; Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* [see note 1], 50). From now on all translations from this version will be quoted as "Burgess."

14 Since the Old French *anuier* can convey the meaning "to annoy" or "to bore" in this particular context, where the narrator links it to the laughter the text will produce, it seems more appropriate to choose "to bore."

15 Didier Vernay, "Le change et l'échange" (see note 1), 437 calls it "internal prologue" (as did Muriel Ott, "*Wistasse le moine*, aux marges du réel," *Le Nord de la France entre épopée et chron-*

only is it a matter of revealing the polymorphic vocation of the protagonist that the reader will perceive throughout the remainder of the story – an aspect linked to his trickster features – but this section also makes up the most important part of the work, if we keep in mind its length within the entire text (72%, a fact that has been noted frequently by other critics).

Before returning to the present topic of magic and the devil, the following is a table (see Table I) of the story's structure based on its 41 episodes.¹⁶ As can be seen in this Table, the hybrid genre of the *Roman de Wistasse* is mirrored in its very structure, which different critics have described in various ways,¹⁷ although generally ignoring the significance of the "Second Prologue." Vernay is one of the few who have paid attention to it, as he divides the text into two segments: those dealing with the supernatural, and those linked to a "dominant realism" (the outlaw and the pirate's activities).¹⁸

ique. *Actes du colloque international de la Société Rencesvals [section française]*, Arras, 17–19 octobre 2002, ed. Emmanuelle Poulain-Gautret, Jean-Pierre Martin, and Jean-Pierre Arrignon. *Études littéraires* [Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2005], 191–207; here 196–97). This "Second Prologue" signals the shift to a different stage in the narrative where the story of Eustace as a bandit begins; the one the narrative voice is most interested in recounting. See Table I.

16 Although the story in the original manuscript is not divided into episodes, I rely on a forty-one episode division to facilitate the reading; see Cristina Azuela and Tatiana Sule, *Eustaquo el monje* (see note 4). Other editors and translators such as Burgess have considered a slightly different numbering of episodes, see Conlon (see note 1); see also Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 46–47.

17 This plurality of interpretations is one of the characteristics the text shares with its protagonist. Many critics have considered a tripartite division, although different from each other's; see Margherita Lecco, "Le astuzie di Wistasse," *Saggi sul romanzo del XIII secolo*, vol. I (Alessandria: Edizione dell'Orso, 2003), 83–95 and Anne-Dominique Kapferer, "Banditisme, roman" (see note 5), 223–27; see as well Roger Berger and Aimé Petit, *Contes à rire* (see note 4). Glyn Burgess proposes a four-section plan (but he admits the possibility of dividing the text into only three parts), see *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1).

18 See Didier Vernay, "Le change et l'échange" (see note 1) and also Muriel Ott, "Wistasse le Moine, aux marges" (see note 15), 196–97. Although it cannot be ignored that Segment B is the most extensive section of the text written in a particularly realistic style, Kapferer has determined that everything referring to Eustace's banditry is absolutely fictional; see Anne-Dominique Kapferer, "Banditisme, roman" (see note 5), 224–25; and, as we shall see, it is composed of literary motifs linked to outlaws, among other narrative resources. This is why only Eustace's section as pirate would correspond, at least to a certain extent, to the documented facts of the historical character. Kapferer presents a useful table in her article (see 223–27) where there is clearly no document corresponding to the various instances of revenge and mockery against the Count that compose the outlaw section (which is the main part of the story). However, there is actually one record that mentions the Count having banished him from his land and Eustace waging war against him, but neither is there any register about the murder of his father, nor the judgment of God, nor the supposed malversations against the Count's seneschal.

Table I: Structure of the Story

Segment A	lines 1 – 280
First Prologue:	lines 1 – 2
<i>Exemplum</i>	line 2
a)	
Eustace as a monk ¹⁹	lines 3 – 371
b)	
Eustace as a magician	lines 6 – 280
Learns magic in Toledo	lines 6 – 18
Magical performances (in Montferrand	lines 41 – 220
and in Sant Saumer)	lines 221 – 80
Segment B:	lines 281 – 2305
Second Prologue:	lines 281 – 84
<i>Récit pour rire</i> (comic tale)	line 283
First transition (literary genealogy)	lines 285 – 300
Second transition (historical genealogy)	lines 301 – 10
c)	
Eustace as an outlaw	lines 321 – 1882
c.1) murder of his father, unjust lord, banishment	lines 321 – 97
c.2) the bandit's revenge (15 disguises in 18 episodes) ²⁰	lines 398 – 1882
d)	
Eustace as a pirate (3 more disguises in the last 6 episodes)	lines 1883 – 2168
d.1) Eustace allied to the English King John	lines 1883 – 2166
Third transition (last trickster episodes):	lines 1955 – 2113
Eustace against Cadoc	lines 1955 – 2136
Demolition and rebuilding of the palace	lines 2137 – 60
The Count allied to the English King John (Eustace trickster-tricked)	lines 2161 – 66
Escape from England to France: Eustace minstrel, Eustace messenger	lines 2165 – 223
d.2) Eustace allied to the French King Philip Augustus	lines 2240 – 308
Last fight and death of Eustace	lines 2267 – 305
Segment C:	lines 2306 – 08
Epilogue (exemplum's moral)	lines 2307 – 08

¹⁹ As to Eustace's different identities, see note 42 below. See also note 21 below.

²⁰ As to the fifteen disguises Eustace wears in those eighteen episodes, see note 42 below. Those episodes narrate thirteen scenes of vengeance or mockery against the Count and four more aimed against other characters in the text (against a merchant, lines 931–96, against the king, lines 1295–326, against Hainfroi, Eustace's father's murderer, lines 1368–400, against an abbot, lines 1747–78).

It is noticeable that to a “First Prologue,” the purpose of which is to narrate an *exemplum* (the “examples” about the monk (line 2), which presupposes that it will be an edifying work), a “Second Prologue” is juxtaposed (300 lines after the first), introducing the more substantial narration dealing with the character’s banditry and piracy. Thus, the exemplary proposal of the first two verses seems marginal with regards to the plot, and is only taken up again at the end, in the last two verses, with a moralizing reflection that does not sit well with the tone or the development of the text as a whole, a subject which will be dealt with further in the present study.

The first narrative segment (Segment A), starting at the sixth verse, is characterized by magical and supernatural elements to which the only miniature of the text alludes in a significant and visually attractive image of a monk facing the devil. The text narrates the protagonist’s encounter with Satan in Toledo, describing how, on account of the abilities learned from the Evil One, he is able to cast a series of spells and perform magical acts that make up the 280 verses of the section, i.e., 12% of the story. Those extraordinary abilities will be shown in the Montferrand episode (lines 41–220), where Eustace casts his first spells, creating chaos in the village, but returning everything back to its normal state afterwards. Also in San Samer, where he became a Benedictine monk, other misdeeds and incantations are mentioned, which, again, are reverted to their former state before the conclusion of the episode (lines 221–80). In this way Segment A should be considered a part of Eustace’s juvenescence. Like many other clerics of his age, he would have grown an interest in divinatory and magical practices, even to the point of traveling to Toledo in order to learn those skills. Richard Kieckhefer refers to several moral texts that considered such an interest as a juvenile sin that would be overcome during maturity.²¹ In fact, the murder of his father (in Segment B) would be the turning point for Eustace to face adulthood, assuming his feudal and family responsibilities.

It is important to point out that both the Montferrand and the Sant Samer episodes are told from a humorous perspective, which counterpoints the expectations of an exemplary story announced in the First Prologue at the beginning of the text. When the mentioned Second Prologue appears, notifying the reader a new objective of the text (to provoke laughter), the audience might have already been quite amused by the episodes just related. Nonetheless any allusion to the character’s magical powers disappears since, from now on, his systematic reli-

²¹ That would explain Eustace’s magic coinciding with his monastic phase. See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (1989; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 156.

ance on his wits in order to exact revenge on the Count will be one of the essential motifs in the story.

Above all, the Second Segment provides a literary genealogy for the text's protagonist who is compared with figures from well-known works belonging to two different medieval genres: the epic, in the case of Maugis and Basin, famous magician-thieves from the *chansons de geste*; and the short comedic texts, in the case of Travers, Barat and Haimet, renowned rogues in some *fabliaux*.²² These intertextual allusions contemporize diverse types of literature in which the mischievous characters' deceit and seduction are traits shared with Eustace, traits that correlate with *tricksters* as we shall see presently. On the other hand, in this segment, a historical genealogy is also provided. In it we find recorded facts of the Boulonnais region, where Eustace's father was a peer. This aristocratic lineage highlights the features of the knightly class and the feudal obligations underlying Eustace's insubordination against Count Renaud (who was his lord, as well as his father's before him).²³ At the same time, new elements of the hero's personality are introduced which, throughout his adventures as a baron outside the legal boundaries, continuously create a complicated mosaic.

This 'outlaw' section is organized based on successive episodes that describe different kinds of revenge that Eustace exacts against his lord, whose persistent but fruitless persecution gives occasion to the protagonist's wearing various disguises and changes of identity as some of his most noteworthy feats.

The iterative structure of the episodes²⁴ can be summarized in the introductory phrase that begins with "one day," followed by the geographical indication

22 Mainly Bodel's *fabliau* "De Haimet et de Barat et Travers," which shows a similar structure to the *Roman d'Eustace* itself, as it also narrates a series of tricks the characters play on each other. See Cristina Azuela, "'Wistasces qui molt sot de gile'. The Use of Formulaic Expressions in *The Romance of Eustace the Monk*" (forthcoming).

23 Eustace's banditry responded in fact to a social reality of arbitrariness on the part of the high nobility against the lower ranks of nobility; see Kapferer, "Banditisme, roman" (see note 5,) 232–35, see also Keith Busby, "The Diabolic Hero in Medieval French Narrative: Trubert and Wistasse le Moine," *The Court and Cultural Diversity: Selected Papers from the Eight Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society*, ed. Evelyn Mullally and John Thompson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 415–26; here 422–23 and 425. However, as mentioned, the text follows literary models.—

24 Brian Levy proposed a repetitive structure where menace, persecution and disguise are combined with the bandit's escape. See Brian Levy, "Eustache le Moine, ou le combattant à la recherche d'un combat?," *Le monde des héros dans la culture médiévale*, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok. Wodan, Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter, 35. Wodan, Serie 3, Tagungsbände und Sammelchriften, 18 (Greifswald: Reineke Verlag, 1994), 161–70; here 166. This structure is amplified here to underline the formulaic style that reinforces both the iteration and the comic effect. See Cristina Azuela, "'Wistasces qui molt sot de gile'" (see note 22).

of Eustace's and/or the Count's whereabouts, and the former's use of a disguise that allows for humor, deceit, or revenge, which, in most cases, implies either a theft by the bandit, or his own flight. These actions are, on many occasions accompanied by a message that lets the Count know that the monk was the author of the misdeed, as part of the "rites of victory."²⁵ All this provokes an irate reaction from the feudal lord, who curses, swears, and orders the persecution of the criminal, but in the end confronts defeat, given that Eustace always manages to escape.²⁶ These actions, repeated with variations, are described using diverse formulae that highlight the similarities of each situation (where the epithets, the Count's swearing and his expressions of rage, as well as his complaints and feelings of impotence, may be seen as analogues each time).²⁷

Before returning to Eustace's magical acts, it is important to recall that several studies point out the existence of the varied literary traditions and well-known characters such as Renart²⁸ and Tristan²⁹ that converged in the creation of this text. However, it is equally important to underscore the relationship of the hero with the French tradition of *chansons de geste*, specifically the ones dealing with the theme of the *barons révoltés*. In them, a rebellious vassal takes up arms against his lord's acts of injustice. Oddly enough, wizards fighting the authorities are also found in these epic poems. We shall return to this in the section regarding Eustace as a magician. Suffice it to say that this genre of rebellious barons has some inevitable links with the tradition of bandit literature – a prominent genre in England at the end of the Middle Ages. It is worth pointing

25 These are Giovanna Angeli's terms; see her "Le comique cruel dans Wistasse et Trubert," *Ce est li Fruis Selonc la Letre: Mélanges Offerts à Charles Mela*, ed. Olivier Collet. Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Âge, 3 (Paris: Champion, 2002), 23–40; here 29.

26 On one only occasion, almost at the end of the section, the Count is able to capture Eustace, although soon enough, with the help of some of the lord's barons, the bandit escapes and returns to practicing his pranks.

27 See Cristina Azuela, "Wistasces qui molt sot de gile" (see note 22).

28 Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann was the first to point out the similarities between Renart and Eustace. See her "Füchse in Menschengestalt: die listigen Helden Wistasse le Moine und Fouke Fitz Waryn," *Proceedings of the Third International Beast Epic, Fable and Fabliau Colloquium, Münster 1979*, ed. Jan Goossens and Timothy Sodmann. Niederdeutsche Studien, 30 (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1981), 336–79. More recently, Margherita Lecco has closely examined this relationship, see the introduction to her translation of the text, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 18 and 25; see also Margherita Lecco, "Le astuzie di Wistasse" (see note 19).

29 Margherita Lecco, "Wistasse Rossignol: L'intertexto Tristianiano in *Wistasse le Moine*," *Romance Philology* 59.1 (2005): 103–20; see also her *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 18–25.

out that the *Roman de Wistasse* has been considered to be an outlaw story, mainly by English speaking critics.³⁰

Eustace as an Outlaw

In the nineteenth century, the first editor of *Eustace the Monk* already considered him to be a French Robin Hood of sorts. Both historians and literary critics, such as Burgess, Olhgren and Keen, have taken a similar approach to studying the text, interpreting Eustace as an outlaw akin to many English bandits. A textual analysis of this romance allows us to identify the trademark episodes of medieval bandit stories (such as the protagonist being unjustly banished by his lord, forced to live outside the law and to inhabit the deepest reaches of the forest, which served as a territory that offered concealment and protection). In such accounts, bandits fled from their unjust lords, attacking them with every means at their disposal, robbing them and their people, but interestingly enough, always through deception and mockery, which allowed these outlaws to simultaneously laugh at their enemies and denounce the injustice of “the system.”

The employment of disguises as key elements of these pranks, recurs throughout various bandit tales, where the outlaws take different masks such as those of the potter, the charcoal vendor, the pilgrim, the beggar, the lame man, the one-eyed monk, and that of a woman.³¹ Even the use of the inverted

30 In 1903, Leo Jordan had already observed the link with other medieval outlaws. See Leo Jordan, “Quellen und Kompositionen von Eustache le Moine” (see note 3). See also Maurice Hugh Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Romance* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1987); cf. also Thomas Kelly, “Eustace the Monk” (see note 4); Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1); Brian Levy, “Eustache le Moine, ou le combattant à la recherche d’un combat?” (see note 24); Anne-Dominique Kapferer, “Banditisme, roman” (see note 5). Even Alison Williams, who studies him as a trickster, takes part of his outlaw and bandit characteristics into consideration, see her *Tricksters and Pranksters: Roguery in French and German Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 49 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000).

31 Beate Schmolke-Hasselman, “Füchse in Menschengestalt” (see note 28), elaborates a comparative table with motifs several bandits share with Renart (like Eustace, Fouke le Fitz Waryn, Hereward and Robin Hood). In it she takes into account, apart from Eustace’s identity as pirate, nine disguises worn by him, in contrast with the nineteen that we discuss here, see note 42. More recently, Didier Vernay dedicated his article “Le change et l’échange” (see note 1) to the question of Eustace’s disguises.

horseshoes on their mounts, can be considered as a sort of disguise in order to throw off the enemy.³²

However, upon closer examination of the *roman de Wistasse*, we cannot identify any trace of Robin Hood's defining trait, that of stealing from the rich in order to give to the poor. The generosity of the noble and chivalrous bandit is entirely absent from this work.³³ Rather, this pirate comes across as an ambiguous figure combining cruelty with a penchant for mocking others, which leads us to consider him as one of the cruelest "avengers" studied by Hobsbawm.³⁴ Yet, the way in which the narrator depicts Eustace allows us to laugh at his misdeeds without pitying his enemies (or perhaps only slightly, but the narrator does strive to maintain the necessary aesthetic distance that in comical texts prevents the reader from identifying with the victim).

Rather, it is the ambiguity emanating from the cynicism and cruelty of Eustace's character, combined with his fascinating personality, which perhaps separates him from the figure of the literary outlaw. As such, to examine Eustace in the light of the tricksters' features might prove to be analytically useful.

Eustace as a Trickster

Many critics have already considered Eustace as a trickster, such as Alison Williams, Giovanna Angeli, Thomas Kelly, Maurice Keen, and Margherita Lecco.³⁵ As previously mentioned, Eustace has been studied as a figure analogous to other medieval literary characters, like Renart, Tristan and Trubert,³⁶ all of whom have

³² The motif of the inverted horseshoes is shared by other outlaws such as Hereward or Fouke le Fitz Waryn. The texts narrating the stories of both can be found in Thomas H. Ohlgren, *Medieval Outlaws* (see note 4), in addition to Burgess version of the latter in *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 89–210.

³³ However, we would do well to recognize that this particularity appears late in the Robin Hood stories, as it does not emerge in the early ballads.

³⁴ Hobsbawm analyzed these extremely violent types of outlaws calling them "the avengers," see John Ernest Hobsbawm, *Bandits*. Pageant of History Series (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).

³⁵ Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters* (see note 30); Thomas Kelly, "Eustace the Monk" (see note 4); Giovanna Angeli, *Le comique cruel* (see note 25) and Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Romance* (see note 30); see also Lecco's introduction to her *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 3–5 and 28–30. In a recent work, Lecco chooses to reject this connection, see "Memorie epiche in *Wistasse le Moine*. Ancora su *Wistasse e le chansons de geste*," *Romance Studies* 31.2 (2013): 67–83; here 78–80.

³⁶ It is not known whether Trubert comes before or after *Eustace the Monk* although both texts seem to have been written about the same time, see Keith Busby, "The Diabolic Hero" (see note 23); see also Giovanna Angeli, "Le comique cruel" (see note 25).

also been studied as tricksters.³⁷ Broadly speaking, the trickster is a cheating, mischievous character who is present in every culture.³⁸ His role is that of introducing disorder and transgression, and his weapons consist in cunning and cheating. Hermes, Ulysses, and Loki are well known mythological tricksters but in vernacular literary texts we find characters who can claim a heritage from the mythical trickster figure (not only Renart but also Merlin).³⁹ As will be seen here, this figure becomes particularly significant as a critical tool to study a character as complex as the monk-bandit-pirate-magician, protagonist of the *Roman de Wistasse*.⁴⁰

37 For Renart as a trickster, see Anna Lomazzi, "L'eroe come *trickster* nel *Roman de Renart*," *Cultura Neolatina* 40. *Studi di filologica romanza italiana offerti a Gianfranco Folena dagli allievi padovani* (1980): 55–65; see also Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Tristan and Renart: Two Tricksters," *L'esprit créateur* 16.1 (1976): 30–38; for other studies of Tristan trickster, see Merritt R. Blakeslee, "Tristan the Trickster in the Old French Tristan Poems," *Cultura Neolatina* 44 (1984): 167–90; and Cristina Azuela, "Du héros au *trickster* dans *Tristan als Mönch*: entrelacement et contrepoint," 18 July 2008, L144, SESSION 3, 2009, <http://www.sites.univ-rennes2.fr/celam/ias/actes/pdf/azuela.pdf> (last accessed on March 3, 2017; conference presentation). For Renart compared to Eustace, see Beate Schmolke, "Füchse in Menschengestalt" (see note 28) and Margherita Lecco, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 12–17. For Trubert and Eustace, see Keith Busby, "The Diabolic Hero" (see note 23); see also Giovanna Angeli, "Le comique cruel" (see note 25).

38 See Paul Radin's seminal work, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1956); see also *Mythical Trickster Figures*, ed. William Joseph Hynes and William G. Doty (Tuscaloosa, AL, and London: University of Alabama Press, 1993); in the same book, see as well Laura Makarius, "The Myth of the *Trickster*: The Necessary Breaker of Taboos," 46–65. See also *Trickster and Ambivalence: The Dance of Differentiation*, ed. C. W. Spinks (Madison, WI: Atwood Publishing, 2001). In the area of literature see Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Makes this World: Mischief, Myth, and Art* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998). For the medieval period, see Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters* (see note 30); see also Cristina Azuela, "Quelques traces du trickster dans la littérature médiévale," *Iris* 32 (2011): 29–58.

39 See above note 37. In relation to Merlin as trickster, see Cristina Azuela, "Merlin, prophète et trickster," *Voix des mythes, science des civilisations: Hommage à Philippe Walter*, ed. Fleur Vigneron and Koji Watanabe (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2012), 63–98.

40 Franchot Ballinger states that literary characters lack the mythological context and the specific situation which gives meaning to the mythical trickster, see Franchot Ballinger, "Ambigere: the Euro-American Picaro and the Native American Trickster," *Melus* 17.1 (1991–1992): 21–38. However, it is undeniable that numerous archaic motifs originating in pagan myths and ancient folkloric traditions are preserved in medieval literature, and they allow for the explanation of phenomena that the Christian culture could not wholly assimilate. Editor's note: This finds also powerful confirmation in the continued presence and application of magical charms throughout the Middle Ages and beyond; see the contributions to this volume by Chiara Benati and Christoph Galle, and my own discussion in the introductory essay.

The trickster's ambivalent and contradictory personality defies easy characterization. His use of disguises and a keen sense of humor, together with the above-mentioned peculiarities like cunning and transgression, further complicate matters. Laura Makarius has described the "mass of contradictions" related to the mythical trickster, who can be both a cultural hero and "a clown, a buffoon not to be taken seriously."⁴¹ Admittedly, one of Eustace's defining traits is the ambiguity habitually found in tricksters, who are also polymorphic and likely to transform themselves by way of masks and disguises or more sophisticated metamorphoses like those of Merlin and Loki. Underneath the plethora of masks that Eustace wears,⁴² we can discern the complexity of a protagonist who also shares with these mythical figures a distinguishing marginality.

This allows him a role as an intermediary and hybrid character who is able to conjoin spaces and contradictions. From society's margins, he leads the life of a wanderer who is always running from court to forest, between France and England, traveling by land or sea, constantly switching sides and loyalties, on the threshold amidst good and evil, yet always reveling in his misdeeds and in the jokes he plays on others.⁴³

41 "He brings humankind the arts, tools, and civilizing goods; at the same time he plays abominable tricks for which humans have to pay much of the price. He dispenses the medicines that cure and save – and he introduces death into the world. Admired, loved, venerated for his merits and virtues, he is represented as thievish, deceitful, parricidal, incestuous, and cannibalistic. The malicious practical joker is deceived by just about anybody . . ."; see Laura Makarius, "The Myth of the Trickster" (see note 38), 67.

42 It may be said that throughout the text Eustace appears with five identities and nineteen disguises. In the case of the identities, we refer to those documented in the chronicles: according to his lineage, Eustace belongs to the nobility; on his father's death, he became a peer of the Bou-lonnais like him, as well as seneschal of Renaud, the Count. In his youth he had been ordained as a black monk or Benedictine. Finally, he was, above all, known as a pirate, but in the text also as an outlaw and as a magician. However, these last two identities are less frequently present in the archives, since only one document alludes to Eustace warring as a bandit against the Count, while his identity as magician only appears in the late testimonies of the fourteenth-century. Thus, it is not possible to ascertain the source of this supposed magical knowledge (see below the section "Eustace as a Magician"; see also Anne-Dominique Kapferer, "Banditisme, roman" (see note 5), and see above note 20). He adopts nineteen disguises: as shepherd, bourgeois-merchant/pilgrim, fodder seller, pilgrim-penitent, coal man, potter, nightingale, woman, fence-builder, leper, lame man, carpenter, fish seller, pastry chef, Hospitaler, minstrel, Messenger, plus habits of two different religious orders. See Didier Vernay, "Le change et l'échange" (see note 1).

43 Nonetheless, it is precisely on account of his intermediary nature, that he can be associated, as Alison Williams does, with carnival as well as with rites of passage, both being transitional phases in the life of the individual and the community, see her *Tricksters and Pranksters* (see note 30). These phases usually include licentious behavior, as well as ritual humiliations and

On the other hand, the pleasure of deception is obvious on many occasions, as when Eustace is unable to contain laughter in the presence of his victim (“From beneath his hood Eustace laughed heartily at Cadoc” [line 2015]). This pleasure has been associated with the festive transgressions of carnival where it is not only a question of subverting the order, but of the enjoyment of doing so. This is evident in the humorous attitude of the narrator as he relates the story without allowing the reader to miss a comical detail.⁴⁴ The verbal humor of the narrative voice adds to the festive tone that seems to dominate throughout a major portion of the episodes that relate Eustace’s different strategies of revenge against the Count – even the most brutal ones, all of which will be the main points for further discussion regarding Eustace’s demonization.

Another defining trickster-like feature in Eustace is the fact that trickster stories usually appear as brief narratives consisting of only one intrigue or an independent anecdote susceptible to being linked to other similar stories in a type of open composition, subject to never-ending continuations, during which the rogue is always willing to commit some sort of misdeed.⁴⁵ This particular format was chosen by the author of *Eustace the Monk*, especially in the section regarding the revenge against the Count (segment B, c.2, in Table I).

The comparison with tricksters is important also, since some of the medieval characters that stand out as tricksters, like Merlin or even Renart – who is closer to Eustace – were magicians as well, and have also been related to the Devil.⁴⁶

Eustace as a Magician

In spite of all the intertextual relations that have been identified in the *Romance of Eustace*, we cannot ignore that when mentioning the literary characters who

reversals whose functions are constructive and consistent with regeneration. Thus the chaotic episodes of Eustace’s magic in Montferrand (episode II) and San Samer (episode IV) can be considered as carnivalesque and, trickster-like. This regenerative traits might even help to explain a chapter as enigmatic as that of the destruction and reconstruction of the palace of London (episode XXXVII) which seems to underscore the arbitrariness of the trickster’s actions.

⁴⁴ As in lines 820 – 22 (see Burgess 60), see below, section “The Narrator and the Trickster.”

⁴⁵ In relation to this topic, see Mita Valvassori “El personaje trickster o “burlador” en el cuento tradicional y en el cine de dibujos animados,” *Culturas Populares* 1 (2006): 1–27; online at: <http://www.culturaspopulares.org/textos%20I-1/articulos/Valvassori.pdf> (last accessed on April 11, 2017). It is the case of Renart’s and Loki’s adventures, as well as of Tristan’s forbidden encounters with the queen. The first versions of Robin Hood’s stories, are also traced down to independent ballads.

⁴⁶ Although Loki has also been considered diabolical, he was not a magician.

are kindred to the monk, the very text alludes explicitly to the magicians of the rebellious barons' *chansons de geste* ("cycle of the rebel vassals").⁴⁷ These barons fighting against their lords are accompanied on many occasions, by an ally with magical powers, who is sometimes frankly supernatural, as is the case of Auberon in *Huon de Bordeaux*. However, in most cases, the wizard is a human being who has learned the magical arts, like the two magician-thieves of the French epics with which Eustace is compared at the beginning of Segment B of the text (see Table I).

As has been said, precisely after the "Second Prologue," which promises to make the audience laugh, we find a literary lineage of the protagonist, when he is compared to two of the best known *magicien-thiefs* of the *chansons de geste*, Maugis and Basin. This comparison ends with the affirmation of the superiority of Eustace's astuteness:

Li un content, che m'est avis,
Et de Basyn et de Maugis.
Basins cunchia mainte vile,
Et Maugis a fait mainte gile,
Car Amaugis par ingremanche
Embla la couronne de Franche,
Joieuse et Corte et Hauteclere
Et Durendal, qui molt fu clere;
Basin si embla Amaugin,
Et Amaugis embla Basin
De Maugis ichi vous lairai,
De Uistasce le moigne dirai,
Qui molt sot plus que Amaugis,
Ne que Basin, che m'est avis. (lines 285–98)

[Some people, I believe, tell tales of Basin and Maugis. Basin swindled many a town and Maugis performed many a deceitful trick. For Maugis stole the crown of France by necromancy, and also stole Joyeuse, Courte and Hauteclaire, and Durendal which shone so brightly. Basin also robbed Maugis and Maugis robbed Basin. But no more about Maugis; I shall tell you about Eustace the Monk, who was, I believe, much more wily than Maugis or Basin. (My translation)].

The allusions to the most famous swords of the French epic (such as those of Charlemagne, Ogier the Dane, Olivier and Roland) imply a certain knowledge

⁴⁷ *Gormont et Isemar; Doon de Mayence; Renaut de Montauban; Girart de Roussillon; Maugis d'Aigremont, La Chevalerie Ogier, Raoul de Cambrai*, among other titles. See Margherita Lecco, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), who has dealt with Eustace's relationships with some of them, particularly Renaut de Montauban and Maugis d'Aigremont (see notes 50 and 51 below).

of the tradition of the *chansons de geste*, which should not be overlooked. What is more, even if the audience were not familiar with the particular episode in which Maugis stole the previously mentioned swords, both magicians would surely have been well-known. Philippe Verelst has dedicated a number of studies to some twenty magicians and sorcerers in the French *chansons de geste*, especially Maugis d'Aigremont.⁴⁸ Generally, they are Christian wizards, who on occasions confront pagan sorcerers linked to diabolical powers.⁴⁹ This explains the fact that the Christian magicians will not establish personal relationships with the devil, which separates them from the figure of Eustace.

As a rule, epic magicians are likeable characters (particularly the Christians) who support a good cause against an unjust king. Many of them are perfect knights, of great prowess, whose name is associated with the epithet of “the good thief,” from which the critic infers that in their case, being a thief has a positive value, since they will never rob nor harm the poor, but will specialize in attacking their rich enemies “for the simple pleasure of ridiculing them” (very much like the outlaws).⁵⁰ There is a humorous tone with which these magician-thieves’ mischiefs are narrated, and the often pleasantly comical aspect of their personality combined with their bravery in war identifies them as positive characters.

Margherite Lecco has demonstrated important formal ties between the *Roman de Wistasse* text and those *chansons de geste*, drawing attention to vari-

48 See Philippe Verelst, “L’enchanteur d’épopée. Prolégomènes à une étude de *Maugis*,” *Romanica Gandensia* 16 (1976): 123–61, where the critic provides a comparative table of the different magicians of the epic, 159–60. For Maugis, see Philippe Verelst, “Le personnage de Maugis dans Renaut de Montauban (versions rimées traditionnelles),” *Romanica Gandensia* 18 (1981): 73–152; see also Philippe Verelst, “Maugis à Tolède: Quelques aspects du personnage dans ‘Maugis d’Aigremont’,” *Reading Around the Epic: A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Wolfgang van Emden*, ed. Marianne Ailes, Philip E. Bennett, and Karen Pratt. Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies, 14 (London: King’s College London, 1998), 69–83; see also Kathleen Jarchow’s contribution to this volume, “Magic at the Margins: The Mystification of Maugis d’Aigremont.”

49 Although these impious wizards usually end up vanquished and derided by magicians associated to Christian heroes.

50 See Philippe Verelst, “L’enchanteur d’épopée” (see note 48), 123–24. In that sense, Malagis, Maugis’s German avatar studied by Albrecht Classen, is an exception for he refuses to commit thefts, even as a joke (see his contribution to this volume, “Magic in Late Medieval German. The Case of the Good Magician Malagis”). See also Philippe Verelst, “Maugis à Tolède: quelques aspects du personnage” (see note 48), 80; as well as Sylvie Roblin-Dublin, “L’école de magie de Tolède: histoire et légende,” *Histoire et littérature au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque du Centre d’Études Médiévales de l’Université de Picardie (Amiens 20–25 mars 1985)*, ed. Danielle Buschinger. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 546 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991), 419–33; here 428.

ous passages in which the Eustace text revisits episodes⁵¹ and phrases⁵² analogous to those of the epic poems *Renaut de Montauban* and of *Maugis d'Aigremont*.

Nonetheless, it is important to point out that, contrary to what happens with the magician-thieves in French epics, who use their powers to vanquish the enemy during combats and military episodes, in the Eustace text there is a very clear separation between his activities connected to magic and those he accomplishes as a bandit. In fact, in the outlaw section – the fundamental part of the text – the emphasis on astuteness is crucial for his characterization. That is why Allison Williams observes that any sign of supernatural abilities employed to fool the other would have lessened the humorousness and the effectiveness of the protagonist's power.⁵³ It also turns out to be very odd that just when the text alludes to these “magician-thieves,” the protagonist ceases to establish any connection with magic, as if to deceive the reader.

Was Eustace Really Diabolical?

The only illustration in the *Roman de Wistasse*, right at the beginning of the text, is a miniature portraying the monk with a book in his hands facing the devil. Although the first lines describe how the protagonist acquired his magical learning from the very mouth of Satan, during “a whole winter and summer” (he had spent a whole year in Toledo), the image does not reveal a relationship of subordination on the part of Eustace before the forces of evil. We neither see him revering the Evil One nor in a posture of vassalic service.⁵⁴

As much as the relationship with the devil might be explicit in the opening of the text, the several verses dedicated to enumerate Eustace's various magical abilities (which transformed him into the best wizard in the kingdom of France),

51 See Margherita Lecco, “Wistasse le Moine e le chansons de geste dei maghi-ladri” *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 126.1 (2010): 71–97; here 77–78 and 80–82; see also her *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 31–35.

52 See the introduction to Margherita Lecco's, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 51; see also her “Memorie epiche” (see note 35) and her “I cavalieri nella ‘raske’: Ancora sui rapporti intertestuali tra ‘Wistasse le Moine’ e le ‘chansons de geste,’” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 43 (2012): 289–305.

53 See Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters* (see note 30), 135.

54 This is shown in some visual representations of Theophilus's pact, when he sells his soul to the devil, who holds Theophilus's hands between his own in a gesture akin to the feudal ritual. See Ms. Additional 49999, *De Brailles Book of hours*, f. 34r, British Library, London (1240).

underscore the protagonist's knowledge of divinatory techniques and not any kind of thralldom to Satan:

Il aprist mil conjuremens,
 Mil caraudes, mil espiremens:
 Il set en l'espee garder,
 Et lo sautier faire torner,
 Et par l'espaule au mouton
 Faisoit pertes rendre a fuison;
 Si savoit garder el bachin
 Pour rendre perte et larrechin.
 Femmes faisoit enca[ra]juder
 Et les hommes enfant[o]smer:
 Il n'ot homme jusqu'a saint Jake
 Qui tant seüst de dyodake,
 Del firmament ne de l'espere;
 Il contrefesoit le cimere,
 La beste c'on ne puet connoistre. (lines 17–31)

[He learned a thousand spells, a thousand magic tricks and a thousand incantations. He found out how to look into a sword and how to read the fortune in the Psalter⁵⁵ and from the shoulder of a sheep, he had many a lost object returned to its owner; and by looking into a basin of water he was able to recover lost and stolen things. He had the power to bewitch women and cast spells on men. No other man from here to Santiago de Compostella knew as much about the zodiac, the firmament or the sphere of heaven. He could imitate the chimera, the beast, which no one can get to know. (My translation)].

As this inventory of magical procedures shows, the list of divinatory techniques seems much more detailed than the vague mentions to the charms and conjurations he mastered: “Il aprist mil conjurements, Mil caraudes, mil espiremens” (lines 17–18; “he learned a thousand spells, a thousand magic tricks and a thousand incantations”; Burgess 50), where the iterative rhythm of the verses emphasizes the knowledge he acquired but without much specifications. On lines 25–26, once again, the magical powers are mentioned vaguely (bewitching women and casting spells on men), just to introduce the character's insuperable mastery of astronomy or astrology, which anyone studying the Liberal Arts, would know as part of a university's *curriculum*. In fact, many times magicians

55 There are different translations for the phrase “lo sautier faire torner” (line 20), which literally means “turning the Psalter around.” While Glyn Burgess and Thomas Kelly propose “to cite the psalter backwards,” Anthony Holden and Jacques Monfrin as well as Margherita Lecco, Roger Berger, and Aimé Petit chose the literal translation. This sort of ‘consultation of the Bible’ will be dealt with further in this study (see below notes 62 and 63).

were praised and esteemed for their wisdom, as Albrecht Classen argues in his contribution to this volume.⁵⁶

In any case, the previous quotation summarizes many of the current beliefs in magical practices during the Middle Ages. It also shows how some of the very well defined divinatory procedures to gain knowledge of things past or to foretell events (a practice which depends on rational thought as well as mastery of the technique) are mingled with properly magical operations originated in supernatural powers (of divine or diabolical inspiration).⁵⁷ In these lines there seems to be no question of prophecies but of divinations to achieve practical ends like recovering lost objects. Most importantly, there is no mention to any invocation of sprits or demons. As many critics remark, the frontiers between divination and magic were not very clear,⁵⁸ especially in literary texts where authors showed an ambivalent attitude toward all these practices, which could both be respected as demonstrations of admirable wisdom or feared as inspired by diabolical powers.⁵⁹

For some scholars, the ability to look into swords or to read inside water-filled containers was part of the same type of divination and incantation that was effected by using shiny objects like weapons, mirrors, flames, or even water basins. This last practice, called hydromancy or lecanomancy required a seer to look into a bowl of water to contemplate, as in a mirror, the picture of that which was sought to know. But it could also consist in the one soliciting the necromancer's services flinging gold or silver coins or even precious stones etched with characters to the bottom of a container full of water for the magician to interpret on observing them or listening to them fall inside.

56 See Albrecht Classen, "Magic in Late Medieval German" (see note 50). Concerning the importance of astronomical and astrological knowledge in medieval magic, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 21), 116–31; see also Liza M. C. Weston, "Curious Clerks: Image, Magic and Chaucerian Poetics" (see her contribution to this volume).

57 Arnaud Sibille, "Divination et prophétie: des pratiques oraculaires à leurs représentations dans la littérature française," *Questes* 28 (2014), <http://questes.revues.org/3448> (last accessed on March 8, 2017), 57; see also Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 21), 12.

58 See Arnaud Sibille, "Divination et prophétie" (see note 57).

59 As for the ambivalence toward the magical practices of the magicien-thieves, see Philippe Verelst, "L'art de Tolède ou le huitième des arts libéraux, une approche du merveilleux épique," *Aspects de l'épopée romane. Mentalités, idéologies, intertextualités. Actes du XIe Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals (Groningue, 22–27.08.94)*, ed. Hans Van Dijk and Willem Noomen (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), 3–41. Although he does not mention *Le roman de Wistasse*, Richard Kieckhefer also addresses the issue of the ambivalent position of authors and audiences of twelfth and thirteenth-century romances, where magic, even demonic, "held a kind of romantic fascination," see his *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 21), 105–15; here 113.

Other critics point out that looking into a sword is a form of crystallomancy or crystal-gazing, because you can see past or future events reflected on the burnished steel.⁶⁰ However, the interpretation of the sword might consist as well in deciphering the meaning of the grooves in the blade. Concerning divination by means of a shoulder of mutton, or any other animal bone (most probably of Celtic origin) it was necessary to dry the bone in the sun so that the soothsayer could find lines and dots in order to interpret them.

As Burgess states, even Chaucer, in the *Canterbury Tales*, refers to these soothsaying techniques, which continue to appear in the necromancers' manuals of the fifteenth century.⁶¹ Finally, the practice of turning the pages of the Psalter for fortunetelling, could be related to the *sortes sanctorum* or *sortes sacrae* (fate of the saints or holy fates), "consultations of the Gospels," "drawing the sortes" or bibliomancy, which consisted in opening the Bible at random in order to interpret, prophetically, the first passage that the reader's eyes encountered. Pierre Boglioni indicates that this was a common practice in the bosom of the church in order to confirm the election of bishops, or to judge the conduct of prelates, or to reach important decisions. He mentions the notorious conversion of Saint Augustine with the Epistles of Saint Paul, and even Saint Francis of Assisi's practice of triple consultations to confirm the results (where the number three, of folkloric origin, had already acquired theological significance).⁶² Quoting from a passage

60 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites. A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (1997; University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), especially chapter 5 on "Divinatory experiments"; see also Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 79, note 2. The magical practices here quoted, are extensively commented on by this author as well as by other editors and translators of the text, like Margherita Lecco, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 144–45, or Anthony Holden and Jacques Monfrin, *Le roman d'Eustache le moine* (see note 1), 19.

61 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites* (see note 60), 85–90. Cf. also the contributions to this volume by Lisa M. C. Weston and Daniel F. Pigg.

62 See Pierre Boglioni, "L'église et la divination au Moyen Âge, ou les avatars d'une pastorale ambiguë," *Théologiques* 8.1 (2000): 37–66; here 51–2. This author states that this kind of biblical consultations were a means of Christian adaptation of pagan divinatory practices that attributed the same function to Homer's texts among the Greeks, or Virgil's among the Romans, although they were shared by numerous ancient cultures (see especially his note 28). The author also mentions Saint Thomas's conclusions on the technique of "drawing the *Sortes*" both in his *Summa Theologica* and in an opusculum, where after enlisting the interdictions against this practice he acknowledged that "in a case of necessity it was permitted, with all due respect, to consult the divine opinion in the *sortes*" (see his note 65). For this sort of magical practice, see the contribution to this volume by Christa Agnes Tuczay.

of the Occitan romance *Flamenca*, Lecco refers to the use of the Psalter in order to foreknow divine opinions regarding an extremely profane issue.⁶³

While this catalogue of magical knowledge corresponds to what could be expected from a magician, particularly from he who dominated the divination practices of the age, it is noteworthy that precisely after alluding to the more scientific knowledge involved in magic (astronomy and astrology in lines 27–29) the narrative voice tricks the audience into the realm of the wildest imaginary, by mentioning Eustace's ability to imitate the *chimaera*. This mysterious and esoteric hybrid creature, known for having three different heads and being composed of assorted parts of various animals, might very well refer to the multifaceted protagonist himself, but renders more surprising the last of the hero's magical abilities: "Les moignes fait peïr el cloistre" (line 33; his power of causing "monks to fart in the cloister"; translation mine). After this phrase, with no transition, we witness his farewell to the devil and the prophecies the latter made about his life, combatting counts and kings, and finally, of his death "killed at sea" (line 38).

That being the case, the sudden appearance of the burlesque image of the monks breaking wind in the cloister should at least warn the reader/audience about how satanical this monk will turn out to be, despite the prediction that he would dedicate his life to accomplishing "a great deal of harm" (line 36).

It is well known that although the magic arts constituted a survival of archaic practices that were not necessarily associated with evil beings, as the Middle Ages drew to an end, those practices would increasingly be considered satanical by the Church. Clearly, a part of Eustace's supernatural abilities was focused on searching for and returning lost or stolen objects, something that would not seem particularly pernicious. However, the fact that it was done through necromantic practices that implied receiving help from spirits of the underworld, which would later be identified as demons, ghosts, or evil spirits, as Richard Kieckhefer notes, could, during that age, be sufficient reason to regard his activities as diabolical.⁶⁴ It is no coincidence that Eustace, as a monk, should have been one of those clerics attracted to the supernatural knowledge, and that the text should place his learning of magic in Toledo, where he would acquire his powers specifically in an abyss beneath the earth with the devil as teacher.⁶⁵

⁶³ See Margherita Lecco's note in *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 145.

⁶⁴ See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 21); here chapter 7 on "Necromancy in the clerical underworld," 151–75; see also Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites* (see note 60).

⁶⁵ Toledo, as a site of magic was a widely extended literary motif during the age, and most of the places where the devil was supposed to reside in Toledo were caves and subterranean

In that sense, the fact that his magical spells had the effect of introducing chaos and disorder could also be linked to the demon, even if today they can be considered carnivalesque and linked to tricksters.⁶⁶

In a frequently commented article about Eustace and Trubert as diabolical heroes,⁶⁷ Keith Busby points out the many occasions in which our protagonist appears linked to the devil, as when the Count states that “‘C’est un dyable moigne guerrier’” (line 1320, see no. 12 in Table II [at the end of this article]; “He is a devilish warlike monk”; Burgess 66). Nonetheless, it is important to stress that, excepting the mention of his stay in Toledo being taught by the demon (lines 6–18) and his farewell later on (lines 33–38), there will never be any other reference to Satan’s relation to Eustace’s supernatural powers, nor will there be prayers or magical spells transcribed literally throughout the whole narrative.⁶⁸

On the other hand, we must remember that the protagonist’s identity as magician does not correspond to his historical figure, and it only appears in testimonies that are subsequent to the text being here examined. For this reason, it is not possible to know if the source of this magical knowledge corresponds to this same text, or if it was based on oral legends that might have circulated along the Boulonnais.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, in the *Roman de Wistasse*, the protagonist is undoubtedly linked to the Evil One from the outset of the story through the only image illustrating the first lines of the text. This is why it is worthwhile examining the coherence and systematization of this relationship, in order to clarify if the characterization of the protagonist is really diabolical which, in any case, would be intimately related to his condition as trickster.

spaces, see, among others, Jaime Ferreiro, “La escuela de nigromancia de Toledo,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 13 (1983): 205–68; see also Philippe Verelst, “L’Art de Tolède” (see note 59); see also Sylvie Roblin-Dublin, “L’école de magie de Tolède” (see note 50). As many critics have noted, clerics were often accused of sorcery; see Anne-Dominique Kapferer, “Banditisme, roman” (see note 5), note 84. See also above, note 21.

66 Just as it has been interpreted by Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters* (see note 30), and also Keith Busby, “The Diabolic Hero” (see note 23), 421.

67 See Keith Busby, “The Diabolic Hero” (see note 23). See also Anne-Dominique Kapferer, “Mépris, saviors” (see note 8), 337.

68 Although the narrator did once mention that the protagonist had cast a spell heard by everyone, describing a chiromantic pass Eustace made moving his hands back and forth, there is no explicit call to diabolical forces (for the complete quotation see note 80 below).

69 See above note 9, especially Anne-Dominique Kapferer, “Banditisme, roman” (see note 5), 337; see as well Didier Vernay, “Le change et l’échange” (see note 1).

Eustace's "art" and "dyablies"

First of all, it is necessary to ascertain the functions that the word "dyable," devil, may have in this text, since just as invocations to the divinity or the saints in colloquial oaths are not a testimony to the religious beliefs of someone who may "swear by God," without having the least mystical inclinations nor Christian feelings, invocations to the devil in this work may be mere expletives, like the ones uttered by the Count, furious at his servants: "Dist li quens: 'Dyables! c'as tu?'" (line 651); "'What the devil's the matter with you?' said the Count"; Burgess 58).⁷⁰

However, there are other instances in which the allusion to the devil becomes harder to interpret, since it may be both a simple exclamation, or an ironic allusion to Eustace. As when someone asks the potter, who has been punished for having exchanged his clothes with Eustace disguised as a coal man:

"Quel maufé t'ont fait carbonnier?
Tu soloies estre potier . . ." (lines 1113–14)

[“What devils have turned you into a coal man? You used to be a potter . . .” (Kelly, (see note 4), 81)]

Although we may consider this as a common expletive, it had actually been Eustace who turned the potter into a coal man, and therefore, he was the one responsible for the former's disgrace.⁷¹

Likewise, it must be noted that among the various epithets linked to Eustace's name, there are two that can be connected to the Evil One as well (see nos. 13 and 3 in Table II):

70 See, again, when the count exclaims: "'Respont, dyable, dist li quens, / Male goute aies tu es dens'" (lines 1625–26) [Oh, damn it, say something, May you get a toothache! (My translation)].

71 See also the episode of the cement-laced tarts, when the baron's teeth become stuck and he exclaims: "'Par les dens biu! Je suis honnis, / Dyable ai mangié, che m'est vis'" (lines 1869–70; By God's teeth! I'm dishonoured. I've eaten the Devil, that's my belief; Burgess 73). In spite of the absence of an explicit intention on the part of the tricked baron to link the devil with the provider of the tarts, whoever listened to the story could very well have established this connection. The same thing happens when the Count, desperate at having failed to capture Eustace, exclaims: "Au dyable soit il commandés" (line 1881; "May he be commended to the devil!" Burgess 73), where the ludicrousness of his imprecation is multiplied if we consider that this might be, in fact, the final destiny of the trickster.

EXAMPLE A:

Wistasces . . . qui molt sot d'art (lines 1333–34)

[Eustace, who was so artful (Burgess 66; see Table II, no. 13).

EXAMPLE B:

Wistasces . . . Qui mout sot del art au dyable (lines 551–52)

[Eustace, who knew so many devilish tricks (Burgess 56; see Table II, no. 3).

Both examples are part of a group of repetitive formulae that characterize the style of the text. There are about a dozen epithets linked to Eustace's name that introduce several episodes of his pranks or retaliations against the Count. All these phrases are structured in a similar way, beginning with line 63, introducing Eustace's first magic spell:

Wistasces, qui molt sot de gile (line 63, see also lines 1189 and 1327)

[Eustace who knew so many tricks (my translation)]

In a previous study I have examined the variations in these epithets where a predicate dealing with the idea of “tricks and deceits” is added to the verb “to know” or “to be good at.”⁷² In examples A and B we find the same structure introducing the noun “art,” both in a context related to the theft of horses. This is the protagonist's preferred revenge on the Count throughout the text, and one which does not seem particularly satanical. However we cannot ignore that in old French, “art” was a polysemic term whose several meanings combine the idea of knowledge or science, as in the “liberal arts,” with that of craftiness and ingenuity, as in “artful.” Nonetheless, the allusion to witchcraft and knowl-

72 See Cristina Azuela, “‘Wistasces qui molt sot de gile’” (see note 22), where the fundamental purpose of these epithets as indicators of Eustace's trickster role is examined. It should be noted that

in her article “Füchse in Menschengestalt” (see note 31), Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann was the first to list the formular phrases that Renart and Eustace share (she found eighteen in *Eustace* and more than thirty in the different branches of *Renart*, among which also, the phrase “Renart . . . qui sot de maint guile,” in “C'est la Bataille de Renart et d'Ysangrin,” *Le roman de Renart*, Tome 2, line 13744, ed. D. M. Méon (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1826), 145–211; here 155, as quoted by Francisque Michel (see note 2); see also, in Branche II, “Renars . . . qui tant sot toz jors de guile.” See also Keith Busby, “The Diabolic Hero” (see note 23). Giovanna Angeli, *Le comique cruel* (see note 25) and Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), who allude to these analogies and to the links that unite both characters with tricksters. Margherita Lecco examines more in detail the relationship between Renart and Eustace; see the introduction to her translation of Eustace, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 12–17; she mentions as well, in passing, the question of the epithets, 49.

edge of magic cannot be discarded since this is what he learned in Toledo with the devil.

But in the case of Example A, the phrase appears exactly seven lines after one of the recurrences of the formula “Wistasces, qui molt sot de gile” (line 1327) just mentioned as to reinforce the idea of the astuteness of the character’s transforming his appearance to escape from the Count. When he comes upon a peasant working on a fence, he exchanges his own clothes for the latter’s cape and cap, thus taking his place.⁷³ It is one once again a humorous scene, where Eustace tricks the Count who, as usual, addresses him without recognizing his true identity.

In this particular episode there is no question of magic at all because Eustace just changes clothes with the fence-builder. In fact, as well as underscoring the bandit’s shrewdness, it is his enemy’s gullibility what is revealed. Thus we might consider the formula as one of those multiple occasions in which the narrator plays with words, overlapping various meanings; the reader/audience was not even obliged to choose a particular sense of the word, since as in any good pun, all meanings update at once.

Up to now the references to the devil may or may not allude explicitly to Eustace satanism. This is not the case of Example B, where the epithet certainly links the protagonist with the demon on mentioning that he dominates “l’art au dyable” (the devil’s magic arts). It is a variation of the previously mentioned formulae underscoring his cunning and for the moment it would seem impossible to doubt, with Busby, that Eustace is a diabolical protagonist. However, it is essential to clarify the context in which the expression appears, in order to define its weight. As in many other instances throughout the text, there will be polyvalent phrases where the relationship with the satanic is not so obvious, given that the situation does not lend itself to such an interpretation.⁷⁴

⁷³ Although disguises are prerogatives of the devil that cannot be ignored, they are also an identity trait of the trickster.

⁷⁴ In almost half of the instances (47%), as can be seen in Table II, the phrases where the devil appears can be polyvalent; see below. Another example, in the same episode, could be when the Count declares that he fears Eustace’s deceptions, using the form “encant” (“J’ai grant paour k’il ne m’encant,” line 490). This has been translated as “I am very much afraid he will cast a spell over me” (Burgess 56). But it could also mean “I am very much afraid he will fool me.” In fact, the Count could be alluding to a magical incantation as well as to a trap or deceit, above all because what next appears on the scene is not witchcraft, but foul play, since just now Eustace mocks the Count sitting at table beside him, making him believe that he is a white monk, and then crowns the mockery with the theft of Morel, one of the Count’s best horses. In this context, the translation of “m’encant” for “trick me” or “fool me” takes on wider meaning. For the different mean-

This phrase introduces the motif of the theft of the horses in the text, when Eustace steals Morel (“a magnificent and handsome animal” belonging to the Count, who believed it ran “like the wind,” see lines 554, 573.) It was a common offense for a bandit, but in this story it seems to have been favored by the protagonist, since he stole at least twenty-eight mounts from his enemy. The robbery of twenty-three of those horses is accompanied by different phrases linking Eustace to the devil (in 10 examples, see Table II). These thefts will be concentrated in just four episodes starting with Morel’s one. More importantly, there is no reason to consider this sort of theft as particularly satanical, as neither were the robbery of horses committed by Robin Hood or other bandits, nor even those perpetrated by other magician-thieves like Maugis. In this case, the protagonist simply sprang up, mounting one of his enemy’s horses and escaped, without engaging in magic arts of any kind, much less diabolical ones.

Moreover, the phrase is found in Segment B, where Eustace’s magic arts and incantations, which could tie him to satanic power, are completely absent. For this reason, the very epithet that alludes to Eustace’s mastery of the “art du dyable” (line 552) might also seem deceiving to the reader/audience. This episode will be examined further.

Another example of the strategy of playing with polysemy and the expectations this motivates, is the use of the word “dyablies,” present in three instances (see Table II, nos. 1, 2 and 16). Although the meaning of the term is linked to the devil by its etymology, in this text it appears twice to connect with the type of tricks to which the words “prank, mischief or roguishness” refer, and not so much to necromantic conjurations.⁷⁵ In fact, even if “dyablie” definitely referred to “sorcery,” it could also mean “mad and comical extravagance”⁷⁶ as in those dramatic plays which were represented during the intermissions of mystery plays, called, precisely “deableries,” because of their lighthearted character, where the devils were not necessarily frightful but lent themselves to laughter. This is what seems to be described in the first two examples of the use of term in the text. The first time, when Eustace will be seen executing for the first time a magical act, in Montferrand (episode II), where, in the narrator’s

ings of “encant,” see the online *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (Lorraine, ATILF- CNRS and Lorraine University: 2015), <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/> (last accessed on March 3, 2017).

⁷⁵ As we shall see, the third instance of “dyablies” (no. 16 in Table II) actually refers to Eustace’s piracy and does not relate either to any kind of prank nor to “devilish” acts (as Burgess translates it; see his page 77).

⁷⁶ See the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (see note 74).

words, “Iluec fist dyablie grant” (line 42; Where he did great mischief).⁷⁷ In order to exact vengeance for having been fooled by the inn-keeper’s wife, “he cast a powerful spell” (my translation, see line 67), which is alluded to but is not reproduced in the text. This provoked a chaos in which the wine escaped from the tavern’s casks, and losing all modesty, the townspeople, along with every newcomer, lifted their clothing exposing their genitals, and then abandoned themselves to a disorderly combat attacking each other without rhyme nor reason. But finally, as unexpectedly as he had cast the spell, the monk decided to undo everything and all went back to normal, (see lines 63–162).

The second time the term “dyablie” appears, it is also used to introduce a series of transgressions of order in the abbey of Saint Samer, where Eustace performed some more pranks.⁷⁸ This time the word is part of a variation of the previously quoted phrase: “Iluec fist dyablie grant,” as the complete quotation shows:

Iluec fist mainte dyablie
 . . . Il faisoit les moignes juner
 Quant se devoient desjuner,
 Il les faisoit aler nus piés
 Quant devoient estre cauchiés.
 Wistasces lor faisoit mesdire
 Quant devoient lor eures dire,
 Wistasce lor faisoit mesprendre
 Quant devoient lor grasces rendre. (lines 223–32)

[Where he did many a mischief . . . he made the monks fast when they should have eaten and made them go barefoot when they should have worn shoes. He made them curse when they should have been reciting the office and made them misbehave when they should have been giving thanks. (My translation)]

In this last instance, there are no magic spells involved but, clearly, this is about showing the bad influence Eustace exerts on the monks. Nonetheless, the quoted passage could also constitute a veiled criticism of the clergy, whose members did not always observe their religious obligations adequately. The literature of the age fully exemplifies the varied and more or less virulent censures of the excesses committed by those members of the church who did not respect the austerity

⁷⁷ My translation; cf. Burgess’s translation: “where he accomplished a most devilish act” (Burgess 50).

⁷⁸ Burgess and Kelly make use of the adjective “devilish” to characterize his acts or tricks, but as is specified here, these are more like jests and not diabolic ones; see Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 52; and Thomas Kelly, “Eustace The Monk” (see note 4), 68.

that should rule their lives. This is evident in the description of the abundant menu the abbot refuses to share with Eustace, in the next scene, when he would not have him at his table. The allusion to the monks' cursing and misbehaving instead of fulfilling their responsibilities must have been equally risible to their breaking wind in the middle of the cloister as previously quoted.

Apparently, these two "dyablies" are intended to amuse, and do not definitely result in terrible, perverse or satanic acts (although they are not less scandalous) and the narrator not only avoids judging them but he imbues his descriptions with a humorous tone.

A few verses later, in the episode that takes place in the abbey kitchen, the reader is witness to the one scene that shows in some detail the protagonist's magic tricks, based on the use of incantations which are said to be pronounced, but are not specified. Their purpose is to carry out supernatural changes of the water contained in a basin, turning it red, and above all, the transformation of a piece of pork into a hideous hunchbacked woman (or at least the monks are made to believe this vision).⁷⁹ In this way, we observe again the absence of literal conjurations to the Evil One or to spirits of the departed nor any demon, and although the protagonist pronounces magical charms, the text does not reproduce them word for word. Therefore, in the case of the old woman, although Eustace makes passes with his hands on casting his spell,⁸⁰ his performance does not seem to have particularly satanic intentions, but simply aims to give the monks a good scare.

With an evidently facetious intention, the description emphasizes the commotion all this causes in the abbey, and it would seem that the purpose is to show the abbot frenetically fleeing from the apparition, voicing exclamations in macarronic Latin, where his terror is the outstanding feature: "'Nomini dame,' dist l'abbé, / 'Fuions nous ent! C'est un malfé!'" (lines 269–70; "Nomini Dame,"⁸¹ let's get out of here, it's a demon" (my translation).

⁷⁹ Several magician-thieves in epic literature, like Maugis, could provoke terrifying visions in their victims, who believed they were seeing extraordinary beings appearing and disappearing afterwards, or even thunderstorms or fires in the place where they were, even though they lacked any kind of real substance. See as well Richard Kieckhefer's mentions to the various sorts of illusions created by necromancers, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 21), 158.

⁸⁰ "La moitié d'un porc esgarda, / Oiant trestous le conjura / Puis a destre, puis a senestre, / une veille sambla a l'estre / Laide e bochue et reskignie" (lines 259–63; "Eustace spotted half a pig. In everyone's hearing, he cast a spell over it, first to the right, then to the left, and it took the appearance of an old woman, ugly, hump-backed and sour-faced"; Burgess 53).

⁸¹ The phrase "*in nomine Domini*" ["In the name of the Lord"] was one of those Latin exclamations people used in everyday life. Here, however, it is deformed, either to caricature the abbot's defective Latin, or because of a popular use that mixed it with an invocation to the Virgin, since

The very fact that the narrative does not take advantage of the occasion to teach an edifying lesson about the power of prayer, or the sign of the cross the abbot could have opposed to the vision that he himself calls satanic, is a token of the zero interest on the part of the author to associate his protagonist with the devil. The denouement of the episode also underlines the burlesque character of the scene, since immediately after the abbot's inappropriate and undignified retreat, Eustace cancels the spell effortlessly, "Wistasse desfist le carnin" (line 271; "Eustace cancelled the spell"; Burgess 53)], and ends up taking the piece of pork to the tavern, eating and drinking while he bets on and loses a series of sacred objects from the monastery (the crucifixes and the statues) and other simply absurd items like the bell's clapper or the monk's boots (lines 272–80). This humorous tone recalls Richard Kieckhefer's allusion to another kind of magic "that aimed to amuse," not only to "arouse wonder at the magicien's virtuosity," but also to play practical jokes on others just for the fun of it.⁸² Therefore, the first two allusions to his "dyablies" describe this kind of practical jokes that could both be qualified as "bedeviled," but definitely do not seem at all diabolical.

The last time the term "dyablies" appears, it is a variant of the two previous ones ("Puis fist il mainte dyablie" (line 2253; "Then he did many a mischief," see no. 16 in Table II), except that it belongs in the section on piracy, where it introduces the monk's doings throughout the Channel Islands referring the usual activities of a corsair. Even if they could also be designated as bedeviled or even wicked, they are definitely not particularly linked to Satan.

It is obvious that in these three examples of the use of "dyablie," the characterization of Eustace does not provide evidence of any existing demonic relations. In fact, throughout the whole text, we never witness him explicitly or implicitly invoking any devil, spirit or other evil beings, nor do we watch him adjuring demons by their name or showing any interest in interacting with them at all, as it was usual in many necromancer's manuals.⁸³ Neither does he evince any perverse intentions to do evil. Although he may be enjoying the spells and enchantments he performs, he always ends up by reverting their effects, as if they tired him, thus without causing permanent harm, nor manifesting any particularly satanic inclination. We might even think that we are observ-

"Dame" [Lady] in French refers to the Mother of God. Lecco notes that the same phrase appears in other *chansons de geste* (see note 1), 154.

82 See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 21), 90–91.

83 Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites* (see note 60), 280; see also Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 21), 157–65. We should note that this is also the case of his Toledo friends' spells in the Montferrand episode, which are not tainted by any diabolic allusions.

ing some of the apparently gratuitous acts tricksters usually perform (similar to the destruction and reconstruction of the Palace of London on lines 2147–68). In any case, these are not infernal iniquities in any sense.

Eustace “dyable,” “malfé,” “adversier,” “anemis”...

It is worth continuing to contextualize the phrases with which Eustace is referred to as “dyable” in order to specify the meaning the term acquires on different occasions (see Table II). Actually, as we already mentioned, only in one instance do we find the term in an epithet unequivocally linked to the devil: “Wistasse . . . Qui mout sot del art au dyable” (line 552; “Eustace . . . who knew so many devilish tricks”; Burgess 56), which nonetheless is found in one of the scenes of horses’ thefts (lines 551–640). Interestingly enough, the phrase introduces six instances in which the Evil One is mentioned in relation to the protagonist throughout 89 verses:

The first instance on the part of the narrator, with the above quoted epithet; two more instances, four verses afterwards, when the servant alerts to the theft of Morel, declaring the thief as “Un dyable moigne adversier” (line 566; “a devilish, enemy monk”). This last phrase combines two allusions to the devil, since “enemy” [adversier] could also refer to Satan. The fourth diabolical reference appears when the Count reacts, claiming that his enemy “cil a le dyable en la teste” (“had the devil in his head):

Wistasse . . . Qui mout sot del art au dyable;
 [. . . a servant alerts the Count:] “Un dyable moigne adversier
 Vait de chi monté sor Moriel.”
 “Vois, dit li cuens, por le cerviel,
 Por les boiaus, por la froissure!
 Or tost apriés grant aleüre.
 Puis k’il est sor Moriel montés
 Ja mais n’iert pris ne atrapés,
 Car Morials cort comme tempeste,
 Et cil a le dyable en la teste
 Ki le mainne; jel sai de voir;
 Ja mais ne le porai r’avoir.
 Dex, dist li quens, que je nel pris
 Quant il fu dalés moi assis.” (lines 564–76)

[Eustace: . . . who knew so many devilish tricks . . . (a servant alerts the Count:) “A devilish, enemy monk is leaving here on Morel.” “Gosh!,” said the Count, “by His brains, by His

bowels and by His guts! After him, as quick as you can! Since he's on Morel, he'll never be caught. For Morel runs like the wind and the man taking him has the Devil in his head. I know in truth that I shall never manage to get him back." "God," said the Count, "why didn't I capture him when he was sitting beside me?" (my translation)].⁸⁴

There are two more allusions also linked to the theft of Morel, the horse, on lines 615–16, not far from the previous quotation: "Wistasces li moignes . . . ly dyables, le anemis" ("Eustace the Monk, the Devil, the Enemy"; Burgess 57; see no. 8 in Table II). The phrase, which contains the last two instances, *dyable* and *anemis* (enemy, meaning the Devil, as the Enemy of God), is pronounced by the monks who accompanied Eustace and were terrified to think that the Count could ill-treat them on account of the theft of the mount. With this last sentence the episode on Morel practically comes to a conclusion after having concentrated 34% of the instances of links of Eustace to the devil (registered in nos. 3–4, 5, 6, 7–8, see Table II).

As was already discussed, the theft of twenty-three of the twenty-eight horses stolen in the text is accompanied by a phrase relating the protagonist with Satan. This phrases are accumulated in four episodes, of which the Morel scene contains, in fewer than 89 lines, almost half of all the incidences of the text (right before line 616), and just about this one stolen mount. Three more theft episodes, narrating the robbery of twenty-two more horses will be accompanied by five more incidences: one in no. 10 (eleven horses stolen), another in no. 13 (eleven horses stolen), and the last one in nos. 14–15 (one last horse stolen). However, even if all these occurrences somehow mention the monk's satanic relations, they do not unearth concrete links with the devil, and seem rather to be mostly hyperbolic expletives.

This leaves only two phrases that are neither linked to a theft of horses nor have polysemic implications. Nonetheless, in them the terms "malfé" (no. 11) and "dyable" (no. 12) do not refer to particularly demonic acts and could be just as well exclamations.

On the other hand, in contrast with the horse's robbery introduced by the aforementioned diabolical epithet ("art au dyable"), there is only one other phrase, "dyables moigne" ("devilish monk"), linked to a terrible deed: Eustace's burning down of a whole city. Nonetheless, the story again places greater impor-

84 As for the rather blasphemous interjections the Count pronounces ("blustering expletives", as Busby calls them [see note 23], 423), they are found all over the text. Medieval people were used to swearing by all the parts of God's "body," even if sometimes, out of respect, the term "God" was omitted or not pronounced correctly and it would appear as "biu," as in "Por les dens biu" (line 1065, see no. 11, Table II).

tance on his theft of eight horses just before the fire. When the Count is informed about these crimes, beginning with Eustace disguised as a penitent asking and receiving alms from him, followed by the robbery of his mounts, and finally by the burning down of the city, the Count's reaction is to exclaim:

“Par foi . . . je suis fols,
Quant ne fis prendre ces cokins,
Ces truans, ces faus pelerins.
S'or voloie de chi torner
N'aroie jou sor coi monter.
Trop set bien faire sa besoigne,
Ainc ne fu si dyables moigne.
Se je le puis tenir as mains
Ne morra pas as daerrains.” (lines 922–30)

[“Upon my word . . ., I am mad not to have captured these rogues, these wretches, these false pilgrims! If I wanted to leave here, I would have no horse to ride. He certainly knows how to go about his business. There has never been such a devilish monk! If I can get my hands on him, it will not be long before he dies”; Burgess 61].

It is evident from this quote that the Count is worried about his humiliation at having given alms to the bandit and about the robbery of ten his horses, but he never once mentions Eustace's burning down of the city. It once more becomes clear that the Count reacts thus not only because he was deprived of a considerable amount of horses, but because he was left with no other means of transportation. It also gives the impression that looking like or being a fool is more important to him than the people who died and were wounded in the city destroyed by the monk. Although the narrative voice does not make any remark on this episode, this will not always be the case:

The Narrative Voice and the Trickster

There are four instances of unspeakable atrocities committed by Eustace, which the narrator lets pass without making any kind of judgment. This is when Eustace burns down the mills, when he cuts out the tongue of one of his enemy's servants, when he forces one of the spies to hang himself, and when he cuts off the feet of four men. All these “gruesome deeds” are done “without a trace of remorse,” as Busby describes it.⁸⁵ However, in the description of two of these iniquities, the narrative voice goes out of its way to make a macabre little joke that

⁸⁵ See Keith Busby, “The Diabolic Hero” (see note 23), 420, note 65.

might add to the amusement of the audience. This offers a firm clue as to the humorous tone of the whole text, which also prevents a critical judgment, or a moralizing reading of the episode.

The first time this happens is when Eustace cuts out the tongue of one of his enemies' men and orders him to return to his master to inform him about it. The poor man goes right away to the Count, but can only babble incomprehensibly, to which the Count reacts, exasperated, vociferating: "Dyables! c'as tu?" (line 651; "What the devil's the matter with you?" Burgess 58). The only answer he receives from the young man is again a babbling "Belu, belu" (line 652). The narrator has taken the trouble to render the dialogue taking place at the Count's court in direct speech, tainted with cruelly comedic effect while allowing the audience to imagine the mutilated man's sounds instead of words.⁸⁶ The narrative voice also intervenes to explain that the victim "could not tell" the Count anything because his tongue had been cut out. The only reaction this prompts comes from another character who goes into detail: "'He is the one who was leading our packhorses. He has fallen into bad hands and lost his tongue at least. Eustace has got his hands on him and held on to our pack-horse'" (Burgess 58)]. The episode ends on this note, without further disquisitions on the matter, and once more mentioning the trickster's theft of a horse.

We are witnesses thus, to a narrator who takes advantage of the occasion to produce a teasing remark, establishing the proper aesthetic distance so that the humor will not be lost. This attitude on the part of the narrative voice that does not resist adding macabre nuances with evident comical intentions, precisely in those scenes that will most upset modern susceptibility, is again present in the descriptions of the series of mutilations caused by this first Eustace's attack. In spite of the fact that the Count seemed not to react before the mutilated victim, what later becomes evident is that he himself had two of the monk's men's eyes gouged out, which unleashes an automatic mechanism of exponential retaliations, with an evidently mocking intention. Therefore, a cut-out tongue is followed by four gouged out eyes, to which would correspond eight feet cut off, since, naturally, Eustace will not be left behind. However, in the face of these atrocities, we never perceive any judgment or censure on the part of the narrator, who describes the scene as follows:

86 It would be necessary here to reinforce one of several possible comical effects that gestural resources may have had in the oral transmission of the text as has been examined by Evelyn Birge Vitz in her recent work "La Performabilité de la voix et du déguisement dans le récit et au théâtre: *Wistasse le moine*," *Pris-Ma* (University of Poitiers) XXII.43.4 (2009): 2-17.

Wistasces les a arestés,
 Tous .iiii. les a espietés.
 Au cinkisme dist: “Va al conte,
 D’Uistasce le moigne li conte
 Que pour .iiii. iex k’il a crevés
 En a Wistasces .iiii. espietés.”
 “Sire, dist-il, mout volentiers.”
 Il n’oublia pas ses trotiers,
 Au conte en est venus errant,
 Si li a conté maintenant
 Que pour .iiii. iex k’il a crevés
 Wistasce en a .iiii. espietés. (lines 757–68)

[Eustace brought them to a halt and cut the feet off four of them. To the fifth, he said: “Go to the Count and tell him about Eustace the monk, because in exchange for four eyes which he had put out, Eustace had taken four men’s feet.” “Lord,” he said, “most willingly.” He did not forget his trotters.⁸⁷ He went rushing off to the Count and told him at once that in exchange for four eyes which he had put out Eustace had taken four men’s feet. (My translation)].

All this confirms that the narrative voice does not only lend itself to ironic and teasing ghastly commentaries,⁸⁸ but also adds a sort of repetitive contagious rhythm to the episode, which at the time it was written, must have constituted an effective comical technique. It is also evident that he who narrates the story, never attacks Eustace, nor does he judge his actions.⁸⁹ This is particularly noticeable in the scenes where no one reacts to the barbaric acts against innocent victims, as if those were regular casualties of military life.

Even the Count, being outraged and bitterly lamenting the loss of his horses, does not make any specific remarks about the man whose tongue has been cut out by Eustace, and, in the case of those whose feet have been cut off, he limits himself to deploring his humiliation (“cel faus moigne / Qui tant me fait honte et vergogne,” lines 771–72; “. . . this wretched, truant monk, who has caused me so much shame and humiliation”; Burgess 59). All this suggests that as much as Eustace is responsible for having committed those atrocities, the Count feels no pity for the people whose eyes he ordered to be gouged out, which also shows that our protagonist will not do anything that his lord is not equal to doing himself.

⁸⁷ There is no register of the use of *trotiers* in Old French, except as a modifier (as in “trotting horses”). Yet, the irony of the verse may be taken into account. See Margherita Lecco, *Saggi sul romanzo* (see note 1), 164.

⁸⁸ Giovanna Angeli comments on these two scenes and the jokes the narrator makes to this effect in “Le comique cruel” (see note 25).

⁸⁹ See Anne-Dominique Kapferer, “Banditisme, roman” (see note 5), 237.

(Not only does the Count mutilate his enemies, but he also switches allegiances with the same lords as Eustace does: they both were vassals of the King of France, but offered their services to King John of England, even if in the end Eustace went back to serving Philip Augustus).

Conclusion

Reflecting backwards, we may say that in spite of the undeniable relationship of Eustace's magic arts with the Devil introduced at the beginning of the text, of the seventeen occasions where we can find phrases apparently linking Eustace to the devil (see Table II)⁹⁰ the vast majority (that is 88%) could be considered to be either a) ambiguous (47%: nos. 1, 2, 9, 13, 14–15,⁹¹ 16, 17) or b) related to a theft or horses (58.8%).⁹² This leaves just two unequivocal utterances (nos. 11 and 12: 11.7%), which anyhow might be, as the rest, common expletives or could be interpreted in ways unrelated to Satan, since they do not refer directly to any particular satanic action.

a) There are eight ambiguous passages, for which there are many possible interpretations (nos 1, 2, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17):

a1) Three of these are pronounced by Eustace speaking of himself in the third person to fool his enemies and mock them (nos. 9, 14 and 15):

– In no. 9 when, wearing a disguise, Eustace pleads for justice against the “malfé,” the term does not necessarily allude to him and might also refer to Satan. Even if it were understood as diabolical that an ally of the Devil should appeal for justice against Satan himself, it would leave the two interpretations standing, a fact that underscores the trickster's ambiguity – as is the case when the term “dyablies” appears (see below a2), nos. 1, 2, and 16).

– Nos. 13 and 14 are part of a single phrase identical to that pronounced by one of the Count's followers, when Eustace stole Morel, the horse (see nos. 4 and 5: “Un adversier,” line 565 [“a devilish enemy monk”]). The repetition of his enemy's utterance has thus a clearly parodic taste in Eustace's mouth.

⁹⁰ Table II does not include the literal description of Eustace's actual dealings with the devil: “Ou parloit au malfé meisme, / Qui l'aprist l'engien et l'art” (lines 14–15) and “Wistasse . . . / Au dyable congié a pris.” (lines 33–34), but only the subsequent expressions or phrases linking him to Satan.

⁹¹ For those instances included in the same phrase (4–5, 6–7 14–15), see note 100 in Table II.

⁹² Nos. 3, 4–5, 6, 7–8, 10, 13, 14–15 (see note 100 in the Table II). It should be noted that nos. 13 and 14–15 are both related to a theft of horses and ambiguous (no. 13) or parodical (nos. 14–15).

a2) Three more (nos. 1, 2 and 16, refer to his “dyablies”) are clearly polysemic as the first two examples can be interpreted as pranks and no. 16 is related to Eustace’s piracy and not to demonic activities.⁹³ Thus, none of them should be linked to diabolical situations since neither of them reveal any convincing signs of ongoing relationships with the devil. In spite of the fact that the two first ones are magical performances, they seem to be practical jokes to entertain, not associated with any satanical being. (See nos. 1 and 2)

a3) As for the feigned name he assumes while disguised as a minstrel, “Mauferas” (no. 17: [Mal+Feras=“You will do evil”]), it was a play on words which could also have been pronounced in jest, as a verbal acrobacy, part of his supposed expertise as a jongleur and master of verbal manipulations. Thus, it could have been produced as in nos. 14–15 with a mocking intention, since his admission to being “Maufé” has no further consequences in an otherwise innocent episode.

b) On the other hand, as was pointed before, of the ten incidences linking Eustace to the devil and related to the theft of horses, the episode of the stealing of Morel concentrates a great part of the phrases that might relate Eustace more forcefully with Satan (nos. 3, 4–5, 6, 7–8, see Table II). However, fifteen of the total seventeen phrases are found in Segment B, where no more magical performances, which could relate him to his learning with the demon, will be seen,

c) but if we take into account that almost 50% of the references to the devil related to the protagonist are concentrated before verse 616, we may also consider that the very idea of Eustace as a character linked to Satan at the beginning of the text weakens as soon as he is forced to abandon his youthful magical experiments and mischievous pranks to face his adult responsibilities. Chronologically in the story of his life, Segment B starts exactly at the moment of his father’s murder, when he has to honor his family duties (to seek vengeance), as well as his feudal obligations toward his lord, Count Renaud. All this conveys the impression that the period covering the character’s magical ventures and supernatural powers is over. From then on, the reader will be witness to his new identities, more related to real life conflicts (banishment from his land, bandit’s activities together with continuous evasions and flights from his enemies, piracy). That is why the memory of his magical spells becomes indistinct in the texture of the narrative, until it is really evident that there is no intention left in the poem to dwell on the diabolical effects of the protagonist’s sojourn in Toledo nor his instruction with the devil.

93 See above, section “Eustace’s ‘art’ and ‘dyablies’.”

d) The last element that supports the previous idea is the very miniature in the text, where as we have mentioned, even if Eustace is facing the devil, he does not adopt a posture of subjugation.⁹⁴

Thus, we may argue that although there are multiple allusions to the devil, and that Eustace seems devoted to performing numerous villainous acts that can even be vicious, throughout the development of the most extensive segment of the text (Segment B) there is no trace of his diabolical connections nor any judgment of his acts. What is more, the narrator's cruel jokes in the face of his atrocities, as well as his evident admiration of Eustace's misdeeds, shows a position analogous to the fascination that tricksters exert on both their narrators and their audience, even when they may seem at the same time evil or disquieting.

This again takes us back to Eustace's relationships with tricksters, since several trickster figures like Renart, Merlin, and Loki appear also, at some point in their story, linked to the devil. It would seem as a Christian reaction against characters with a doubtful morality, since we are dealing in all instances with ambiguous hybrid figures that change their identity and appearance easily,⁹⁵ particularly during that age when only the devil could transform himself (and did so to conceal his malignant personality). Good Christians were not supposed to even wear clothing inappropriate to their status, or to disguise themselves, much less to undergo any transformation. They were expected to always remain in their place, without trying to take up other trades or change their social position nor alter hierarchies or the order imposed by God. Conversely, tricksters were transgressive and rebellious characters who disobeyed the established order. They were also disrespectful of authority, marginal, and always on the move, also characterized by a disquieting ambivalence in the face of the dominant ideology. The power of the Church rested in an alliance with goodness, and because of this, ambiguity bothered the clergy and uncertainty or any partisan changes, like those of Eustace, proved to be unacceptable.

It is important to remember, though, as Lewis Hyde has pointed out, that unlike the devil, who is a completely immoral figure, tricksters belong to pagan origins where ambiguity is an attribute of deities, and consequently, rather than immoral, they are amoral figures.⁹⁶ Accordingly, the very structure of the narrative, which shifts its pretensions from an edifying point of view, to a comical one, only to end with a poorly articulated moral to the story, could be symptomatic of a narratorial position that admires the protagonist, but knows it is improper and

⁹⁴ See above note 54.

⁹⁵ See above note 42 about Eustace's different identities as well as his use of disguises.

⁹⁶ See Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Makes this World* (see note 38), 10.

inadmissible to do so. The narrative voice acknowledges the paradox of its own position, and thus ends up linking Eustace to the devil in order to categorize him as a reprobate.

Finally, it is necessary to underscore the fact that the separation of magical activities from the main section of the story, the longest one in the text, would seem to indicate the need to clarify that the dominant aspects of the protagonist are not his supernatural powers but his cunning and his ability to fool everyone.

Nevertheless, the epilogue of the text with its final moralizing sentence: “Nus ne puet vivre longhement / Qui tos jours a mal faire entent” (lines 2307–08; “No one who is always intent on evil can live for a long time,” Burgess 78), may in fact be one of the traditional formulae employed to conclude short stories, very similar to the closing phrases of numerous fabliaux in which the moral conformed to the rules of brief narratives, which sought a general reflection to end the tale,⁹⁷ even though it might not correspond to the tone and content of the text and what is more, would seem, sometimes, to parody traditional morals.

In the face of these contrasts, the figure of the trickster is again useful to complete the analysis of the text, since as has been pointed out, although we are dealing with a figure of chaos and disorder, his actions do not cease to depend on the world of order in which they are inscribed, emphasizing the rules that govern it (Segment C). Therefore, as a mediator between what is licit and what is illicit, the trickster is a regenerating force, and his amoral attitude puts the limits of social conventions to the test, but continues to be defined by them, since just as he will question them, he will allow them to be reaffirmed.⁹⁸

Lastly, this does not impede the fact that his stories represent a breath of fresh air, reminding us of the contradictions of human existence, constantly oscillating between the requirements made by rules and the need for liberty and spontaneity. The trickster also shows us our darker side with all our weaknesses and limitations. In this way he becomes funnier and closer to us, and as has already been said about medieval comic literature, he allows us to oppose an idealization of a perfect world bound with the sacred, to the imperfections of the quotidian in its present reality, with all the disorder and filth inherent to it –al-

⁹⁷ See Margherita Lecco (see note 1), 185; see also Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 44; see as well Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters* (see note 30), 141; Anne-Dominique Kapferer, “Banditisme, roman” (see note 5), 237.

⁹⁸ See William Hynes, “Mapping the Characteristics of Mythic Tricksters: A Heuristic Guide,” *Mythical Trickster Figures* (see note 38), 33–45; and on literary tricksters, see Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters* (see note 30), 5.

though it may not be considered good taste to mention it. Thus, Eustace's continuous transformations and his radical fluctuations between his misdeeds and his jests, and even between cruelty and comicalness, respond to a vital need for resistance against inertia and stagnation.

Therefore, the problematic moralizing conclusion could well be, as has been reiterated, a way to come to terms with the events narrated in story, due to the congeniality that the narrator has shown toward the trickster protagonist. His pranks and lack of respect toward his society's values could turn out to be too subversive and very bad examples for others, although, at the same time, they were extremely entertaining to narrate, and for this same reason, it would be necessary to present them as negative examples, but not necessarily diabolical. That would explain why the miniature at the beginning of the story does not reflect any interest in the Devil's authority over the protagonist, nor any kind of satanic domination.

Moreover, since the Church itself proved to be ambiguous toward most of the divination and magical practices of the times, Eustace's juvenile learning from Satan might just as well have been effaced throughout the text, up to the point where the final moral did not even mention the question raised about the demonic relations of the protagonist. As I have tried to demonstrate, the monk's links with the devil were not the *Roman de Wistasse*'s main concern, since as Glyn Burgess suggests, Eustace "was evidently more of a hero than a villain."⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Glyn Burgess, *Two Medieval Outlaws* (see note 1), 44. I would like to thank the time and dedication of Geraldine Gerling, who translated into English this paper, as well as to Andrea Patiño Caro for her patient and creative technical support throughout all the process. Also, to the members of the Proyecto de Traducción Medieval, who have been a source of reflection and enjoyable hard work. Finally, all my gratitude to the *bienveillance* and meticulous reading of Professor Albrecht Classen.

Table II: Expressions that link Eustace to the devil

DYABLIE:	1. <i>Iluec fist dyablie grant</i> (line 42) ¹⁰⁰ 2. <i>Illuec fist mainte dyablie</i> (line 223) 16. <i>Puis fist il mainte dyablie</i> (line 2253)
DYABLE	4. <i>Un dyable moigne adversier ++</i> (line 565) 6. Et cil a le dyable en la teste/ Ki le Maine ++ (lines 572–73) 7. Wistasces li moignes...ly dyable ++ (line 616) 10. Ainc ne fu si dyables moigne ++ (line 928) 12. C'est un dyable moigne guerrier (line 1320) *14. <i>Un dyable moigne advresier ++</i> (line 1574)
ADVERSIER	5. Un dyable moigne adversier ++ (v. 565) 15. <i>Un dyable moigne advresier ++</i> (line 1574)
ANEMIS	8. Wistasces li moignes . . . ly dyables, le anemis ++ (lines 615–16)
MALFÉ	*9. <i>Et dist Wistasces: Dex i soit / Que dou malfé me fache droit!</i> (lines 801–02) 11. Por les dens biu, cel vif malfé (line 1065) *17. <i>“j’ai a nom Mauferas”</i> (line 2200)
ART	3. Wistasces . . . Qui mout sot de l’art au dyable ++ (lines 551–52) 13. <i>Wistasces qui molt sot d’art ++</i> (line 1339)

100 The numbers follow a chronological order in the text. All the examples in italics may have a double interpretation. The four phrases marked with an asterisk (*) are pronounced by Eustace, so they might be parodic. All examples marked with ++ at the end correspond to an episode of theft of horses. Note that nos. 4 and 5 appear in only one verse (line 565), which is also the case of nos. 7 and 8 (line 616) and nos. 14 and 15 (line 1574).

Anne Berthelot

Merlin, or, a Prophet Turning Magician

Starting with Geoffrey of Monmouth's two Latin works, the *Historia regum Britanniae* and the *Vita Merlini*,¹ which are considered to be the first to introduce the character, Merlin is depicted as a prophet – *vates* – or, at worst, a soothsayer.² Paul Zumthor, in his seminal book, *Merlin le prophète: un theme de l'historiographie et des romans*,³ insisted on that fact and critics have been loath to oppose this opinion. One may say, indeed, that there is no reason to oppose it: the “fatherless child” of the *Historia regum Britanniae* is originally hired by the usurper Vortigern as a soothsayer (he is supposed to tell why the king's tower crashes down every night), and, after he has revealed the cause of the problem – the presence of two dragons under the tower – the two beasts engage in a fight once they have been brought to light and get aware of each other. Vortigern demands that Merlin announce the result, and the meaning, of the fight, and Merlin complies. The fact that the *puer senex*,⁴ in orthodox prophetic guise, then erupts into tears and starts prophesying for about fifty pages is a personal initiative of his, and does not interest Vortigern more than half, which is understand-

1 See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*. An Edition and Translation of *De gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. and trans. Michael D. Reeve and Neil Wright. Arthurian Studies, LXIX (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2007); an excellent French translation is available in Geoffrey de Monmouth, *L'Histoire des rois de Bretagne*, trans. Laurence Mathey-Maille. La Roue à Livres, 18 (1993; Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 2000). And for the *Vita Merlini*, see *Le devin maudit: Merlin, Lailoken, Suibhne. Textes et Étude*, dir. Philippe Walter. Moyen âge européen (Grenoble: ELLUG, 1999).

2 There has, of course, been a lot of discussion about the why and how of Merlin being created by Geoffrey in the first place as based on the Welsh seer Myrddin. See John K. Bollard, “Myrddin in Early Welsh Tradition,” *The Romance of Merlin: An Anthology*, ed. Peter Goodrich. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 867 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1990), chapter 2, 13–54. On the discussion of the name “Merlin,” see also Yves Vadé, *Pour un tombeau de Merlin: Du barde celte à la période moderne* (Paris: José Corti, 2008).

3 Paul Zumthor, *Merlin le prophète. Un thème de la littérature polémique, de l'historiographie et des romans* (1943; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1980).

4 On Merlin as *puer senex*, see my article: “Merlin, *Puer Senex* Par Excellence,” *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 251–62. On the motive of the *puer senex* in medieval literature, see Terese C. Carp, “‘Puer senex’ in Roman and Medieval Thought,” *Latomus* 39.3 (juillet-septembre 1980): 736–39.

Anne Berthelot, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-010>

able since these prophesies do not concern him, once Merlin has predicted that the usurper will soon be burnt to death. The resulting *libellus prophetiae Merlini* has been one of the greatest bestsellers of the Middle Ages: manuscripts and commentaries bear testimony to the success of the work, well into the fifteenth century.⁵

This Merlin is clearly a prophet, modeled on the prophets of the Old Testament, and functioning as a conduit for God's word. On the other hand, the mad prince of the *Vita Merlini* is first and foremost an astrologer, who "reads" the future in the stars, as he does when he foresees the imminent second wedding of his own wife.⁶ Furthermore, there is some ambiguity here, since at the end of his prophetic discourse, Merlin himself makes it clear that he has "sung" all that with more details to Vortigern ("Hec Vortigerno cecini proxilius olim"; "Long ago I have sung all this to Vortigern with more details" l. 681⁷), which would suggest his prophetic gift does not need the stars to show him the future. Also, he demonstrates talents for soothsaying that are not grounded in star-readings, or in divinely inspired prophecies.⁸ Similarly, if the Welsh Myrddhin spends a large part of his exile in the forests

5 On the importance of the *Prophetia Merlini* during the Middle Ages, see Catherine Daniel, *Les prophéties de Merlin et la culture politique (XII^e–XVI^e siècles)*. Culture et Société Médiévales, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). While many philosophers and theologians were very interested in Merlin's utterances, some medieval writers were understandably wary of re-using such enigmatic discourse: the most famous of them is Wace, who in his *Roman de Brut* refuses point-blank to have anything to do with the *libellus prophetiae*. See Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. Ivor Arnold (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1938–1940), ll. 7534–42: "Dunc dist Merlin les prophesies / Que vus avez, ço creï, oïes / Des reis ki a venir esteient, / Ki la terre tenir deveient. / Ne vueil sun livre translater / Qaunt jo nel sai interpreter; / Nule rien dire ne vuldreie / Que si ne fust cum jo dirreie" (Then said Merlin the prophesies / which you have heard, I believe, / that were about the future kings / who should hold the land. / I do not want to translate his book / when I do not know how to interpret it; / I would not want to say anything / that would not be as I would say.)

6 *Vita Merlini* (*Le devin maudit*, see note 1), ll. 435–50. When comfortably installed in his "observatory" by his sister Ganiada, it is on the basis of his astrological observations that he prophesizes the (dire) future of the Britons during one hundred lines (ll. 580–680): "Deinde domum peragrans ad sidera respiciebat / Talia dum canerat que tunc ventura sciebat"; (Then pacing through the house, he considered the stars until he started to sing what he knew was to come; ll. 578–79).

7 Except when stated otherwise, translations are mine.

8 He reveals, for instance, why he laughed when being dragged through the town to the palace of his brother-in-law (see *Le devin maudit*, note 1, ll. 507–22), concluding his revelations with the ritual-sounding, quasi magical injunction: "Tu vade videre, videbis" (You, go to see, and you will see). Not to mention, of course, the previous sequence where he explains to his same brother-in-law that the wife he (King Rodarchus) has been greeting with such affection had just come home from a tryst with a lover (ll. 272–93).

prophesying to whom- or whatever lends him attention, whether his sister or the little pigs that keep him company, the origin of his prophetic gift is never made explicit. The same may actually be told of Merlin's analogues, Suibhne or Lailoken,⁹ whose main prophecy has to do with their own death; one may surmise, however, that the talent of the *vates* is linked to his madness – not to any magical nature or aptitude.

Merlin's career in the *Historia regum Britanniae* does not quite come to a stop after his bout of prophecy and Vortigern's demise, however. He submits to the new rulers of the land as a very obedient tool: he is the one who manages to bring back the huge stones of Ireland in order to erect a fitting grave memorial for the late Aurelius Ambrosius, and, of course, he is also the one who grants Uterpandragon access to the duchess of Cornwall by changing the king's appearance into the duke's, thus allowing for Arthur to be conceived. But then, Merlin disappears from Geoffrey's narrative, and these peculiar abilities of his, although rather different from classical soothsaying or prophesying, are never directly addressed or explicated. Wace does not change much to that template, and for the rest, whenever Merlin is mentioned in vernacular literature during the remaining twelfth century, it is only as a reference to a kind of mythical, or mystical, past, and through brief allusions: Chrétien de Troyes's only mention of Merlin is in his eponymous romance *Érec et Énide*, to emphasize the wealth deployed during Érec's coronation feast, by rhyming Merlin with "estrelin," or gold coins!¹⁰

The big change takes place during the next century, with one of the earliest prose romances written in Old French: the prose *Merlin*, long attributed to Robert de Boron.¹¹ He puts the title character front and center stage, and shifts the focus

9 For these two partly mythological, partly literary characters who have been considered as close cousins of Merlin, see the two sections devoted to them in *Le devin maudit* (see note 1): "Lailoken ou la vie du Merlin Sylvestre," 174–201 (Christine Bord and Jean-Charles Berthet, trans.); "La Folie de Suibhne," 203–30 (Nathalie Stalmans, trans.).

10 See, for instance, Chrétien de Troyes, *Érec et Énide*, ed. and trans. Jean-Marie Fritz. "Lettres gothiques" (Paris: UGE Livre de Poche, 1992), ll. 6682–86: "En mi la cort sor un tapit / Ot .xxx. muis d'esterlins blans, / Car lors avoient a cel tens / Correü des le tans Merlin / Par toute Bre-taigne esterlin" (In the middle of the court on a piece of fabric / there were thirty muids of white *esterlins*. / for at that time had / been in existence since the time of Merlin / *esterlins* in all Brit-tany/Britain).

11 The standard edition for the prose *Merlin* is Robert de Boron. *Merlin. Roman du XIII^e siècle*. ed. Alexandre Micha. Textes Littéraires Français, 281 (Geneva: Droz, 1980). More recently, Corinne Füg-Pierre-ville edited a different manuscript and came to very different conclusions about the authorship, and consequent time-line, of the work: *Le Roman de Merlin en prose (Roman publié d'après le manuscrit A'-BNF Français 24394)*, ed. and trans. Corinne Füg-Pierre-ville. Champion Classiques, 39 (Paris: Champion, 2014).

from his prophetic abilities to other, definitely more supernatural ones. Or are they, really? The romance starts with a revolutionary twist: this time around, Merlin is no accessory to the “History [with capital H] of the Kings of Britain,” he is to be no less than the Antichrist, i.e., the tool through which the devil will bring back mankind to hell. This he will do through false prophecy and soothsaying, imitating the prophets of the Old Testament but lying to drive men astray:

“Car nos avons pooir de savoir toutes choses faites, dites et alees, et se nos avoïens .i. home qui de ce eust pooir et qui seust ces choses, et il fust avec les autres homes en terre, cil les nos porroit mout aidier a engingnier, ainsi com li prophete nos engingnoient qui estoient avec nos et nos disoient ce que nos ne cuidions pas que ester poïst. Ansi diroit il les choses qui seroient fetes et dites et loing et pres, si seroit par ce molt creu de maint home.” (§ 1, ll. 68–79)

[“For we have the power to know all things past, said, and gone, and if we had a man who shared in this power and knew these things, and he were with the other men on earth, he could help us much to deceive them, as the prophets did deceive us, those who were with us and told us what we did not believe possible. In that way he would say the things that would be done and said near and far, and so he would be believed by many men.”]

Of course, in this context, Merlin is definitely the son of an incubus devil (one of the few devils able to have carnal acquaintance with human beings¹²) – there is no more doubt about his parentage, as there is no space left in the thirteenth-century worldview for *daemons* who would not be demons.¹³ However, due to

12 “Il i a tel de nos qui puet bien prendre semblence d’ome et habiter a feme” (*Merlin* (see note 11) § 1, ll. 89–90; There is such a one among us who can assume the guise of a man and have sex with a woman]. Indeed, contrary to the rulings of Lateran IV Council in 1215, the *Merlin* does still aver that a devil may father a child, in a kind of reverse holy conception. Later texts, such as the 1294 *Roman des fils du roi Constant* by Baudouin Butor, will consequently be very embarrassed by the presumed diabolical lineage of Merlin.

13 In the *Historia regum Britanniae*, after the “fatherless child” whom the king’s *magi* wanted to have killed is brought to Vortigern’s court, a debate about Merlin’s father takes place, fueled by the improbable story told by the child’s mother. The “wise man” Maugantius, called upon to settle the differences of opinions, quotes Apuleius’s *De deo Socratis* to acknowledge the possibility of Merlin’s father being one of these supernatural, but not necessarily evil, creatures: “In libris philosophorum nostrorum et in pluribus histories repperi multos homines hujusmodi procreationem habuisse. Nam, ut Apulegius de deo Socratis perhibet, inter lunam et terram habitant spiritus, quos incubus daemones appellamus. Hi partim habent naturam hominis, partim vero angelorum et, cum volunt, assumunt sibi humanas figures et cum mulieribus coeunt.” (“I have discovered in the books of our philosophers and in very many histories that many people have been born in this way. As Apuleius records in *De Deo Socratis*, between the moon and the earth there live spirits whom we call incubi. They are part human, part angel, and take on human form at will and sleep with women”). Quoted from Edmond Faral, *La Légende arthuri-*

the devils' blundering, his mother is a saintly lady, a fact which causes God to give the would-be Antichrist a choice – and, as Merlin himself explains, whoever, in his right mind, would choose the Devil's side rather than God's? Consequently, Merlin becomes a failed Antichrist, and true prophet of the new Gospel of the Grail.¹⁴

So far, the prose *Merlin* is remaining true to the original Merlin-template: a prophet, a *vates*, a soothsayer, a *devin*, the *puer senex* is mainly supposed to deal with prophecies or less exalted predictions. In fact, the doubts people, starting with Blaise, Merlin's mother's confessor, entertain about the orthodoxy of the "devil's son" have nothing to do with possible magical gifts; indeed, none of these have become apparent yet at that point. Blaise is afraid that Merlin, true to his original advocacy, would dictate to him a "false" Gospel, but he is strongly chided by the "fatherless child" along the lines of "evil is in the eyes of the beholder:"

"Il est costume de toz mauvais cuers que il voient en toz lor affaires et notent plus sovent mal que bien. Ansi com m'oïs tu dire que Nostre Sires m'avoit doné sen et memoire de savoir les choses qui sont a avenir. Et por ce, se tu fusses saiges, deusses tu prover que je devoie bien savoir au quel je me devoie tenir. Et bien saiches tu que, quant Nostre Sires volt que je seusse ses choses, que deables m'ot perdu, mais je n'ai pas perdi lor enging ne lor art, ainz tieng d'els ce que tenir en doi, mais je nel tien mie por lor pro . . ." (§ 16, ll. 17–28)

["It is the custom of all evil hearts that they see and notice in all their business more often evil than good. You also heard me say that Our Lord had given me sense and memory to know things that are to be. And for this reason, if you were wise, you should have considered as proven that I must know well with which side I should hold. And know well that, when Our Lord wanted me to know these things, the devil did lose me, but I did not lose their cunning nor their art: on the contrary I have from them what I should, but I do not use it for their advantage."]

enne, Etudes et documents, 3 volumes. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 255 (Paris: Champion, 1969), vol. 3, 188; English translation, Neil Wright, *The History of the Kings of Britain* (see note 1), 138. Let us keep in mind that Vortigern in this sequence is casually employing the word *magi*, i.e., practitioners of magic, without this necessarily being considered as an abomination from a Christian point of view.

14 He orders Blaise to take "encre et parchemin adés" ("ink and parchment immediately") (§ 6, l. 59) in order to write down what he will dictate: ". . . si li comença [Merlins] a conter les amors de Jhesu Crist et de Joseph tot ainsi come les avoient esté, et de lui et de son lingnaige et de celes genz qui le vaissel dou Graal avoient, et toute l'oeuvre si com ele avoit esté" (§ 6, ll. 63–67) (... then Merlin started telling him of the love between Jesus Christ and Joseph, such as it had been, and about him (Joseph) and his lineage and these people who kept the vessel called Grail, and everything as it had happened).

Merlin not only dictates the “Book of the Grail,” also called “Book of Joseph” (of Arimathea) to Blaise, he engages in the usual career that has been assigned to him since Geoffrey: after a few short sequences of entertaining soothsaying, he does explain to Vertigier why his tower falls, he confronts and outwits the usurper’s soothsayers, he prophesies the coming of the exiled princes and Vertigier’s imminent death.

Then, as in the *Historia regum Britanniae* narrative, Merlin fades away, until the two young legitimate heirs get into trouble with the ever-ready-to-invade Saxons, and look out for some help. Merlin does help them, but in doing so he manages to intrigue, entertain and seduce both princes, so that they cannot spare him anymore, as he tells Blaise in so many words:

“Il sont jone home et jollif et je ne les porroie en nule meniere atraire a m’amor si bien come por faire grant partie de lor volenté, et por els mestre en joie et en beles risees.” (37, ll. 7–10)

[“They are young and gay and I could in no better way bring them to love me than in doing most of what they want, and in bringing them joy and a lot of fun.”]

His help consists in part of predictions but he also makes use of an ability that is not present, or at least not mentioned at that point, in the *Historia regum Britanniae*: he changes his *semblance*, appearing first as a woodcutter,¹⁵ then as a cowherd,¹⁶ then as a *prudome*,¹⁷ then as a young and flighty messenger, then again as an old, wise man.¹⁸ This is not part of the usual prophetic *habitus*; to some extent, it heralds Merlin’s main feat, giving the looks of Cornwall to King Uterpandragon. But there is never any suggestion that Merlin can do that to himself

15 “Merlins [...] vint en la vile come uns boscherons, une grant coingnie a son col et uns granz solers chauciez et ot une corte cote vestue toute despecie et les chevols molt hericiez et molt granz et la barbe molt grande, et bien sembla home sauvaige.” (§ 32, ll. 4–8; Merlin came to town as a woodcutter, with a great axe on his shoulder and strong shoes on his feet, and he had a short doublet badly torn up and his hair was long and shaggy, and his beard bushy, and he well looked like a wild man.)

16 A messenger sent by the princes “trova une grant plenté de bestes et un home molt lait et molt hidos qui ces bestes gardoit.” (§ 33, ll. 6–8; found a great number of beasts and a very ugly and hideous man who watched over these beasts.)

17 “si vint un prodome a lui en son ostel, molt bien atornez et bien vestuz et bien chauciez, et dist:” (§ 33, ll. 41–43; and then a goodman came to his lodgings, very well arranged and dressed and nicely shod, and he said:)

18 Merlin himself explains to King Pandragon: “Sire, je pris une vieille semblance saige et parlai a lui a consoil.” (§ 35, ll. 23–24; “Sire, I put on an old and wise guise and talked to him privately.”) To complete the demonstration, Merlin then takes over several of these *semblances* in a row, for the great surprise and pleasure of Pandragon and his brother.

in earlier texts, and anyway the king's metamorphosis is a one-time occurrence, not a kind of parlor game to entertain a couple of bored young noblemen. Nevertheless, nobody seems to find that peculiar, let alone reads this capacity to change forms as a sign of magical power; when confronted to some of the "base" *semblances* of Merlin, menial characters such as messengers may sign themselves and call him "deables" ("devil"), but the princes are more enlightened than that, and besides, most of the time, Merlin's *personae* are positive, respectable characters: it follows that he, the true "he," is one, too.

However, once Merlin has established himself in the royal household, his main activities for some time pertain again to prophecy and soothsaying: most spectacularly, the prose romance takes over the triple-death story and frames it so that Merlin's prophetic gifts appear in the most favorable light. A triple-death prophecy goes like that: in order to test a soothsayer, one asks him how one person under three disguises will die; he gives three different answers, leading people to mock him and proclaim him a failure. Then, of course, the person dies a very complicated, triple death, that shows the soothsayer was right, after all. In Merlin's case, he foresees that a jealous baron will die drowned, hanged, and of a broken neck:

"Il se puet lever, il n'a nul mal et por noient m'essaie, quar il li covendra morir as semblances des .ii. manieres que je li ai devisiees, et je li dirai la tierce, plus diverse que les .ii., quar saiche bien ce que li jor qu'il morra, il se brisera le col, et pendra et neiera. Et qui vivra tant que il morra, il le verra de toutes ces .iii. morz morir." (§ 43, ll. 43–49)

[“He can get up, he is not ill and he tries me in vain, for he will have to die in the two ways that I devised him, and I will tell him the third one, more peculiar than the other two, for let him know well that on the day he will die, he will break his neck, and hang, and drown. And whoever will live until this one dies, he will see him die of these three deaths.”]

Frustratingly for the baron, Pendragon and his brother then obey Merlin's irritated recommendation and decide to wait until the man dies for good before withdrawing their trust in Merlin. When the baron is thrown off his horse while crossing a bridge and hangs from the stirrup with his head in the water, Pendragon eagerly asks whether his neck is broken, too: upon learning it is, he openly rejoices at Merlin's success – and announces he will trust him forever. The courtiers, goaded by this enthusiasm, then decide to put down each and all statements from Merlin's, creating a new book of “Merlin's Prophecies”:

Et lor dist chascuns par soi que jamés ne li orent chose dire qui a avenir soi que il ne la mestent en escrit. Ensi l'ont tuit devisié et por ce fu comenciez li livres des prophecies de Merlin, ce que il dist des rois d'Engleterre et de toutes les autres choses dont il parla puis. (§ 44, ll. 8–13)

[And then each one said to himself that they would never hear him say something without putting it down in writing. They planned it all this way, and that is was begun why the book of the prophecies of Merlin, what he said about the kings of England, and all the other things about which he talked since then.]

This actually has Blaise worried until Merlin promises him that the fame of that new book will not exceed the fame of *his* own, and Merlin decides to speak most obscurely from now on, to dampen the expectations of his fan-base. In a way, this would seem to be a simple case of predicting the future – but considering how complicated the triple death has to be, one is justified in wondering whether Merlin might not have something more to do with it than just foreseeing it,¹⁹ especially since he conveniently leaves court at that point, pretending he would not be able to answer the questions people would ask:

“Et je m’en vois, quar je ne voil pas ci estre quant il venront: car il me metroient en maintes noveles dont je ne lor porroie respondre.” (§ 43, ll. 24–27)

[“And I am going away, for I do not want to be here when they come: indeed, they would ask me about many news about which I could not answer them.”]

Things remain much the same for some time after the triple-death episode, even though Merlin seems wary of practicing his soothsayer trade for the general public. The Saxons plot their revenge, and Pandragon, the older brother and the king, dies fighting against them: Merlin has foreseen the invasion, told both his protégés that one of them would die (and strongly suggested they should be shriven before leaving for the battle), and eventually reassured his favorite, Uter, that he would be the one who lived. Moreover, the princes’ strategy is dependent on Merlin’s ability to decipher the future: he knows there will be a dragon-shaped comet in the sky announcing the death of the king, and he tells Uter that this is the moment he must choose to move forward and attack the Saxons from the rear.

Soothsaying is linked to a touch of astrology in that case, but it is largely business as usual, and the information procured by Merlin is not overly valuable. But then, once Uter has become king, adopted both the name Uterpandragon in memory of his brother and the dragon banner to commemorate the comet that gave him victory (albeit a costly one), Merlin literally starts pestering the new king, insisting he must have a fitting monument built to honour his late brother. Uterpandragon

¹⁹ The more so, of course, since the triple death may be a ritual sacrifice in some pagan cultures. See Claude Sterckx, *Les mutilations des ennemis chez les Celtes préchrétiens: La Tête, les Seins, le Graal* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2005).

agrees, and his adviser suggests that he send to Ireland in order to bring back special, huge stones:

“Or envoieez donc por grosses pierres quarre qui sont en Yrlande, si i envoieés vaisiaus, si les en fai venir, neil nes savront a si granz apoter que je nes dresce et je lor irai mostrer celes que je voil que il apportent.” (§ 47, ll. 37–41)

[“So there, send for big square stones that are in Ireland: you will send ships, to bring them back, and they will not be able to choose such big ones that I will be unable to raise them, and I will go to show them those I want them to bring.”]

When they arrive in Ireland, however, the *mariniers* refuse point-blank to load the stones aboard their ships – even if they could do it, they would not, because the weight would cause the ships to sink. Merlin acknowledges their refusal, stating that “in that case, they have come for naught” (“. . . se ce ne vouloient faire, que por noiant estoient donc venu”). The sailors come back to the king, complain that Merlin has asked impossible things from them, and are told by Uterpandragon to “wait until Merlin comes.” Indeed, he comes, and has the stones magically brought to “Salesbieres” overnight, after registering a sort of strange disclaimer:

Merlins respont: “Des que il me sont tuit failli, j’acquitterai mon covenant.” Lors fist Merlins par force d’art apoter d’Irlande les pierres qui sont au cimentire a Salesbires. (§ 47, ll. 56–60)

[Merlin answers: “As long as they have all failed me, I will keep my covenant.” Then Merlin through strength of art had the stones that are in the graveyard in Salesbires brought from Ireland.]

Then again, while everybody is wondering at this remarkable feat (the word *merveille* is pointedly used several times, reinforcing the idea that there is something supernatural going on), Merlin suggests that it would be better to raise the stones; Uterpandragon, intelligently, declares that only Merlin can do this, if he wishes. Merlin then “has the stones raised,” and this is it:

Et Merlins lor dist que il les feïssent drecier, car eles seroient molt plus beles que gisanz. Et Utiens respont: “Ce ne porroit pas hom faire fors Dieu, se tu nou faisoies.” Et Merlins dist: “Or vos en alez, quar je les ferai drecier, si avré mon covent acquité vers Pandragon, quar j’avrai por li comencié tel chose qui ne porra estre acomplie.” Einsi fist Merlins les pierres drecier qui encor sont au cimentire de Salebires et i seront tant come crestientez durra. Einsi remest cele oevre. (§ 47, ll. 67–76)

[And Merlin told them to have them raised, for they would look much better than on the ground. And Uter answers: “No man but God could do this, if you did not.” And Merlin said: “Go away then, for I will have them raised, and so I will have fulfilled my promise

to Pandragon, for I will have started for him such a feat that could not be accomplished.” In this manner Merlin had the stones raised that still are in the graveyard at Salebires, it will remain there for as long as Christendom will do.]

No more is said about it; Merlin is the builder of Stonehenge – why not, after all? – and it is clearly implied that the means for this construction are super-natural, but there are no details, no comments, no moral judgments. On the contrary, the text underlines the Christian dimension of this “wonder,” since it will stand as long as Christendom will last. Nevertheless, the talents that Merlin puts into play in that sequence have nothing to do with the prophetic trade, and sounds perilously close to magic, maybe even diabolic magic, since he refuses to let the king and his court see how he accomplishes this impossible task, and mentions that he will “have it done,” presumably by others, who might then be demons, instead of doing it himself.

The next episode in the romance (although it is supposed to occur a long time after the erection of the Stonehenge monument²⁰) also entails some magical craft; what is more, and surprisingly from a narrowly orthodox Christian point of view, this event is the foundation of the Round Table. It starts with some prophecies, as Merlin reveals still another part of the Gospel of the Grail; the prophet avers that there already have been two “sacred” tables: the one where Christ sat with the Apostles at the Last Supper, and the Grail one, established by Joseph of Arimathia to sort out the righteous from the faithless through the “magic” of the Grail (those who lack faith are not served of the victuals provided by the Holy Vessel – actually they cannot even sit at the table, while the faithful are provided with the food they like best, because the *Grail is agreeable [le Graal agree]*). To honor the Trinity, Merlin continues, Uterpandragon must now establish a third Table²¹: by that time, the king knows better than to protest or dispute any “advice” from his resident prophet. He gives him “carte blanche,” Merlin chooses the place where the new Table will be placed, “Carduel en Gales” (“Carduel in Wales”), then, very prosaically, he finds carpenters and other artisans to build it, and asks Uterpandragon to gath-

20 “Merlins servi Uterpandragon et ama lonc tans. Après ce que il se fu mis en s’amor et que il savoit que il le croeroit de quanque il li droit” (Merlin served and loved Uterpandragon for a long time. After having drawn him to love him, and knowing that he (the king) would absolutely trust him (the mage) whatever he told him; ... § 4, ll. 1–3). There is something slightly sinister, or at the very least manipulative, in this sentence, since the text implies that Merlin deliberately ingratiates himself with the king in order to reach his goals. That the goal, here, is the creation of the Round Table is not completely reassuring.

21 “Et se vos me voulez croire, nos establrions la tierce ou non de la Trinité, car la Trinitez senefie touz jorz par trois” (“And if you want to believe me, we will establish the third in the name in the name of the Trinity, car the Trinity always signifies in threes;” § 48, ll. 75–77)

er a great court in the afore mentioned town (no Camelot yet at that point of the legend). The king obeys, of course, and meanwhile, “Merlins s’en ala por faire ce que il covenoit a la table” (Merlin went away to do what had to be done regarding the table; § 49, ll. 23–24), whatever that may mean.

The day before the inauguration, the king asks whom Merlin will have seated at the Table, and the soothsayer announces that he will choose the fifty most worthy knights for the brand new Round Table; of course, the Last Supper Table had only twelve seats for the Apostles, and the “Grail Table” apparently kept that count, or in any case kept the idea of a “cursed seat,” left empty, to commemorate Judas’ betrayal. Presumably, too, these tables were square or rectangular – at least, there are not many representations of the Last Supper Table as round (meaning there are none before the Renaissance, actually).²² So, increasing the number of seats to fifty is a big change, but one that is easily explained from a traditional Arthurian perspective: what could be the use of an elite corps of twelve people? What comes next, however, is much more surprising: Merlin explains to the king that these fifty knights whom he will choose *ex nihilo*, just because *he*, a prophet and a soothsayer but not a warrior by any means, knows them to be the best knights in the kingdom, will become so fond of each other that they will not want to be ever separated:

“Vos verrez demain ce que onques ne cuidastes veoir, car je i asserai cinquante des plus prodeshomes de vostre terre ne ja, puis qu’il i avront sis, en lor país ne en lor terres ne vorront retourner ne d’iqui partir. Et lor porroiz veoir et conoistre les plus prodeshomes de vostre terre.” (§ 49, ll. 29–34)

[“You will see tomorrow what you never thought you would see, for I will sit there fifty of the best and bravest men in your land, and never, once they will be seated there, will they want to return to their land or their fiefs, or to leave this place. And then you will be able to see and to know the best and bravest of your land.”]

In other words, Merlin will do “something” to convince the knights to remain together forever, providing in effect the king – or actually kings: plural, since it will theoretically still function during Arthur’s reign – with an elite corps, and a self reproducing elite corps at that, since in future romances, when there is a vacancy, the name of the replacement for a recently deceased member appears in golden letters on the back of the seat, without any new intervention of Merlin.²³ We are not talking here about prophecy or the ability to extrapolate the future from the past: there is clearly some *magic* involved. As magic goes, however, this is

²² Since Merlin has just invented it, there is of course no representation of the Grail Table.

²³ Which of course is just as well, since at that time Merlin will not be available anymore!

really low-key: on Pentecost day, which is of course the day where the apostles received the Holy Spirit, and one of the greatest feast days in Arthurian lore, Merlin has the knights he had selected sit together at the Table for a big banquet – then, “. . . Merlin qui molt estoit pleins de fort art ala entor els, quant il furent assis. . . (§ 49, ll. 40–41; . . . Merlin who was very full of strong art went around them, once they were seated there . . .)

No pyrotechnics, no special effects: just a respectable man (Merlin by that point has stopped appearing under the guise of a child, who does not inspire confidence) walking behind the back of the knights. And yet, the result is really surprising, especially for the knights themselves, since they feel such love for each other that they are determined to have their families come and settle near the Table, in order for them never to be separated.

“. . . et si nous merveillons molt que ce puet ester, qu'il i a de tels de nos qui onques ne nos estoions entreveü et poi i a de nos dont li uns fust acointes a l'autre. Or nos entramons autant ou plus com filz doit amer pere ne jamais ne nos departirons, se morz ne nous depart.” (§ 49, ll. 60–65)

[“. . . and we wonder very much what that may be, for there are some of us who had never seen any of the others, and there are few of us who were acquainted with each other. Now we love each other as much as a son must love his father, or more, and we will never separate, if death does not take us apart.”]

This goes much further than artificial equality aiming to avoid precedence quarrels, or even further than the often vaunted solidarity of a warrior brotherhood; actually, the text takes great care not to mention brotherly love: the knights love each other *as one must love his father*, which puts them for ever in the subservient position of the good son honoring and obeying his father – or of the good Christian loving his neighbour for the love of God. Merlin has not only created in a moment an elite corps of knights, he has re-invented, within the literary space of the romance, the concept of *militia Christi* imagined fifty years earlier by St Bernard of Clairvaux and implemented in the real world by the Knights Templar. This is quite to the good, obviously – and yet he has done it *by his art*, which is not entirely satisfactory.

There is more: as at the Last Supper Table there was Judas's seat, left empty after his betrayal, at the Round Table there is one seat, dubbed the Perilous one, where nobody must sit until the Chosen One is born and comes to claim it: this, of course, is a prophecy from Merlin, and would not seem to have anything to do with his magical powers. However, when a jealous knight²⁴ comes and sits on

24 “Outrecuidiés,” which means that, in his overwhelming pride, he considers he should have

the Seat, he is swallowed into the abyss, while all the other, legitimate, members of the Round Table calmly watch: is it just God's will, to punish the *outrécuidier*, "overwhelming pride," of an over-ambitious knight? Or is there some kind of magical fail-safe device to the Perilous Seat, triggered when somebody who is not the Chosen One attempts to sit on it? Would Merlin be responsible for that, too? And can it be good magic, when the one knight who makes the essay of the seat is swallowed up into an abyss?²⁵ What ever may be the answer to these questions, the text tries to minimize Merlin's part in the Perilous Seat story, since he is not there and does not intervene; actually, he explains to Blaise that it is better that bad men be lost in this attempt rather than good one, since the Seat *will* be essayed anyway. Moreover, when trying to exonerate himself for his part in this mess, King Uterpandragon says that the overly proud baron has deceived him ("il m'engingna," "he has tricked me;" § 51, l. 6), using the word that normally refers to the wiles of the devil: Merlin would then be on the side of angels, as opposed to the trickster who opposes his rules.

In any case, he is certainly mastering the setting-up of the Table, and his intervention goes further than just prophesying about the future coming of King Arthur and the part the newly established Round Table will play in his glorious reign. There is in fact a strange interlocking of magic and prediction, since Merlin foretells the wonders that he may be the one to create. But it is supposed to be all to the good, since the prophet-magician manages to turn that most secular object, the Round Table, into an actively Christian symbol. Even if the prose *Merlin* is far from being as heavily Christianized as *la Queste del saint Graal*, this sequence would appear to work to orient the Arthurian, and not very religious, prologue of the *Lancelot-Grail* toward an eschatological, maybe even specifically Cistercian, *senefiance*. However, there is another possible interpretation of this episode, one that may be reinforced by a brief conversation between Uterpandragon and Merlin just after the creation of the Table: when Merlin leaves court after warning the king that he will be absent for some time, Uterpandragon asks why he will not attend the grandiose *fêtes* that he ordered him to organize, and the prophet-magician explains that people need to believe what they see – and would not, if he

been chosen by Merlin to sit at the Round Table, and even deems himself good enough to be the Chosen One.

25 "si tost com il mist les cuisses sor le siege, si fondi ausis com feist une ploumee de plom qui fust mise seur une grant ioue" (as soon as he put his thighs on the seat, he melted down like a casting of lead that would be put in a great amount of water; § 49, ll. 79–81). Admittedly, this description is not as spectacular, or as horrifying, as others in later romances that reuse the motive. Nevertheless, the king and the other knights are "molt espoanté" (very much terrified; l. 83), as people would be when confronted to a diabolical prodigy.

were to be present: they would think it is all “make believe,” an illusion, fostered, maybe, by magic – although the word is not mentioned, ever:

Et Merlins dist: “Je m’en irai ne tu ne me verras devant lonc tens.” Donc demanda li rois a Merlin: “Ou iras tu donc? Ne seras tu a toutes les festes que je tenra en ceste ville?” Et il respont: “Naie, je n’i voil mie estre, quar je voil que cil croient ce que il verront avenir, que je ne voil pas que il dient que je aie fait ce qu’il avenra.” (§ 49, ll. 86–93)

[And Merlin said: “I will go and you will not see me for a long time.” Then the king asked Merlin: “Where will you go, then? Will you not be in all the feasts that I will hold in this city?” And he answers: “No, I don’t want to be there, for I want that those [people] believe what they will see happening, and I do not want that they say I have done what will happen.”]

One may surmise that Merlin has good reason to fear people “read” things that way, because *is* the truth: Merlin is the great organizer of all the wonders that herald the reign of Arthur, and he has his creative fingers in all pies.²⁶ The Round Table is no more than a toy invented by the Devil’s son, *ad majorem Arthuri gloriam*, maybe, but also for his own enduring glory.

In effect, Merlin has become the master of the narrative, as well as the indispensable adviser of Uterpandragon: accordingly, when the latter falls in love with the duchess of Cornwall, he is totally at a loss to know what to do in Merlin’s absence, and he botches things completely. Indeed, and contrary to what happens in Geoffrey’s version of the story, this cannot be a matter of giving a direct order to a useful tool: Uterpandragon does not dare order Merlin around, he is in fact meekly grateful when the “magician” comes to his help after playing a few of his usual tricks. On the other hand, Merlin agrees to help the king satisfy his lust because it is, in the end, for the good of the kingdom, but he does not do it without taking strong sureties regarding the child who will be born; if there is a master-servant relationship here, Merlin is clearly the master.

He holds the high ground, morally and legally, furthers his own agenda, and thoroughly manipulates the king and his human adviser Ulfin in the course of a

²⁶ Also, this excuse for not attending the feasts sounds more innocuous than Merlin’s evasive warning to the young princes when he first meets them: “Je voil que vos sachiez qu’il me covient par fine force de nature estre par foies eschis de la gent.” (“I want you to know that I must sometimes, out of the strength of nature, be away from human beings;” § 39, ll. 45–47) Solitude in the wild is not exactly a positive sign in the Middle Ages – even hermits are to some extent suspicious; only the devil wishes, or worse needs, to be far away from mankind, as the nickname given to the Devil during the Arras witch-trials, Robinet des Vaux, confirms. See Frank Mercier, *La vauderie d’Arras: une chasse aux sorcières à l’automne du Moyen-Âge* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006).

long sequence replete with legal discourse and oaths taken on the Bible. Consequently, the magical interlude proper is rather an anticlimax: it takes much less space than the previous negotiations; moreover, the magic itself is downplayed – since the reader is already aware of Merlin's metamorphic gift, there would not be much surprise when he applies it to the king and Ulfin as well as to himself, but he also add a few natural props which make the whole exercise appear rather innocent, if “merveilleux”:

Merlins quant il les ot desassamblez, si vint au roi, si li porta une erbe, si li dist: “Frotez de ceste herbe vostre vis et oz mains.” Et li rois la prist, si s'en frota; et quant il s'en fu frotéz, si ot tout apertement la semblance dou duc. [. . .] Et Merlins revient arrieres a Ulfin, si le transfigura en la semblance de Jordain et lors l'amena par le frain devant le roi. Et quant Ulfins vit le roi, si se saigna et dist: “Biau sire Diex, coment poet estre nule semblance si bien faite d'un home a autre?” [. . .] Quant il orent ainsi un poi esté, si resgarderent Merlin, si lor fu bien avis que ce fu Bretuel veraïement. (§ 65, ll. 3–8, 10–15, 19–21)

[Merlin when he had separated them came to the king, and brought him an herb, and told him: “Rub your face and your hands with this herb.” And the king took it, and rubbed himself with it; and when he had done it, he had quite openly the appearance of the duke. . . . And Merlin came back to Ulfin, and transformed him into the appearance of Jordain and then brought him by the bridle to the king. And when Ulfin saw the king, he blessed himself and said: “Good Lord God, how can any appearance be so well copied from one man to another?” . . . Quand they had been like that for a little time, they looked at Merlin, and they really were of the opinion that he was indeed Bretel.]

Even though Ulfin is suitably impressed, and needs to bless himself and invoke God's name, both the means employed and the results are on the whole rather low-key; the enchantment, if this is what it is, is dispelled even more simply: after spending the night with the duchess, the three conspirators leave Castle Tintagel, and Merlin has them wash in a river (running water, that has its own, positive, power):

Einsis chevauchierent jusques a une riviere; a cele riviere les fist Merlins touz laver. Quant il furent lavé, si rorent lor semblance. (§ 65, ll. 26–29)

[In such manner they rode unto a river; in that river Merlin had them all wash. When they had washed, they had their appearance back.]

In fact, the biggest question about this episode would be, is the duke's death is a side effect of Merlin's magic, too? It seems to be too fortuitous a coincidence to convince a reader, who has grown very mistrustful of Merlin's tricks and constant rearrangements of reality. Nothing, however, allows us to explicitly read something fishy, or magical, in the duke's (un)timely demise.

In the *Historia regum Britanniae*, Merlin's assistance with Arthur's conception is his last intervention in the narrative: he disappears entirely after that. In the prose *Merlin*, the main character lingers, albeit not very "magically:" his intervention about the birth of the child he has helped to conceive is purely human. Similarly, despite the fact that the barons of the land ask for his help with finding a good candidate for the crown after Uterpandragon's death, he declines all further involvement and officially *only* prophesies the sword-in-the-anvil-in-the-stone wonder. Of course, one cannot but doubt his innocence here, and later romances tweak the story of the sword to make it a product of Merlin's magic.²⁷ There is, however, a short sequence that may be considered as the last "action" he performs in the eponymous romance, and it is interesting because it summarizes the evolution of the character, and the real nature of his power. Uterpandragon is old, a widower, and has just saved his country through riding to battle in a litter, on the advice of Merlin. He is dying, and has not uttered a word for the last three days: Merlin boasts to the barons that he will be able to make the king speak once more before he dies. He does manage it, indeed: he tells Uterpandragon that his only son, Arthur, is alive and well and will be king after him: Uterpandragon rouses himself, tells Merlin to ask Arthur to pray for his soul, and dies. Magic, or applied psychology? In either case, the result is brought about by Merlin's word, his *paroles* that announce the future. As such, one might say they belong to the realm of prophecy, that is, somehow, the original Merlin trademark.

And this, indeed, is the key to Merlin's power, in medieval French literature at least: the *vates* never changes into a *bona fide* magician; not for him, the spectacular feats of his modern successors, the dangerous illusions, the mind tricks. What happens is, Merlin's word becomes facts: his *parole* is performative – *Quand dire c'est faire*;²⁸ Merlin does not make the difference between past and future. When he goes to Blaise in the Northumberland forests, he starts telling him what has happened recently at court, and then just goes on narrating what will happen soon. Since he is a truthful prophet, what he predicts cannot not-happen, as impossible as it may be at first sight (such as the triple death, for instance). This may, indeed, be a rather satisfactory definition of magic: to short-circuit the laws of nature through the super-impression of a stronger narrative that interferes

²⁷ As will of course do many modern writers adapting the Arthurian legend, to start with Terence Hanbury White in *The Sword in the Stone*, the first volume of his Arthurian epic, *The Once and Future King* (first published in 1938).

²⁸ To use the French translation of John Langshaw Austin's seminal study, *How to Do Things With Words* (*How to Do Things With Words. The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962; French translation: Paris: Seuil, 1970).

with the basic factual system of the world. In that sense, Merlin is not so much a magician as an enchanter.

Besides, even if Merlin might be rightly called a magician, it needs to be emphasized that magic is not witchcraft in the thirteenth century in general, and in northern France especially: it is not necessarily linked to the Devil, despite the Church's efforts to establish such a connection after the fourteenth, and especially the fifteenth century.²⁹ While Blaise may have reservations about trusting Merlin at the start, later nobody in the prose *Merlin* emits any doubt about his clearly magical feats: transporting the Irish stones may be considered as great engineering, and besides it is said that the stones will remain there "as long as Christianity will endure." Similarly, changing Uterpandragon's and his own looks is done through "the force of herbs" ("the strength of herbs"), natural means that do not need any supernatural agency.

As will be said about *fêes* in the later prose *Lancelot*, practitioners of natural sciences who know the properties of things (*De proprietatibus rerum*, as states the title of a treatise by the famous scientist Bartholomaeus Anglicus³⁰) are often mistaken with fairies or other supernatural creatures, but they are in fact *bona fide* scholars.³¹ They, like Merlin, know Nature's workings, but they do not need to

29 See Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1984). As Jean-Patrice Boudet has convincingly argued, the Middle Ages (in itself a too general term) had a very subtle typology of things, and people, magical. Sorcery is not the same as witchcraft, magic is more of a general category with many sub-sections, an enchanter relies upon words where a sorcerer will use spells, etc. Not to mention the fact that the various extent forms of divination flirt with diabolism, while "natural magic," and in part "celestial magic," are acceptable. See Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XII^e–XV^e siècle)*. Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 83 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006).

30 A Franciscan monk, Bartholomaeus composed his *compendium* of knowledge, *On the Properties of Things*, around 1240. See Barthélemy l'Anglais, *Livre des propriétés des choses* Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10532588f> (last accessed on March 20, 2017). Barthélemy l'Anglais: *Le Livre des propriétés des choses: une encyclopédie au XIV^e siècle [De proprietatibus rerum, 1247]*, introduction, mise en français moderne et notes par Bernard Ribémont (Paris: Stock, 1999).

31 "A chelui tans estoient apelees fees toutes icheles qui savoient d'enchantement et moult en estoit a chelui tans en la Grant Bretagne plus qu'en autres terres. Eles savoient, che dist li contes des Brethes Estoires, les forches des paroles et des pieres et des herbes, par quoi eles estoient tenues en joveneche et en biauté et en si grant riqueche com eles devoient." (At that time were called fairies all those who knew about enchantment, and there were many of them at that time in Great Britain, more than in other lands. They knew, that is what the tale of the Briton Histories says, the strengths of words and stones and herbs, through which they were kept in youth and beauty and as much wealth as they devised; *Lancelot. Roman en prose du XIII^e siècle*, ed. Alexandre Micha. Textes Littéraire Français, 247 (Geneva: Droz, 1980), vol. 7, § VIa, 1, ll. 2–9).

call upon the Devil, or God, for that matter, to achieve their results. In fact, not needing God's help may be a black mark against the magicians, but at least it is better than needing the Devil's help. As for the *merveilleux* trick of the Round Table, all the little details of the staging suggest that if there is something supernatural involved, it is *good, godly* supernatural, since the Round Table is clearly a *good*, Christian thing, and part of the wonderful (in the etymological meaning of the word) Gospel of the Grail, the herald of which Merlin is.

This *merveilleuse* fiction will hold for as long as the romance needs a positive Merlin figure; later, when another reading of the prophet-magician is needed, Merlin's portrait will become much darker, and his involvement with diabolical sorcery will not be doubtful at all. This evolution is perceptible in the first part of the *Lancelot*, when the romance offers a quick summary of Merlin's *amours* with the Lady of the Lake, who has just "kidnapped" baby Lancelot and brought him to her magical lake. Since the Lady of the Lake must be depicted as a positive figure (even though she is still very close to the archetype of the abductress fairy described by Laurence Harf-Lancner³²), Merlin has to be blackened, his evil nature as a devil's son emphasized and his *arts* definitively assimilated to *nigremance*.³³

Similarly, in the *Suite du Merlin*,³⁴ a text obsessed with evil and the devil, Merlin is presented as the darkest magician, interested only in sexually possessing the women he lures to him with promises of magical teaching; while Nivène, the Damsel of the Lake, manages to escape his clutches, Morgan le Fay's moral decline is attributed in part to him since he is the one who introduces her to *nigremance*. But the *Roman de Merlin* insists on a positive depiction of Merlin that underlines his belonging to "God's side" and his practicing *art* which may be considered as magical, but remains within the limits of what is allowed in this field. The *Suite-Vulgate*, especially the Bonn manuscript version entitled *Les Premiers faits du roi Arthur*,³⁵ eschews theological debate in favour of more alluring manifestations of

32 For the two main types of fairies, Mélusinian and Morganian, see Laurence Harf-Lancner, *Les Fées au Moyen Âge, Morgane et Mélusine*. Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 8 (Champion: Paris, 1984). See also the contribution to this volume by Dalicia K. Raymond.

33 See Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance* (see note 29). *Nigremance* etymologically would mean "black *mantia*," or divination. The medieval word, however, stems from a confusion with *necromantia*, necromancy, or the art of raising the Dead to ask them questions. Both divination methods are closer to prophecy than to magic proper. See also the contribution to this volume by Martha Moffitt Peacock.

34 *La Suite du Roman de Merlin*, 2 volumes, ed. Gilles Roussineau, Textes Littéraires Français, 972 (Geneva: Droz, 1996).

35 See *Le Livre du Graal, Texte, traduction, notes et variantes*, volume 1, ed. Philippe Walter, Anne Berthelot, Robert Deschaux, Irene Freire-Nunes, and Gérard Gros (Paris: Gallimard

supernatural talents, while retaining a very positive image of Merlin, even in his dealings with his apprentice and lover Niniane. On the whole, except for the *Suite du Merlin* and the “Marche de Gaule” section of the *Lancelot*, thirteenth-century romances are very reticent to darken Merlin’s character, and continue to see him as a prophet-enchanter in good moral standing, achieving God’s goals on earth through means that may be slightly contestable, but never devilish.

“Pléiade,” 2001; prepared by Daniel Poirion). This first volume contains *L’Etoire de Joseph, Merlin, Les Premiers faits du roi Arthur* (i.e., *La Suite-Vulgate du Merlin*).

Christa Agnes Tuczay

The Book of Zabulon – A Quest for Hidden Secrets: Intertextuality and Magical Genealogy in Middle High German Literature, with an Emphasis on *Reinfried von Braunschweig*

1 Prevented Prophecies and Journeys Through Time

One of the most significant episodes in the anonymous Middle High German epic *Reinfried von Braunschweig* (late thirteenth century) deals with the protagonist's arrival at the famous magnetic mountain. Mesmerized, Reinfried and his companions stand before a piece of architecture artificially created by the magician Savilon. In a cave in which Savilon lies buried, they find a chained book composed in a universal language from which they learn the magician's biography. Savilon foresaw the birth of Christ and the future of the Jewish people, which is closely related to his own fate. With the help of his magical skills, through psychic and even physical efforts, Savilon tried to prevent the birth of the redeemer.¹

In philosophical theories that consider the possibility of changing the past, a model based on quantum physics argues that by interfering with the past we can change the course the future will take. Two parallel timelines exist: one remains

1 *Reinfried von Braunschweig*, ed. Karl Bartsch, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 109 (Tübingen: Anton Hiersemann, 1871), vv. 21285–722. Isidore defines necromancy correctly as conjuration of the dead: “Magi are commonly called malefici, evil doers, from the great size of their sins, magnitudo facinorum. They disturb the elements, trouble the minds of men, and, without any poisonous drink, they destroy with only the violence of incantation They dare to offer for sale the demons they summon, so that anyone can destroy his enemies with evil arts. They enjoy blood and sacrifices, and often touch the bodies of the dead. By the imprecations of necromancers, necromantii, the resuscitated dead seem to prophesy and answer questions.” Isidore of Seville's, *Etymologies*, trans. Priscilla Throop (Charlotte, NJ: MedievalMS, 2005), VIII, 9.8. On necromancy, see Josef Tropper, *Nekromantie: Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989); and Daniel Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy* (Princeton, CT: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Christa Agnes Tuczay, University of Vienna

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-011>

unchanged; the second is modified by interference. Such a model is of course nothing but the arduously constructed attempt to make the present seem alterable without having to acknowledge or accept the complications and the violations of logic which are part of the No Fate Theory.² This multi universe theory means that interfering with the past will have no effect on the present, because the present is already the result of all journeys through time that will be embarked on in the future. Wishing to change the future will inevitably result in changing its known course. This model stands in opposition to the idea of predestination through which humans make their decisions based on previously foreordained happenings. If human decision-making is something of this world (as opposed to being otherworldly), a complex process subject to the laws of time, then this assumption is the most realistic one. Such a worldview rules out neither the existence of the human soul nor that of God, nor free will – it simply presupposes that human conscience and behavior are created by something that is indeed part of this, our, universe. The “rien ne va plus” theory, the grandfather paradox,³ views the timeline as a self-contained system free of outside influence. It supposes that any present is the inevitable result of a past and will inevitably lead to a future. When Albert Einstein said, “God does not play at dice,” it fully applies to this theory.⁴ The question ‘But what’s stopping me from traveling back in time and killing my ancestor?’ can only have one answer: nothing, but the fact of my existence proves that nobody will ever do so. A time traveler goes back in time to kill his grandfather before the latter has a chance to father the time traveler’s father, which results in the time traveler never being born and thus being unable to go back in time, which in turn results

2 Arnulf von Scheliha, *Der Glaube an die göttliche Vorsehung: Eine religionssoziologische, geschichtsphilosophische und theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Stuttgart, Berlin, et al.: Kohlhammer, 1999); and William Lane Craig, *The Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents from Aristotle to Suarez*. Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 7 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1988); Johannes Köhler, “Vorsehung,” *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. Joachim Ritter, Karlfried Gottfried Gründer, and Gottfried Gabriel. Vol. 11 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001), col. 1206–18; Gregor Ahn, “Vorsehung, I. Religionsgeschichtlich,” 102–07; Roland Bergmeier, “Altes Testament und Judentum,” 107–10; Ingo Klaer, “Systematisch-theologisch,” 110–16; Heiko Schulz, “Philosophisch,” 116–22, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller. Vol. 30 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 102–22.

3 On the grandfather paradoxes, see Wüthrich, “Zeitreisen und Zeitmaschinen” (see note 2), 192–94. This issue is widely discussed among philosophers, scientists, and mathematicians; see, for instance, <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/time-travel-simulation-resolves-grandfather-paradox/>; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grandfather_paradox (both last accessed on Jan. 28, 2017).

4 See Paul J. Nahin, *Time Machines: Time Travel in Physics, Metaphysics, and Science Fiction* (1993; New York: Springer, 1999), 173.

in the continued existence of the grandfather and of the time traveler, and thus the possibility of murderous time travelers remains open.

For instance, drawing on a modern movie, should the Terminator fulfil his assignment, Connor will never be born and will not lead humanity to victory over the machines. The Terminator's assignment was to stop Connor from becoming the leader of human resistance. Paradoxically, this only becomes possible by the Terminator traveling back in time and causing Reese to do so, too. Later, it becomes evident that Reese is Connor's father and Connor is fathered during Reese's stint in the past. Had the machine not attempted to prevent Connor's birth, he would never have been born in the first place.⁵

The idea of changing the past is touched upon with higher stakes, and closer to our story, in the movie *Twelve Monkeys* (Terry Gilliam, USA 1995).⁶ Cole keeps having a nightmare in which he and his parents witness a murder at an airport. After several journeys through time during which he is able to do little to prevent the events of his nightmare, he finally succeeds in reaching 'dream time,' only to realize that what he has been witnessing is his own murder, which he cannot prevent from happening.

In *Reinfried von Braunschweig*,⁷ Zabulon's biography is recorded in his epithaph. The Athenian youth Savilon was the first astronomer and astrologer also

5 *The Terminator* is a 1984 science fiction film directed by James Cameron. Starting as B-picture it soon enough gained cult status. Cf. *Terminator and Philosophy. I'll be back, therefore I am*, ed. William Irwin, Richard Brown, and Kevin S. Decker (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2009); as to time travels, see Elena Trencheva and Sofia Pantouvaki, "A Stitch in Time: Film Costume as a Narrative Tool beyond Time Linearity," *Time Travel in Popular Media: Essays on Film, Television, Literature and Video Games*, ed. Matthew Jonas and Joan Ormrod (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, Publishers, 2015), 219–33; here 226–29.

6 *Twelve Monkeys* is a 1995 American neo-noir science fiction film directed by Terry Gilliam after Chris Marker's film *La Jetée* 1962. Cf. Jacqueline Furby, "Control Dramas and Play Time. Tales of Redemption and the Temporal Fantastist," *Time Travel in Popular Media* (see note 5), 77–91.

7 *Reinfried von Braunschweig* (see note 1); cf. Dirk Ohlenroth, "Reinfried von Braunschweig – Vorüberlegungen zu einer Interpretation," *Positionen des Romans im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger. *Fortuna Vitrea*, 1 (Tübingen: Max Niemayer, 1991), 67–96. Sabulôn as an astrologer and prophet appears in a master song of the Colmar manuscript (RSM Frau 2/2/550), *Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift*, ed. Karl Bartsch (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 68 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1862), no. 28, v. 54; also in *Der Wartburgkrieg*, ed. Karl Simrock (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1858); see Johannes Siebert, "Virgils Fahrt zum Agetstein," *Paul und Braunes Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 74 (1952): 193–225; cf. Burghart Wachinger, *Sängerkrieg: Untersuchungen zur Spruchdichtung des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 42 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1973); and Franziska Wenzel, "Rätsel, 'Stubenkrieg' und 'Sonrat'. Geltungskämpfe nach dem Klingsor-Wolfram-Streit in der Colmarer Liederhands-

to be familiar with the secret art of necromancy. His knowledge of astronomy comes into play with the prophecy concerning the birth of Jesus Christ:

Nu sach der selbe jungelinc
Mit zeichen offenbâren
Daz nâ zwelf hundert jâren
Har ûf diese erden
Ein kint sollte werden
Von einer megede geborn.
Von dem kinde sollte werden verlorn
Werden jüdische diet,
und möhte man daz sicher niet
mit keiner sach erwenden. (21344–53)

[The same young man saw
by observing the signs
that after 1200 years here on earth
a child is to be born to a virgin.
Because of this child the Jewish people will be lost
and no one would be able to prevent it.]

chrift?” *Geltung der Literatur: Formen der Autorisierung und Legitimierung im Mittelalter*, ed. Beate Kellner, Peter Strohschneider, and Franziska Wenzel. *Philologische Studien und Quellen*, 190 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2005), 91–110; Jan Hallmann, *Studien zum mhd. ‘Wartburgkrieg’: Literaturgeschichtliche Stellung – Überlieferung – Rezeptionsgeschichte. Mit einer Edition der ‘Wartburg’-Texte* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 248–65; Konrad von Würzburg, *Der Trojanische Krieg*, ed. Adelbert von Keller. *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart*, 449 (Stuttgart and Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1965); *Der Götterweiger Trojanerkrieg*, ed. Alfred Koppitz. *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, 29 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926); cf. Elisabeth Lienert, “Antikenroman als Geschichtswissen: Zu den kompilierten Trojanerkriegen in der Erweiterten Christherre-Chronik und in der Weltchronik Heinrichs von Munich,” *Die deutsche Trojalliteratur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit: Materialien und Untersuchungen*, ed. Horst Brunner. *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter*, 3 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1990), 407–56, esp. on the Sabilon episode, 411–14; Sonja Kerth and Elisabeth Lienert, “Die Sabilon-Erzählung der ‘Erweiterten Christherre-Chronik’ und der ‘Weltchronik’ Heinrichs von Munich,” *Studien zur ‘Weltchronik’ Heinrichs von Munich*, ed. Horst Brunner (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998), 421–75; Alfred Ebenbauer, “Spekulieren über Geschichte im höfischen Roman um 1300,” *Philologische Untersuchungen gewidmet Elfriede Stutz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Alfred Ebenbauer (Vienna: Braumüller, 1984), 151–66; Klaus Ridder, *Mittelhochdeutsche Minne- und Aventiureromane: Fiktion, Geschichte und literarische Tradition im späthöfischen Roman: ‘Reinfried von Braunschweig,’ ‘Wilhelm von Österreich,’ ‘Friedrich von Schwaben’* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 73–77; Jan Hallmann, *Studien zum mittelhochdeutschen ‘Wartburgkrieg’: Literaturgeschichtliche Stellung – Überlieferung – Rezeptionsgeschichte. Mit einer Edition der Wartburgkrieg-Texte* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 298–300.

The motif contradicts, or rather, seemingly contradicts the idea of predestination,⁸ since both the narrator and the audience know that it is futile to try to reverse something that has already been decided upon in Heaven. This motif is not only rooted in a Judeo-Christian context. The narratives are internationally documented and the connection to Jewish interests might have nothing to do with a specifically Jewish assumption that one could change something that has been preordained by God, even though such doubts also plagued the famous magician King Solomon⁹ (King Solomon and the Fish) and he, like Zabulon, came to know the opposite to be true.

It seems that the goal is, very much like in the movie *Terminator* (1984), to prevent a prophecy from coming true: Christ must not be born, the future must not come to pass. Zabulon's prophecy of Christ¹⁰ is linked to the Sibylline tradition: the Tiburtine (or Erythrean) Sibyl prophecies the birth of Jesus Christ to Emperor Augustus.¹¹ But while the Sibyl does not interfere, Zabulon is convinced

8 On predestination, see the articles under the heading "Vorsehung": Peter Gerlitz, "Religionsgeschichtlich" (98–102); Roland Bergmeier, "Judentum" (102–05); Hans Hübner, "Neues Testament" (105–10); Gillian R. Evans, "Alte Kirche und Mittelalter" (110–18), all in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller, vol. 27 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 98–160.

9 For King Solomon, see below (note 23).

10 The story of Sabilon is inserted into the *matière de Troy* as an interpretation of Hecuba's dream, where also Christ's birth is foretold. When Priamos sentences the inept diviners and dream interpreters to death, Sabilon prevents it with the words: "dez macht du schaden gewinnen / von dem, der noch dein herr wirt. / ich han gelesen, daz in gepirt / Ein magt, die ist aines junden chint. / swaz kuenig auf der erden sint, / Si suellen im dienst erzaigen" (if you do this, harm will follow from the child being born to a virgin, a Jewish son who will rule you. Therefore, we shall worship him). Elisabeth Lienert, "Die Sabilon-Erzählung der 'Erweiterten Christherre-Chronik'. . ." (see note 1), 447, vv. 180–85. See also the prophecy of Christ by Plato and Sibyl in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*. Studienausgabe. Mittelhochdeutscher Text nach der sechsten Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann. Übersetzung von Peter Knecht. Einführung zum Text von Bernd Schiroke (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), Book IX, chapters 463–66; Cassandra in Herbot's of Fritzlar *liet von Troye*, ed. Karl Fromman (1837; Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1966), vv. 1617–713 and 3251–90; in Ulrich of Etzenbach's *Alexander* even the devil fears the advent of Christ that has been prophesied. Ulrich von Etzenbach, *Alexander*, ed. Wendelin Toischer. Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart, 183 (1888; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974), vv. 24927–76.

11 ^{cf.} Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*. Folklore Fellows Communication, 204 (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), no. 4675; Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Richard Benz (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2004), 51; the Hebrew Sybil serves the apologetic goal of fighting monotheism against heathendom. Deuteronomy 18:10 rejects Chaldean sorcery and divination.

by his mother to resort to magic as a countermeasure. The mother pragmatically states that every poison has its antidote and where there is a will, there is a way:

Und seit ez der muoter sîn,
 wan diu was ein jüdîn:
 sîn vater was ein heiden.
 Alsus sô was gescheiden
 Siner hôhen frühte stam.
 Sîn muoter ouch des wunder nam,
 wan sî sîn inneclîch erschrac.
 wan sî sprach 'kein sache werden mac,
 man vint dâ wider etewaz.' (21357–65)

[His mother, who was Jewish, confirmed it,
 his father was a heathen.
 Thus was his noble birth.
 His mother was startled and said,
 There is no agent on earth that has no counteragents.]

Sî vorhte sicherlîchen daz,
 nâ dem als sî gehœret
 hatte, daz zerstoret
 dâ von würd ir geslehte.
 Sî sprach 'nu nim vil rehte,
 mîn kint, des sternen aber war
 der diz wunder hat
 hie ûf erden kûndet.
 Wirt sîn louf durgründet
 Unz ûf ein end der spêre,
 wenn er tuot widerkêre,
 sô weiz ich daz sîn kunft ouch seit,
 wâ mit diu sache hin geleit,
 mac werden die er kûndet.
 Wirt daz von dir durfûndet,
 daz ist ein keiserlîchez dinc.' (21366–21381)

[They feared that their lineage was to be destroyed
 by the child. She said:
 You should observe the stars again, my son.
 The race of the stars follows a principle to the end.
 If it is prophesied how it will happen and how it can be prevented too.]

The motif of the circumvented prophecy¹² or the attempt to counteract its coming to pass (which here, too, ends with the prophecy coming true despite or rather

12 AaTh/ATU 931, on Oedipus's inevitable fate, see Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International*

because of all endeavours) is often placed in the context of calamitous predictions surrounding the birth of a child. The oldest record is found in Herodotus's *Vita of Kyros* (ca. 427–30 B.C.E.)¹³ in which a grandfather dreams that his grandson Cyrus will claim his realm as his own. The man orders that his daughter is to be heavily guarded and the new-born child killed. Very much like Paris and other moribund children, the boy is abandoned and raised by shepherds and destiny is thus fulfilled. Thetis tries in vain to save her son Achilles from his fate, as is narrated in detail by Konrad von Würzburg.¹⁴ Josaphat's father in Rudolf von Ems's *Barlaam und Josaphat* (ca. 1240) has his son raised by a hermit to prevent him from becoming a Christian; Herzeloide and Parzival live in solitude to keep Parzival from learning about knighthood and the knightly ways. Zabulon learns of the fate of his mother's people from the prophecy and aims to reverse it by himself, just as Kriemhild refuses to marry in the *Nibelungenlied* (ca. 1200) because she does not wish to be harmed, or as Oedipus leaves his parents' home.

2 The Power of the Written Word

Once again, the prophet consults his ephemerides and foresees the length of time during which he can delay the Jewish People's fate from coming to pass. He knows full well that it is impossible to completely rewrite the path the stars will take. He employs the written word, characters,¹⁵ which delay the Jewish People's fate. These magic letters are to be hidden in a secret place, preferably at

Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography, 3 vols. Folklore Fellows Communication, 284, vol. 1 (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2004), 570–71; StTh Mot. 356.3. Prophecy: Unborn child to bring evil upon land, Mot. M 370, Vain attempts to fulfill prophecy, M371.0.1. Abandonment in forest to avoid fulfilment of prophecy; see Karin Lichtblau and Christa Tuczay, *Motif-Index of German Secular Narratives from the Beginning to 1400*, 6 vols. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), vol. 6.2, 246.

13 Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (London: Penguin, 1954), vol. I, 107–130; Cf. Katharina Wesselmann, *Mythische Erzählstrukturen in Herodots Historien* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 201–25; Gregor Weber, *Kaiser, Träume und Visionen in Prinzipat und Spätantike*. *Historia: Einzelschriften*, 143 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), 139–40.

14 Konrad von Würzburg, *Trojanerkrieg*, ed. Karl Bartsch. *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart*, 133 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1877), v. 44968.

15 Johann Vintler in his treatise *Pluomen der Tugent*, ed. Ignaz Zingerle (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1874), v. 7915: "Manger auch karackteren macht / Auß permiert virgineum" (Many make characters out of Virgin parchment).

the edge of civilization, on the dangerous magnetic mountain.¹⁶ All his arduous endeavours are born of his love for his mother. And yet he knows from his astronomical calculations that all his efforts are only a way of buying time and eventually the protective spell will be discovered.. The narrator comments that even the most potent magic letters or characters cannot prevail against the will of God. And yet Zabulon labors on and conceives of yet another security measure: he hides one of the letters in his own ear. He believes this to be a way to stand a chance against fate:

der künste rîche tôre
wânde got betwingen
an sô hôhen dingen
diu man mit keine sachen
mohte wendic machen,
sô eht kann diu rehte zît (vv. 2151–56)

[The learned fool
Believed that he could reverse God's will,
In such high matters
That cannot be changed
Unless at the right time]

As early as Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (600–625) magical characters have been known as a kind of magic which aims to contact demons by means of summoning and symbolism. Walther von der Vogelweide (fl. ca. 1190–ca. 1230), otherwise himself very critical of the pope, sings about this very practice: “nû lêretz in sîn swarzez buoch, daz ime der helemôr / Hât gegeben, und liset ûz iu sîniu rôr” (33,7–8; Such un-Christian doings teach his grimoire which the devil has given to him and you (the cardinals) have to read his scriptures).¹⁷ In the Middle Ages, such a connection with the devil using symbols, texts and citations was a clear affiliation with the realm of Satan and was explicitly forbidden. The accused were put before a secular court, later before courts of the Inquisition, and charged with sorcery and heresy, and would eventually be burned at the stake. The grimoires were seized or publically burned – together with other for-

16 On the motif of the magnetic mountain, cf. Franz Kirnbauer and Karl Leopold Schubert, *Die Sage vom Magnetberg*. Leobener grüne Hefte, 28 (Vienna: Montan Verlag, 1957); and Claude Lecouteux, “Die Sage vom Magnetberg,” *Burgen – Länder – Orte*. Mythen des Mittelalters, ed. Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich. Vol. 5 (Constance: UVK Verlags-Gesellschaft, 2008), 529–40.
17 *Die Gedichte Walther von der Vogelweide, Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*. 15., veränderte und um Fassungseditionen erweiterte Auflage der Ausgabe der Ausgabe Karl Lachmanns, newly ed. Thomas Bein (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2013).

bidden texts. Even the New Testament tells of such a burning of books (which is voluntary and spontaneous):

And several of those who had practiced magic arts brought their books together and burned them in the sight of all. And they counted the value of them and found it came to fifty thousand pieces of silver. (Acts 19.19).

This biblical precursor was later used as a way of legitimizing the burning of books by the Church.¹⁸ At the waning of the Middle Ages, Johannes Hartlieb discusses the *kunst nigramantia* in his *puoch aller verpoten kunst* (1456). He warns Emperor Maximilian I of the *Picatrix*, which he sees as the most effective and most dangerous book of magic and which has brought eternal damnation to many of its readers (the Emperor was in possession of two manuscripts):

Die kunst nigramantia gät zu mit dem opffer vnd dienst, den man den tuiffeln tun muß –, die kunst Notarey – das ainer durch ettlich wort, vigur vnd caracter alle kunst lernen macht¹⁹

[The art of nigromancy or black art leads to sacrifice and service to the devil – the art of Notarey includes somebody learning the magic art by magic words, figures and characters]

18 From the fourth century onwards, the burning of grimoires is reported in the context of conversion. From ca. 350 until the Middle Ages the burning and destruction of grimoires are mentioned and owners of black books are punished. It did not end then. The *Res gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus (330–395) report the persecution and assassination of owners of grimoires. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 3 vols. with an English trans. by John C. Rolfe. The Loeb Classical Library, vol. 3 (London: Heinemann, 1963), 29.1. 40–41, Wolfgang Speyer, *Büchervernichtung und Zensur des Geistes bei Heiden, Juden und Christen*. Bibliothek des Buchwesens, 7 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), 31–33; on book-burning and magic trials under Emperor Valens, ca. 371, cf. Dirk Rohmann, *Christianity, Book-Burning and Censorship in Late Antiquity* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 63–69. Within the context of the Christian miracle the much older subject of the contest of magicians is renewed in the competition between saint and magician. In the *Golden Legend* Saint James fights against the sorcerer Hermogenes and relieves him of his demons, whereupon the reformed sorcerer burns his black books. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), no. 99, 389–96; cf. Michael Becker, *Wunder und Wundertäter im frühchristlichen Judentum*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. 2. Reihe, 144 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 263.

19 *Das Buch der verbotenen Künste: Aberglauben und Zauberei des Mittelalters* (Munich: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1998), 15; Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk*. Hermaea, Germanistische Forschungen, Neue Folge, 64 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992). See also the discussion of Hartlieb's concept of and approach to magic by Albrecht Clasen in his introductory essay.

Later, Trithemius published a list of known grimoires in his *Antipalus Maleficiorum*, which includes *Clavicula Salomonis*, *Picatrix*, *Sepher Raziel*, *Corpus Hermeticum*, *Schemhamphoras*, and the *Almadel*. Trithemius divides the books of magic into two groups and makes mention of further books, which are concerned with the making and use of images, figurines, rings and seals under the influence of a specific constellation of the stars. These lists show how great the interest of the scholars of the time in magic must have been. What can be learned from demons? Demonic knowledge, which was declared to be nothing but lies and deception by theologians, is by no means all encompassing. Furthermore, demons do not possess the power of prophecy, but act in the transfer of knowledge very much like they act when it comes to providing desired artefacts: they turn to existing “archives.”

At the end of the Middle Ages the *magia naturalis* and thus the scientific experiment was born; only small-minded men and women and those who were nothing but a poor excuse for a magician or a witch had to ask the demons for help with the acquisition of knowledge. Augustin Lerchheimer (1522–1603) describes the rivalry and competition between magicians:

. . . Etwan auch vnder den gelerten/ die alle andere wöllen vbertreffen. Weil jhnen aber jhr verstand / fleiß vnd vermögen zu gering vnd zu schwach darzu ist / oder dass sie die arbeit verdreußt / gewöhnen sie einen geist zu sich / der jhnen fürliet was sie gegeben / jnen anzeigt in welchem buch / an welchem ort diß oder jenes zu finden sey: jhnen sagt was in büchern geschrieben stehet / die etwa verborgen ligen / keinem Menschen bewußt / ja die etwan gewesen / nun aber verweset / zerrissen // verbrannt sind / in welchen der Teuffel wol gedencket vnd weiß was gestanden ist. Wann nun solche Leute in jren reden vnd schriften so hohe verborgne kunst vnnd weißhzeit fürgeben / verwundert man sich jrer / werden groß geachtet vnd gehalten. Aber es ist solcher rhum vnnd preiß viel zu thewer gekauft.²⁰

[Many among the educated intellectuals compete. But often they are without wits, industry, and ability so they conjure a spirit who reads to them in which book and on which page of the book a spell for their wishes is to be found, also of books that are lost burned and hidden and in which only the devil knows what had been written. Those magicians who pretend to have such great knowledge are greatly admired and celebrated, but the price for such fame and glory is much too high.]

20 Augustin Lerchheimer, *Christlich Bedencken unnd Erinnerung von Zauberey, woher, was und wie vielfältig sie sey, wem sie schaden könne oder nicht, wie diesem Laster zuwehren unnd die, so damit behafft, zu bekehren oder auch zu straffen seyn* . . . , ed. Carl Binz (Straßburg: Heitz, 1888), 22–23 (37–39). Cf. Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 8 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 338–71; Robert Stockhammer, *Zaubertexte: Die Wiederkehr der Magie und die Literatur 1880–1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), VII–VIII.

According to Lerchheimer the devil also has access to unwritten knowledge or scriptures that have been destroyed and can quote from his memory:

Das lautet vnglaublich dannoch kans seyn, wann mans von bücher verstehet die etwans vorhanden gewesen, nun aber vmmkommen vnd vndergangen sind, die der tufel in gedechtnus hat vn auswendig kann.²¹

[It is incredible but it is nevertheless possible, if one knows about books, that were once existent now are lost or destroyed, that the devil still has them in his memory.]

3 Solomon, the Genie in the Bottle, and the Summoning of Spirits

Although the narrator's comments point out the futility of Savilon's efforts and even call the zealous magician an idiot, the author still has Savilon think of the ultimate security measure. He guards his books of magic with his own body. Because he knows when the time limit is up – after 1200 years, shortly before the birth of Christ – he must use magic to find a way to make his ageing body last longer. Just how does he go about achieving this? He turns himself into a kind of zombie,²² keeps his body alive just long enough to prevent the birth of Christ. Does he stop time? He does not, since before the birth of Christ predestination presented him with several problematic issues. While, for example, the Lower-Austrian poet Der Stricker (middle of the thirteenth century) in his *Drei Wünsche* and in *Engel und Waldbruder* speaks of God's will as being unknowable to people and yet always in harmony with the universe, this is a tale of the attempt of the Jewish People to prevent salvific history. As a final measure, Savilon, when aware that his end is near, hides a spirit in a bottle just outside the cave.

Nigramanzie buoch er nam
Zuo im alle schiere,
der wären niuwan viere,
dâ mit er alle tiuvel bant.

²¹ Lerchheimer, *Christlich Bedencken* (see note 21), 23.

²² The ethno-botanist Wade Davis describes in his two studies *The Serpent and the Rainbow* (London: Collins, 1986), and *Passage of Darkness: The Ethnobiology of the Haitian Zombie* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), the process of metamorphosis from living human being to a zombie with the help of a mysterious powder. Cf. Hans W. Ackermann and Jeanine Gauthier, "The Ways and Nature of the Zombie," *Journal of American Folklore* 104 (1991): 466–94.

Diu driu verworht er in ein want
 Diu niemen konde vinden.
 Mit dem vierden binden
 Wolt er den geist in sînen lîp,
 sô daz er stæteclich belîp
 bî im haben müeze. (21464–73)

[He took the book of necromancy
 He had four of them to bind the devil
 Three he hid in a wall, so that no one could find them
 With the forth he tried to bind the spirit into his own body
 So that he was always there with him]

Die wîl er sîne füeze
 dar ûf hât gesetztet,
 sô moht er niht geletzet
 werden an dem lebende.
 In einem twalme²³ swebende
 Was sîn lebelîcher geist.
 Slâfes noch wachendes volleist
 Hât er eigenlîche
 dem tode ungelîche sazt er als er lebte. (21474–83)

[He put his feet on the book
 So he could live on without losing his life
 His mind was in a state of terminal sedation
 He was neither in a waking nor a sleeping state
 He sat there as if he were alive]

Here we find two rather unusual motifs: one is the motif of the spirit/genie trapped in a bottle, which in this instance comes close to being a soul separated from its body, and the other is the living corpse. Had the motif of a soul outside of its body been properly realized, Savilon would have been unable to die due to this separation of body and soul. However, he keeps his body upon the grave in a kind of rigor mortis. Twelve thousand years pass, and the birth of Christ draws near. Virgil, by means of munificence, is trapped in a precarious situation, and sets out to find the magnetic mountain and its books of magic, which he intends to take for himself. He does indeed find what he is looking for on the magnetic mountain (where Reinfried subsequently reads a report of the events). He discovers the genie/spirit in the bottle and comes to know where Savilon's body lies.

23 On the curious meaning of “twalm,” cf. Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. II (1876; Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1992), col. 1594–95.

mit diesem funde und da von
 des briefes kraft vil balde brach,
 dô man die karakter sach
 und ouch der figûren schrift.
 Diz was eben in der trift,
 dô diz vant Virgilius,
 daz ouch Octaviânus
 ze Rôme lepte keiserlîch
 und diu reine inneeclîch
 Mariâ muoter magt gebar
 Got mensch ûf die erden har. (21670–80)

[with this discovery, the power of the letter broke
 When the characters and the figures were visible.
 This was the time when Virgil found it
 Under the reign of [Emperor] Octavian
 That the Virgin Mary gave birth to Christ]

Solomon,²⁴ son of King David of Israel, becomes king after his father. A legitimizing dream prophecy has Solomon speak to God while dreaming. When God demands to know what he wishes for, Salomon asks for wisdom in the governing of the people of Israel and God bestows unto him outstanding powers. Solomon's life is characterized by wisdom and ambivalent relations to – mostly foreign – women. In the literary tradition following the Bible, the character is fleshed out: his wisdom becomes power over nature, animals, and especially over demons. He cleverly uses demons to erect edifices, wage wars, and bring green vegetation to the desert. This art of compelling ghosts to do one's bidding derives from a ring of magic which has been brought to Solomon by an angel. Such power, it is said, has previously only been wielded by Adam. Thereafter, magicians like Zabulon and Virgil possess it too.

Solomon forces Orniás, the genie in the bottle, to aid him in erecting the temple and traps him in his bottle once the deed is done – thus reports the *Testamentum Salomonis*,²⁵ which most probably dates from the first century. Salomon

²⁴ On Solomon/writing on Solomon cf. Pekka Särkö, "Altes Testament," (724–727); Günter Stemberger, "Judentum" (727–30); Anders Drijvers, "Sapientia Salomonis, Psalmen Salomos und Oden Salomos," (730–32); all in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 29 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 724–32. Bernhard Otto, *Magie: Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 378–80.

²⁵ Text in Paul Rießler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel*. Transl. and comm. by Paul Rießler (Augsburg: Filsler, 1928), 1251–62; Georg Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage in der semitischen Literatur* (Berlin: Harrwitz, 1907). Solomon's power over demons is based on a pre-Rabbinic tra-

also traps demons in a bottle, burying it or throwing it into a well in the *Legenda Aurea* and the *Passional*. Inevitably, the bottle is found and the demon is freed. In the *Großes Neidhartspiel*,²⁶ the demons themselves find out which word counteracts the binding spell. In other texts, treasure hunters discover the bottles. Later, in the literary tradition, the magician Virgil takes over from Solomon as the subjugator of demons. In legend, both are united. Virgil is led to Chaldea by his familiar, where he finds a sealed bottle in a cave, it having been left there by Solomon – he also discovers the books of magic. The freed spirit teaches him to understand the Chaldean scripture. Later, the spirit is trapped once again by means of trickery, and Virgil returns to Europe as the heir and successor to Solomon.

Did the author consciously play with the tradition of the motifs and the knowledge surrounding Solomon, as is seemingly indicated by the name Sivilon – or in some versions Samlon. Both William of Auvergne²⁷ and Albertus Magnus²⁸ name in their lists of damned books one which is attributed to Solomon; it bears the title *Sacratus*. This book is attributed not only to Solomon, but also to Honorius, which is why it is also known by the title *Schwurbuch des Honorius* or *Juratus*.²⁹ The lengthy introduction apparently functions as an apologia for magic, stating that while it is condemned and ostracized by the Church, it is in fact not a sinister art at all. Magic cannot be performed by an impure or evil person, since the spirits will only let pure men and women govern them. Eighty-nine masters of this art chose Honorius of Thebes to summarize it in a book.

dition. An early Roman book of spells and conjurations is passed down under his name. The Greek *Testamentum Salomonis* (100–400) relates that God's angel provided Solomon with a ring that gave him power over the demons, made them subservient by citing their name in order to fulfill a certain function. Cf. Peter Busch, *Das Testament Salomos: Die älteste christliche Dämonologie, kommentiert und in deutscher Erstübersetzung* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006).

26 *Die mittelalterlichen Neidhart-Spiele: in Abbildungen der Handschriften*, ed. John Margetts. *Litterae*, Göppinger Beiträge zur Textgeschichte, 73 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1986).

27 Stephen Maksymiuk, *The Court Magician in Medieval German Romance*. *Mikrokosmos: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung*, 44 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1996), 58. Cf. *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundaments of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 17 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2016).

28 In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many magical and alchemical treatises were ascribed to Albertus Magnus. Cf. Margaret Schleissner, "Pseudo-Albertus Magnus: *Secreta mulierum cum commento*, *Deutsch*. Critical Text and Commentary," Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, 2013.

29 Gösta Hedegård, *Liber Iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*. *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 48 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002).

Even though the Church, kings, and princes agreed to burn the books and dissolve the schools of magic, those adept in this art swore an oath only to pass this book on once they were on their deathbed and only to a person advanced in years who had heretofore conducted his or her life in an immaculate way. The person receiving the book would also have to take the oath.

The book's contents, which, for the most part, do not follow any specific order, include prayers in incomprehensible languages, which are probably mutilated versions of Chaldean or Hebrew. Detailed descriptions provide instructions for the making and usage of seals, the proportions of magic circles, as well as their prerequisite segments and the assignment of names and symbols. One such passage is concerned with three different ways of subjugating a spirit. The text distinguishes between a heathen, a Jewish, and a Christian method. Heathens would make sacrifices to spirits of nature but were not able to control them. The summoned spirits would only pretend to subjugate themselves to the will of the humans to receive the offerings. The Jewish method was, similarly, not very effective. Only the Christians were able to truly control and subjugate the spirits. All three, however, had the same goal, namely subjugating evil by the means of magic.³⁰

4 The Power of Books

Savilon/Zabulon is presented as a link between Solomon and Virgil: in *Reinfried*, the classical poet reigns over Mantua and goes on a quest to find Savilon and his books of magic, finally discovering them on the magnetic mountain, where he takes the letter from Savilon's ear – which means that Christ can be born.³¹ The change in ownership of the books of magic indicates the end of Savilon's long life. Virgil makes the spirits now under his control build a grave for Savilon; furthermore, he forces the devil to fetch him the key to the other books of magic

³⁰ Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic* (see note 18), 288; Adolf Jakoby, "Die Zauberbücher vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit," *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 31 (1931): 208–28; Georg Conrad Horst, *Zauber=Bibliothek*, 6 vols. Florian Kupferberg (Mainz: Aurum Verlag, 1821–1826). *Faust's dreifacher Höllenzwang: Dr. Faust's Magia naturalis et innaturalis oder dreifacher Höllenzwang, letztes Testament und Siegelkunst: in fünf Abteilungen* (1849; Berlin: Schikowski, 2002); Johann Scheible, *Handschriftliche Schätze aus Kloster-Bibliotheken: Hauptwerke über Magie, verborgene Kräfte, Offenbarungen und geheimste Wissenschaften; ein Beitrag zum Aberglauben früherer Jahrhunderte mit vielen Bildern*, 31 (Cologne and Hamburg: Glogau, 1743).

³¹ *Reinfried von Braunschweig* (see note 1), v. 21568 and 21675.

from the sea and finally uses trickery to bind him once again to the bottle from which he had been freed.

Here, the books (of magic) are objects from another world; visual representations of books or inscription tablets show the very same as attributes of God or the prophets. Holy books are magical artefacts per se, and are further surpassed by a book, which contains magical formulas or ways of subjugating a spirit. Another document refers to the power of books: it bears the title *Zabulons Buch* and is part of the *Wartburgkrieg*. It is known as its last entry and dates from the thirteenth century. During a quarrel between Wolfram and Klingsor, the origin and hiding of Zabulon's book of magic and his subjugation of the spirit is debated. Here, this happens due to Aristotle's and later Virgil's journey to the magnetic mountain (Agetstein): Klingsor mentions Zabulon's book in stanza 155 and thus draws suspicion. In his rebuttal, Wolfram narrates the story of the spell books, which we have already learned about in *Reinfried von Braunschweig*. The spell book is Zabulon's countermeasure to the birth of Christ. In the same stanza we learn about the ritual in greater detail:

Nu hoerent wie er sich underwant
des buoches dâ Virgilius ûz nam sîn meisterschaft:
eins dezedemôn's hût er umbe bant,
diu gît dem hirne kraft;

Und saf von lignum alôê für der argen lûfte vâ
het er in eime golde dur den edeln süezen smac:
daz machet im diu ougen klâr;
zwelif wochen und ein jâr er diser herte pflac.

nu ist daz buoch bereit gar sunder wanc:
der künste wielt
einen geist er twanc,
daz er imz ûf dem agetsteine behielt. (158–159)

[Now hear how Virgil came into possession of the book:
He had tied the skin of a demon around his body, which gave his mind power.
And a liquid of aloe against the vapors
Making his eyes clear
One year and twelve weeks he endured this hardship.
Then he gained power over the book
And forced a demon to hold it on the magnetic mountain]

At this point, Klingsor continues the story of the spell book:

Klingsôr
der meister dâ ein bilde ûz êrze gôz:
der schrift ez hüeten sol.

Bin ichz Klingsôr ûz Ungerlant,
 sô hoeret frömdiu mære, kan iuch wonders niht bevil.
 einen klüpfel truog ez in der hant,
 der stuont ze swæren zil.
 Der meister schoub im einen brief inz houbet dâ zer nase (160)

[the master made an automatic statue of bronze
 To safeguard the book.
 I Klingsor of Hungary
 Hear this peculiar story from me:
 The statue held a club in its hand as defense.
 The master put a magic letter up his nose.]

ez verriet ein fliege in eime glase,
 daz ez Virgilius der meister [sît] gewan.
 wie möhte ein fliege in eime glase wesen?
 wer twanc si des?
 swerz hât gelesen,
 der wez wol, ez tet Aristôtiles. (161)

[the fly in the glass disclosed
 That Virgil had discovered the book.
 How was it possible that the fly came into the glass?
 He who has read it knew that it was Aristotle who forced it inside.]

In stanza 161 the magician traps the fly in a ruby. The singular importance of Aristotle for the education and travels of Alexander the Great³² was further romanticized by Pliny's report in his *Historia Naturalis*.³³ Pliny explains that it was Alexander who made it possible for Aristotle to send 2,000 people on expeditions into uncharted territory and hence to conduct his scientific inquiries.³⁴ The tradition of the writings of Aristotle was sparse in the early Middle Ages and was limited to editions of dubious origin and erroneous translations. Since he was considered the greatest scholar of all times, he was also accredited with the authorship of philosophical works the authors of which could not be determined. In the late twelfth century, Alexander Neckham³⁵ claimed that Aris-

³² Aristotle's influence on medieval thinking in the Christian and Islamic world can never be overestimated. Cf. Norbert H. Ott, "Aristoteles," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), cols. 934–48.

³³ C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturkunde: lateinisch-deutsch*, ed. and trans. Roderich König, 32 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973–2004).

³⁴ Plinius (see note 27), VIII, 17, 44.

³⁵ Cf. John Webster Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1934); Neckam used the phrase "Vergilius fecit culex" to describe the writing of one of Virgil's earlier poems, "culex" or fly. This may have been misinterpreted by later readers as "Virgil made

tole had insisted that those of his works which touched upon magical phenomena be buried with him. Furthermore, he had protected his gravesite from all access because of this, and only the Antichrist would be able to take possession of those writings.

Another aspect concerning the magic of reading a book links those of Aristotle's writings which could only be accessed via their Arabic translations and the reading of magical texts to the University of Paris. The *artes magicae* were not part of the *artes* tradition from the start: Isidore and those scholars who followed his teachings considered them forbidden arts.

The best-known texts to name Aristotle as their author were the *Secreta Secretorum*,³⁶ which must have been widely read, as is indicated by the fact that that text has survived in more than 200 manuscripts. This text, which has been translated into nearly all major world languages, is a conglomeration drawing upon various sources. The version preserved to this day was created in the seventh or eighth century. One of the translators, the patriarch Guido of Antioch, writes in the introduction that Alexander demanded of Aristotle that he either come to him personally or reveal to him the secrets of the movement and influence of the stars, alchemy and geomancy, and the art of summoning spirits in a book. Since Aristotle was already too old for such a journey at that point, he dedicated this text to him. The text, which had been divided into chapters to make it more accessible, provides insight into the magical workings of precious stones, herbs, amulets, and medicines.³⁷

Due to the influence of Arabic literature, the proportions, the categorization of the sciences and thus, the readings, changed over the years. The exclusion of the magical arts no longer seemed necessary to some of the Paris scholars. Arnulf, for example, sees the magical arts as being part of mechanics, since he fo-

a fly," and formed the basis for the legend of Virgil's magic fly which killed all other flies it came across and thus preserved civic hygiene.

36 Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse: Die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-aristotelischen Sirr al-asrar / Secretum Secretorum*. Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter, 43 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006); Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: the Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press 2003); Gundolf Keil, "'Secretum Secretorum'," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd rev. and expanded ed. by Kurt Ruh et al. Vol. 8 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter 1992), 993–1013; Hiltgart von Hürnheim, *Mittelhochdeutsche Prosaübersetzung des Secretum Secretorum*, ed. Reinhold Möller. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 56 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1963); Wolfgang Hirth, "Zu den deutschen Bearbeitungen der *Secreta Secretorum*," *Leuvense Bijdragen* 55 (1966), 40–70.

37 Cf. Albert Gier, "Giftmädchen," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 5 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), col. 1240–43.

cuses on their practical use. They are able to cure defects and still the needs of the human body too. The thus legitimized use of the magical arts first and foremost applied to the various kinds of divination. At the same time, knowledge and the study of the Arabic divisions of science and the magical processes at the *artes* faculty in Paris legitimized these practices. The discourse of magic, which goes back to Isidore, prohibited the practice of magic since it was viewed as pagan and demonic. Subsequently, prohibition or legitimisation depended on the question whether the knowledge had been gained by the help of demons or was the result of the knowledge of the laws of nature. Fürbeth concludes accordingly:

Im Großen und Ganzen lassen sich dabei während des Mittelalters zwei Beurteilungslinien unterscheiden: diejenige der christlichen Theologen und damit der Kirche, die jedes magische Verfahren als pagan-dämonisch und damit superstitiös disqualifizieren, und diejenige der von der arabischen Tradition beeinflussten Absolventen der *artes*-Studien, welche die magischen Verfahren als kausale Naturwissenschaften auffassten.³⁸

[Generally speaking, there are two main lines of evaluation: one by Christian theology that is also the church's opinion, which qualify each magical practice as pagan-demonical and therefore superstitious. The other line of assessment concerns the graduates of the *artes*, who were influenced by the Arabic tradition that considered magical practice as causal natural science.]

What does this mean for the character of Zabulon specifically? The former student of the University of Paris, Thomas Aquinas, probably influenced by the magical discourse held there,³⁹ addresses the question to what extent (scientific) insight via the means of magic is possible. He discredits and forbids these practices since they do not look at causes but at symbols, and labels them as ineffective because they cannot be used to gain the kind of knowledge that is beneficial to human nature, and because what is of interest here is not learning or inventing but a kind of knowledge to which only God or demons can grant access. Since demons – as opposed to God – are unable to enlighten the human mind, it is impossible to gain knowledge through demons.

Zabulon is master of two things: he is an astrologer and a conjuror and subjugator of spirits. That astrology has a special place in the canonical sciences is evident here too, since what Zabulon reads in the stars is not questioned at any point in the narrative. The author does not touch upon Zabulon's demonic pow-

³⁸ Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen* (see note 19), 260.

³⁹ Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse* (see note 36); Gundolf Keil, "Secretum Secretorum" (see note 34).

ers; Zabulon is called a fool in the narrator's commentary, because he tries to prevent the birth of Christ even though he knows that all his safety measures are ineffective; he makes an error in his reasoning. His portrayal as a scholar is of interest too; at the end of his career he is in possession of four spell books he penned himself.

Of Peter Abelard (1079–1142) ⁴⁰ it was said that he found a book with spells in Rome when he was still a schoolboy; a book which made it possible for him to achieve almost anything. This is because the book obligates the devil to do one's bidding. The book is further meant to be an independent creature which is capable of movement, which is why it must be chained.⁴¹ To this day, the belief in certain books of magic is strong, such as the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses.⁴² These books should not be kept in one's living quarters as they are harbingers of bad luck. In the witch lore of the nineteenth century a spell book for

⁴⁰ Cf. Rachel H. Busk, *The Folk-Lore of Rome* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1874), 4, 189.

⁴¹ On the value of the books that contain charms against theft, see Rudolf Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte d. populären Lesestoffe 1770–1910* (Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann, 1970), 93–97. See also the entry "Buch," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. Kurt Ranke, vol. 2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1979), col. 965–70. The chaining of the books, which was actually a concrete practice in medieval libraries, is also a motif in numerous legends. An Allgäu legend (southwestern Germany) reports that four sorcerers whose names are given own a book. One day they forget to close it and when they return home some curious people have discovered it and read it. With the help of some measures like reading backwards it is possible to save the book from curious eyes. Cf. Karl A. Reiser, *Sagen, Gebräuche und Sprichwörter des Allgäus: Ausgewählt von Hulda Eggar* (Kempten und Munich: Kösel, 1914), no. 116, 123–25. In many Austrian legends sorcerers and witches demand on their deathbed that their grimoires must be destroyed or they will not be able to die or will face a violent death. For example: *Sagen aus Südtirol*, ed. Marianne Direder-Mai and Leander Petzoldt (Munich: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1993), 23–24; *Sagen aus Niederösterreich*, ed. Leander Petzoldt (Munich: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1992), 41–42; Grimoires are also understood as a pact with the devil. Christian Falkner, *Sagen aus dem Ötztal: Ötztaler Buch. Schlern-Schriften 229* (Innsbruck: Wagner 1963), 124–26. *Oberösterreichisches Sagenbuch*, ed. Albert Depiny (Linz: Pirngruber, 1932), 218–22 and 198–208. On charms in the Middle Ages, see the contribution to this volume by Chiara Benati.

⁴² Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press 1996); Robert Michael Braman, "The Problem of Magic in Ancient Israel," Ph.D. diss., Drew University, Madison, NJ, 1989; Sir James G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend and Law*, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1918); John Gager, "Moses the Magician: Hero of an Ancient Counter-Culture?" *Helios* 21.2 (1994): 179–88; John Gager, "Moses and Magic: Notes on the Book of Exodus," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 24 (1996): 45–59; John Gager, "Moses and Magic," John Gager, *Moses Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1972), 134–61.

witches is mentioned; the members of the Wicca coven⁴³ made use of a manual which bore the title *Buch der Schatten*. Mysterious books like the *Necronomicon*, a fictional grimoire by H. P. Lovecraft:⁴⁴ At times, the Voynich manuscript,⁴⁵ which has yet to be decoded, is referred to as a grimoire.

5 Books of Spells

Neither the ban by the Church nor the explicit criticism of superstitions by Augustinus, Isidor or Thomas Aquinas could put a stop to the study of the arts of magic or the collecting of spell books by the wealthy aristocracy that set in in the late Middle Ages. We hear news of black books, the *libri nigri*, from Ekkehard IV of St. Gall in the eleventh century. He says of those books that they are read by sorcerers at night-time. In 1376, the grand inquisitor Eymericus⁴⁶ speaks in his *Directorium* of several books of magic which he has come across in his line of work. The treatise by Hartlieb, *puoch aller verpoten kunst*,⁴⁷ is a source of great value when it comes to books of magic. The Oriental books of spells, which were translated into Latin, were not widely read, and thus only a few manuscripts have survived; some are mentioned in a few other manuscripts while the original texts have been lost. Hartlieb made a list of the most important ones. Texts like the *Schemhamphoras*⁴⁸ and the *Liber Razielis Archangeli* or *Sefer*

⁴³ See Kathrin Fischer, *Das Wiccatum: Volkskundliche Nachforschungen zu heidnischen Hexen im deutschsprachigen Raum*. Grenzüberschreitungen, 5 (Freiburg i. Br.: Ergon Verlag, 2007).

⁴⁴ Howard Philipps Lovecraft, "Geschichte und Chronologie des Necronomikon," *Azathoth* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1989), 298–99; cf. *Über H. Lovecraft*, ed. Franz Rottensteiner. Phantastische Bibliothek, 130 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1984).

⁴⁵ <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Voynich-Manuskript> (last accessed on Jan. 28, 2017).

⁴⁶ Cf. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2nd rev. ed. (1972; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 120–126.

⁴⁷ Johann Hartliebs *Buch aller verbotenen Künste*, ed. Dora Ulm (Halle a.d. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1914); see also the edition by Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Munich: Param, 1989); on Hartlieb's critical treatise on superstition, see Wolfram Schmitt, *Magie und Mantik bei Hans Hartlieb* (Vienna: Verlag Notring der wissenschaftlichen Verbände, 1966); Martin Wierschin, "Johannes Hartliebs 'Mantische Schriften'," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 90 (1968): 57–100. See now also Albrecht Classen's comments in the introductory article to this book.

⁴⁸ *Bibliothek der Zauber-, Geheimniß- und Offenbarungs-Bücher und der Wunder-Hausschatz-Literatur aller Nationen in allen ihren Raritäten und Kuriositäten: insbesondere: Aeromantie, Alchemie, Astrologie ... und andere Materien des Mysteriösen und Uebemnatürlichen; mit Einschluß der medizinischen und naturhistorischen Sonderbarkeiten; zur Geschichte der Kultur, hauptsächlich des Mittelalters* ed. Johann Scheible (1849; Berlin: Schikowski, 1995).

*Raziel*⁴⁹ (partly written in Hebrew) are derived from the Kabbalah.⁵⁰ The *Heptameron*⁵¹ by Peter of Abano is, along with the *Picatrix*⁵² and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*,⁵³ the most famous spell book of the classical period. It circulated widely until the sixteenth century, but only in manuscripts. Around the year 1600, it was added to a printed complete edition of the works of Agrippa.⁵⁴

The book is mostly concerned with the creation of a magic circle. Such a circle consists in fact of three separate circles; the middle one is used to note down the name of the hour of the year, with respect to the names of the angels ruling the particular hour, and their seals. In the outer circle, one must note down the names of the spirits of the air related to the day in question, as well as the names of the four quarters of the earth alongside four pentagrams. The inner circle holds the names of God, like Adonai, Eloy, Agla, and Tetragrammaton. Detailed instructions concerning which incense to burn, suitable attire for the person performing the ritual, the necessary preparatory rituals (which last nine days and must always be performed under a waxing moon), and a full list of all angels' names complete the text.

49 Cf. Peter Assion, *Altdeutsche Fachliteratur* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1973), 170; Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science* (note 18), II 214–16, 288; Steve Savedow (trans.), *Sepher Raziel Hemelach: The Book of the Angel Raziel* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 2000).

50 Originally the word Kabbalah generally meant any tradition or transmission, especially the revelations of the Torah to Moses. The principle interlocking with God's universal system makes the mutual influence of human and divine level obvious. Man, is under the integrated or holistic influence of universal powers and can also influence them. One example would be the kabbalistic word magic, where the spoken word has an immediate influence on the denominated object. On the Kabbalah in general, cf. Roland Goetschel, "Kabbala: Judentum" and Otto Betz, "Kabbala: Christentum," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller, vol. 17 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 487–500 and 501–09; Scholem Gershom, *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1995); on Jewish magic, cf. Blau's useful monograph: Ludwig Blau, *Das Altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1974); Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939).

51 Peter de Abano, *Das Heptameron oder Magische Elemente*, trans. Brigitte Krause (1655; Wyk auf Föhr: Schleierwelten-Verlag, 2005).

52 *Picatrix: the Latin version of the "Ghāyat al-ḥakīm"*; text, introduction, appendices, indices, ed. David Pingree. Studies of the Warburg Institute, 39 (London: Warburg Institute, 1986).

53 Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse: Die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-aristotelischen Sīr al-asrar / Secretum Secretorum*. Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter, 43 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006).

54 *Libri tres de occulta philosophia oder Drei Bücher der verborgenen Philosophie* (Antwerpen 1530, Paris 1531, augmented edition Cologne 1533).

6 Black Books and What to Take Away from Reading Them

Aside from the authorship of the spell books (which is, in most cases, nothing but attribution), their contents depend on their respective areas of application. The functionality and utilization of these books includes the revelation of secrets, the subjugation of spirits, the acquisition of lost objects (*Bringen-machen* in the vernacular),⁵⁵ and the unearthing of treasures. Zabulon only wrote his spell books after the baleful prophecy. What can also be deduced from the handling of the (spell) books is the status of literacy. In *Reinfried* and *Wartburgkrieg*, everybody is able to read as a matter of course, while in other sources the mere possession of a book is seen as a powerful act of magic.

The content of these books is often a mixture of benedictions, prayers, and harmful spells. The folk tales surrounding those books⁵⁶ endow them with a life of their own, turning each one into a talisman. The motif of the chained book (which is prevalent mostly in younger myths) can already be found in the *Prosa-Lancelot*⁵⁷:

Gartissie has manipulated Arthur with the help of her spell books. If she could escape, she would use her books to destroy the castle within seven days. Galahot leads Key to a subterranean chamber, where the books are kept

55 We only know the purpose of the book and that it must be read backwards to catch the thief. The thief is forced to move in the tempo of the reading; therefore, the correct rhythm is important. Cf. *Die Heidin: Das Alpbachtaler Sagenbuch*, ed. Berta Margreiter (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1986), 68–69; *Sagen aus der Steiermark*, ed. Leander Petzoldt (Munich: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1993), 11; Max Siller, “Zauberspruch und Hexenprozeß: Die Rolle des Zauberspruchs in den Zauber- und Hexenprozessen Tirols,” *Tradition und Entwicklung: Festschrift Eugen Thurnher*, ed. Werner M. Bauer, Achim Masser, and Guntram Plangg. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Germanistische Reihe, 14 (Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik, 1982), 127–54.

56 Cf. Martin Ehrenfeuchter, *Aspekte des zeitgenössischen Zauberglaubens in Dichtungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1996), 64; Stephan Bachter, “Wie man Höllenfürsten handsam macht. Zauberbücher und die Tradierung magischen Wissens,” *Geschichte(n) der Wirklichkeit. Beiträge zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Wissens*, ed. Achim Landwehr (Augsburg: Wißner, 2002), 371–390; Stephan Bachter, “Magie für alle! Über Zauberbücher und die Popularisierung magischen Wissens seit dem 18. Jahrhundert,” *Magie! Die geheime Macht der Zeichen*, ed. Andrea Haase (Basel: Schwabe, 2002), 58–67; Stephan Bachter, “Anleitung zum Aberglauben: Zauberbücher und die Verbreitung magischen ‘Wissens’ seit dem 18. Jahrhundert,” Ph.D. diss. Hamburg, 2005.

57 *Lancelot*. Nach der Heidelberger Pergamenthandschrift Pal. Germ. 147, ed. Reinhold Kluge. 3 vols, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 42 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1948).

in a shrine secured with iron locks. Key burns the books. They contain not just harmful magic, but also prophecies. Galahot wishes to know his destiny and asks Helios to show it to him. Helios is in possession of a book, which contains powerful spells (which are even potent enough to change the direction in which a river flows and to make trees grow in the bed of a brook). For the uninitiated, the book harbors dangers. Once, one of his companions attempted to interpret Galahot's dreams with the help of the book – which caused the book to fall apart. Nobody dares to open the book thereafter, which is why it comes into Helios's possession, who promises to reveal to Galahot the hour of his death. He draws 45 small and large circles upon the wall, representing the years of Galahot's life. Once again, he reads his book, it grows dark and thunder rings out. Then a strong voice is heard, and a mysterious hand bearing a sword appears and attacks them both. They are, however, protected by a host and a relic. The hand wipes out all but three and a half of the circles. These present the time left to Galahot.⁵⁸

Divination with the help of a book (preferably with the help of a Holy Book) is known as bibliomancy,⁵⁹ and is part of the wider field of stichomancy.⁶⁰ It is defined as the art of receiving spiritual help through the written word and was not only used for the purposes of divination, but also to recover lost objects, and to find witches.

The Bible or any other book seen as being potent is opened arbitrarily. What is written there is regarded as the answer to the question. The idea behind this seemingly random answer is that not only does the power of God give true advice, but also that there is no such thing as a coincidence. Similar rituals of divination are not restricted to the Bible; the classical Chinese culture used the *I*

⁵⁸ *Lancelot* (see note 57), vol. I, 509, 9–10.

⁵⁹ Cf. Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996); Valerie Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); cf. Kurt Ranke, “Bibel,” *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. Kurt Ranke, vol. 2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1979), col. 281–83; Max Rühle, “Bibel,” *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ed. Hanns Bächthold-Stäubli, vol. 1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), col. 1215–19.

⁶⁰ Divination with verses is a subcategory of lots. In antiquity, the curious used their own self-penned texts as well as those of the famous, such as Euripides, Hesiod, while Homer and Virgil were favourites. Some practitioners would use dice or other randomisers to choose a certain passage in the book. Later special lot books were made for that purpose. Cf. Fritz Boehm, “Los, Losen,” vol. 5, col. 1351–1386, esp. 13471–78; Fritz Boehm, “Losbücher,” vol. 5, cols. 1386–1401, and Fritz Boehm, “Stichomantie,” vol. 8, col. 477–78, all in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 8 (see note 59). Cf. Christa A. Tuczay, *Kultugeschichte der mittelalterlichen Wahrsagerei* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 199–210.

Ching and Muslims would open the Quran, while the ancient Greeks turned to the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The Romans used the Sibylline Books or the works of Virgil. In Christian times, the Bible became the only book that was used for such purposes, since the Christians of the Middle Ages (while they did not abhor the idea) did not believe divination from heathen books to be very powerful or effective. Bibliomancy as a subcategory of the Sortilegium⁶¹ played an important role amongst both the clergy and lay people in the early Middle Ages. The *Sortes Sangallense*⁶² (from the sixth or seventh century) uses several dice to find its way through the texts. Christian authorities like St. Augustine Hieronymus, and Pope Gregory I, also known as Gregory the Great, rejected such superstitious practices; many synods dealt with the topic and finally, from the fifth century onwards, placed a ban on the *Sortilegia*.

However, legend has it that even Francis of Assisi (1181/1182–1226) founded his order only after opening the Bible three times in such a manner as described above.⁶³ While earlier times saw people picking up little plates bearing names or proverbs randomly, or using a needle or a stick to pick a page and a verse of a text, later, one turned to simply opening the book and using one's thumb or a key to mark the position in the text. Berthold of Regensburg (ca. 1220–1272) was decidedly against this practice (known to him as “Däumeln”= thumbing⁶⁴). The Bible as a magical object possessed sanative powers; one would, for example, place it upon the head of a child suffering from insomnia.⁶⁵ Curiously, but

61 Cf. Ute Reichel, *Astrologie, Sortilegium, Traumdeutung – Formen von Weissagung im Mittelalter* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1991).

62 Cf. Richard Meister, *Die Orakelsprüche im St. Galler Palimpsestcodex 908 (die sog. Sortes Sangallenses)* (Vienna: Rohrer, 1948); Evelyn Burkhardt, “Hebräische Losbuchhandschriften: zur Typologie einer jüdischen Divinationsmethode,” *Jewish Studies Between the Disciplines: Judaistik zwischen den Disziplinen: Papers in Honor of Peter Schäfer on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Klaus Hermann, Margarete Schlüter, and G. Veltri (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 95–148.

63 Thomas von Celano, *Leben und Wunder des heiligen Franziskus von Assisi: Einführung, Übersetzung von Engelbert Grau* (Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, 1994), 15.

64 Anton Schönbach, “Studien zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt. Zeugnisse Bertholds von Regensburg zur Volkskunde,” *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1900; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), 1–154, esp. 33.

65 Christian Jewish and Islamic Holy scriptures include superstitions elements. Whether the user is literate or illiterate, the book itself was an amulet against evil: Carried along in a pocket or under a cushion at night, there was always one in the house to bless all its inhabitants. Anton Günter, *Psychologie der Legende: Studien zu einer wissenschaftlichen Heiligen-Geschichte* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1949), 90 and 214.

quite meaningfully the practice of opening books for divination is still popular today.⁶⁶

In this respect Zabulon's book is not only a grimoire. Its significance and function is bound to the fate of the Jewish people on the one hand and on the other demonstrates a very strange and peculiar magical ritual. Not incidentally the great exponent of the *magia naturalis*, Virgil sets out to find and claim the book for himself.

⁶⁶ Kaufmann Kohler and M. Grundwald, "Bibliomancy," online at <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/3273-bibliomancy>; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bibliomancy> (last accessed on Feb. 6, 2017).

Veronica Menaldi

Miracles and Magic: Necromantic Practices Found in *Cantiga 125*

This article explores a literary representation of magic that is juxtaposed with the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary in the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, an Iberian collection of 420 poems in Galician-Portuguese attributed to Alfonso X the Wise who was King of Castile (1221–1284). Throughout these poems, which are accompanied by musical notation and illuminations in the manuscript, we find the Virgin Mary depicted in a humanized way in various festivities or miracles. This collection is considered a songbook reflecting the variety of metrical forms and rhyme schemes depicting both fictionalized accounts of important contemporary events of Alfonso's life as well as a source on daily-life in the Middle Ages drawing from original material as well as previous Marian miracles from English, French, and Latin collections.¹ Scholarship has focused on such stylistic representations as well as the function of marginalized society members like women as can be seen in Connie Scarborough's study.² This article builds on the previous scholarship focusing on the magical representation or demonic presence.

Throughout the *Cantigas* some fifty of the 420 contain references to demonic magic, whether it be via a secondary character as in the case *Cantiga 17* where a devil disguises himself as a diviner, or central to the narrative, as in the case of *Cantiga 125*, in which a priest summons and commands demons to seduce a young woman. In the latter *Cantiga* the fictional representation of necromancy and demon summoning performed by the main character draws from contemporary popular, arguably magical, practices such as the use of necromantic symbols, which are included in the accompanying illustrations. This *Cantiga* has been adapted from a pre-existing Marian miracle, "Love Gained by Black

1 See Joseph Snow, *The Poetry of Alfonso X, El Sabio: A Critical Bibliography* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1977). Stephen Parkinson, *Alfonso X, the Learned, 'Cantigas de Santa Maria': An Anthology*, (Cambridge: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2015), and *El Scriptorium Alfonso: de los Libros de Astrología a las Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. Jesús Montoya Martínez and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1999); among others.

2 Connie Scarborough, *Women in Thirteenth-Century Spain as Portrayed in Alfonso X's Cantigas de Santa Maria*. *Hispanic Literature*, 19 (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, Ont., and Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1993).

Veronica Menaldi, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-012>

Arts,” that had been circulating in Latin from at least the tenth century.³ The earlier versions of this tale show that the *Cantiga* originates in a tradition from North of the Pyrenees. The Alfonsine version of the tale though manifests elements that locate it in the Iberian context, particularly in the period of intense interest in and translation of Arabic scientific knowledge – including works on the occult sciences such as geomancy, astrology and alchemy. As explored in detail below, this *Cantiga* tells of how a cleric summons and controls demons in order to seduce a young woman and is accompanied by images depicting symbols of talismanic lunettes specific to Arabic treatises on magic translated in the Alfonsine workshops.

The *Cantigas* now survive in four manuscript codices, two of which are in the Escorial (MS E, MS T), one in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (MS To), and one in Florence, Italy (MS F). All surviving manuscripts are from the second half of the thirteenth century with MS E and MS T, also known as the ‘Código Rico’ being the largest – with 256 folios – and containing the most illuminations – 1,257 miniatures on 210 folios. María Dolores Bollo-Pandero notes that the *Cantigas* as a whole became “understood as an ideological instrument of cultural codification that reaffirms the established Christian social order in relation to three principal groups: heretics, Muslims and Jews.”⁴

The use of magic in the *Cantigas*, though, does not always reflect this codification, for they include tales in which magic is used by members at different social and economic levels, including even a Christian cleric. The miracles performed in each tale by the Virgin Mary serve to restore “the social and religious order, disrupted by the sinner,”⁵ but in *Cantiga 125* we witness a priest performing not only disrupting the social and religious order, but defying the cosmological order as well. Yet his punishment shows implicit bias and speaks to the ambiguity that characterizes medieval Iberian attempts to police both thoughts and actions. Bollo-Pandera observes that:

3 In total there are twelve surviving earlier versions of this Marian miracle found in the following collections: Bernard Pez published one in Vienna in 1732, now at Cornell University; Thott in Copenhagen’s Royal Library, ms. Thott 128; Gil de Zamora in Madrid’s Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 9503; BL Mariale 3 in London’s British Library, ms. 35112; Lisbon Mariale in Lisbon’s Biblioteca Nacional, ms. Alcobacense 149; William of Malmesbury; Adgar in London’s British Library, Egerton 612; British Library Mariale 2 in London’s British Library, Arundel 346; Nigel of Canterbury in London’s British Library, ms. Cotton Vespasian D; Bartholomew of Trent in the University of Bologna, codice 1794; Jean Mielot Miracles of Nostre Dame in Oxford’s Bodleian, Douce ms. 374; and Anglo-Normal Miracles of the Virgin in London’s British Library, royal 20 B XIV.

4 María Dolores Bollo-Pandero, “Heretics and Infidels: The *Cantigas De Santa María* as Ideological Instrument of Cultural Codification,” *Romance Quarterly* 55.3 (2008): 163–74; here 163.

5 Bollo-Pandero, “Heretics and Infidels” (see note 4), 164.

The *Cantigas* reveal a globalizing discourse; every single poem exists to reinforce the relationship between the sender – the monarch and the author – and the recipient of the message, preserving the established order through cultural codification. The *Cantigas* are mainly designed for Christians, a community that must be kept homogeneously united, thereby annihilating differences and eliminating all possibilities for the existence of alterity. Thus, the Other is only portrayed in a positive light if it is suitable for conversion, becoming, then, the Same.⁶

I would argue that it is more complicated considering the commissioned nature of these *Cantigas* by the King, but also that the tension revolved around the portrayal of magic – especially by a cleric as in *Cantiga 125*. While the overall message of Christian superiority in this *Cantiga* plays into what Bollo-Pandero sees as the “globalizing discourse”⁷ of the *Cantigas* the representation of Muslims, Jews and heretics in this collection is more complex as oftentimes Muslim characters, for instance, can be one of the good characters. Furthermore, the ‘evil’ characters one needs the Virgin’s protection from can be members of the clergy.

This can be seen in *Cantiga 125*, which narrates the story of two devout Christians who honor and venerate the Virgin Mary – a cleric and a pious woman. He “ena loar punnava / polos muitos bees que faz”⁸ (“praised Her devoutly for the blessings She bestows”) ⁹ and she “a Virgen, de Deus Madre, / muy de coraçon servia” (67; “served the Virgin, Mother of God, with all her heart,” 154). After much devoted prayer, the Virgin instructed the woman that if she recites a prayer to the Virgin, she will always be protected from evil: “Di ‘Ave Maria’ e ten / sempr’ ne mi a voontade, e guarda-te de folia” (67; “Say ‘Ave Maria’ and direct your volition toward me and avoid foolish acts,” 154). One day, the priest notices the woman and is entranced by her beauty “fremosa a maravilla” (67; “marvelously beautiful,” 154) and attempts to initiate a relationship. This cleric, who “quis tal ben de coraçon, / que en toda-las maneiras provou de a vencer; mais non / podo y acabar nada, ca oyr nono queria” (68; “loved her so deeply that he tried all the ways he could to win her, but he accomplished nothing, for she would not listen to him,” 154). Once he has been rejected, he summons

6 Bollo-Pandero, “Heretics and Infidels” (see note 4), 169.

7 However, one should note that by having the *Cantigas* written in Galician-Portuguese, the audience in part is limited which complicates the globalizing nature of its content.

8 *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. Walter Mettmann (Madrid: Castalia, 1986), 67.

9 *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, the Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, trans. Kathleen Kulp-Hill. *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, 173 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 154. I will be referring to Mettmann and Kulp-Hill respectively throughout the article when I refer to this *Cantiga* with the page number directly following the citation.

demons through knowledge he had already acquired “seu saber” (68; “his . . . knowledge,” 154) and threatens to trap them in a jar forever if they do not do as he instructs. Though not in the narration, the accompanying illustrations for this *Cantiga* depict the cleric seated in the center of a pentagram with talismanic symbols, as discussed in detail below.

Upon summoning the demons, the priest tells them to go to the woman and enchant her so that she will accept the cleric’s advances, specifically to “ide fazer / com’ eu a donzela aja log’ esta noit’ en meu poder; senon, en hua redoma todos vos enserraria” (68; “find a way to put this maiden in my power tonight; otherwise I shall shut all of you up in a flask,” 154). After their first attempt the demons fail and return to the cleric who is not pleased with the news and demands that they return and try again. This second time they are able to make the woman forget about the Virgin’s prayer, which had been protecting her, and she goes crazy, sick and “d’amor dele logo sse non enssandeceu” (69; “mad with love for him,” 155). Due to her love-sickness her parents are on the verge of losing their daughter, as she threatened to kill herself if she did not marry the cleric.¹⁰ The next day they summon the cleric and he and the young woman are wed. The parents accept him as the man who will inherit their wealth upon their death. Moments after this marriage has taken place the Virgin appears to both of them separately, chastising them for having entered a carnal marriage when they, as she reminds them, are already committed to their faith. Since this marriage was “pelo demo fora, a Madre do muit’ alto Rei / do Ceo mui grorioso logo ile-lo desfazia” (69; “the devil’s work, the Mother of the exalted King of Glorious Heaven at once undid it for him,” 155).

They then ask for forgiveness and the cleric becomes a monk and the woman enters a convent with the help of the bishop, thus ending the *Cantiga* as “ambos los meteu en orden por prazer da Emperadriz / do Ceo mui groriosa, e foron y todavia” (71; “[he, the bishop] placed them both in an order according to the wishes of the Glorious Empress of Heaven, and there they spent their lives,” 156).

According to Michelle Armstrong-Partida, it was not uncommon for Iberian clerics – particularly in Cataluña – to have relationships with women, often

10 This magically induced love-sickness could open discussion to *philocaptio* magic, which arguably can be seen represented in later Iberian literature; however, as the focus of this article is on the literary representation of necromantic practices that overlaps with a contemporary grimoire translated in the same court, I will not go into further detail on this particular form of magic. See Dorothy Severin, “The Relationship between the Libro De Buen Amor and Celestina: Does Trotaconventos Perform a Philocaptio Spell on Doña Endrina?” *A Companion to the Libro De Buen Amor*, ed. Louise M. Haywood and Louise O. Vasvári (Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2004), 123–27.

maintaining them as their concubines. This practice was not limited to Cataluña exclusively as it “was also common in France, Spain and Norway.”¹¹ The women in Cataluña in particular mirrored the lives of married peasant women as the “[c]lerics not only relied on their women to manage the home, land, and their side businesses, but also needed their help to maintain the parish church. . . . These women performed the same duties as a wife and their unions with clerics were accepted in large part because they resembled lay marriage.”¹²

This extended to the behavior of clerics in Leon and Castile since “secular law not only permitted concubinage, but in some cases settlement charters (*fueros*) treated concubines (*barranganas*) as wives.”¹³ Furthermore once a woman entered in a relationship with a cleric, her family would often assume or expect that it “would be more than a brief affair.”¹⁴ This aspect of Iberian society is reflected in this *Cantiga* with the woman’s parents’ willingness to accept the cleric as their new son-in-law. This is not to say that concubinage was encouraged as the church attempted to “enforce clerical celibacy and punish clerics for their sexual transgressions,”¹⁵ and provided the woman was not married, parishioners would condemn the cleric as opposed to the woman.¹⁶ In regards to the women, Armstrong-Partida continues, “sexual encounters outside of marriage were not unusual in late medieval Catalunya, in these rural villages there may have been some tolerance for women’s sexual activities if they were limited to serial monogamy.”¹⁷ Furthermore, she adds, “unlike the portrayals of clerics’ concubines found in the polemical works of reformers, these women were not contemptible figure who lived on the margins of community life.”¹⁸ Having this in mind, the reality of a cleric wanting to be with a woman as reflected in this *Cantiga* is not unexpected.

In all of the twelve earlier versions of the story, the cleric is depicted as the lustful cleric from Auvergne. Most of these were in Latin, like the *Liber Mariae* by Juan Gil de Zamora who was also a member of Alfonso X’s court and who contributed with his narratives about Marian miracles to the *Cantigas*. Though most

11 James Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 404.

12 Michelle Armstrong-Partida, “Priestly Wives: The Role and Acceptance of Clerics’ Concubines in the Parishes of Late Medieval Catalunya,” *Speculum* 88.1 (2013): 166–214; here 168.

13 Armstrong-Partida, “Priestly Wives” (see note 12), 178.

14 Armstrong-Partida, “Priestly Wives” (see note 12), 183.

15 Armstrong-Partida, “Priestly Wives” (see note 12), 167.

16 Armstrong-Partida, “Priestly Wives” (see note 12), 195.

17 Armstrong-Partida, “Priestly Wives” (see note 12), 213.

18 Armstrong-Partida, “Priestly Wives” (see note 12), 212.

of the stories mirror the one found in the later vernacular version of the *Cantiga* studied in the present article, the *Liber Mariae* specifies that the devil himself inspired the cleric to lust for the woman. The *Cantiga*, however, attributes full responsibility regarding this desire to the cleric, omitting the devil's role. This omission in *Cantiga 125*, I would argue, is likely due to the nature of the magical texts being translated in Alfonso's court, and an acceptance of the possibility of someone drawing on their own knowledge for personal gain, despite its heretical nature and implied illegality – as evident in the legal treatise produced in the Alfonsine workshops, the *Siete Partidas*, as discussed below. Another possibility is that the devil's involvement – whether he assisted in planting these desires in the cleric or not – is irrelevant once the cleric repents and blames his actions on the devil, and his life is spared as he enters a religious order.

This *Cantiga* forms part of the literature produced in the workshops of Alfonso X, which has been depicted as a fusion of cultures where Alfonso, to an extent, “employed collaborators from all three religions,”¹⁹ Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, with many of the “intellectual activities fostered by Alfonso require[ing] the presence of Jewish collaborators”²⁰ in particular. In addition to the scientific treatises that will be discussed in more detail shortly, these Alfonsine workshops produced in colloquial Castilian two historical texts and a legal treatise namely: the *Estoria de Espanna* (History of Spain), the *Estoria universal* (Universal History), and the *Siete Partidas*. Ana González Sánchez and others have recognized Alfonso's desire to use Castilian as the new official language and his strategy to create and continue translation schools like the School of Translators in Toledo, in addition to those in Murcia and Sevilla.²¹

His interest in the vernacular can also be seen in the *Cantigas*, which, while produced in the same courts, were produced in Galician-Portuguese as opposed to Castilian reflecting the interest in other vernacular poetry in the Castilian courts. Additionally, the translations completed under the Archbishop Raymundo of Toledo in the late twelfth century, and Alfonso in the mid thirteenth century after him, contributed to Toledo being “widely related with the practice of magic”²² as well as establishing it as a city of intellectual privilege due to the

19 H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 4.

20 Dwayne E Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete Partidas 7.24 De Los Judios* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 69.

21 Ana González Sánchez, *Alfonso X el Mago* (Madrid: Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, 2015), 20.

22 González Sánchez, *Alfonso X el Mago* (see note 21), 27. The translation is my own.

vast variety of translations.²³ The translations that were carried out in Toledo are in part responsible for Iberia's literary production. As David Wacks states:

while Alfonso's translation activities are proof of literary activity bringing Castilian into contact with Hebrew and Arabic, such activity also occurred in Latin as well as a number of other Romance dialects. Producers and consumers of Castilian texts were also producers and consumers of Hebrew and Arabic texts.²⁴

Many of these texts were of scientific and philosophic thought and as such on occasion provided insight into occult understandings. Samuel Waxman adds, oftentimes when a medieval European scholar traveled to the Peninsula, it was in hopes of acquiring more learning, oftentimes magical, which helped establish Castile as a complex space in which knowledge and practices magical in nature where simultaneously valued and punished. In the Toledo School of Translators, prior to Alfonso X, in the twelfth century, one of the more famous translators was John of Seville, who, among other texts, translated the Arabic text of Tabit Ibn Qurra, a ninth-century scholar, of *De Imaginibus*.²⁵ John of Seville also translated the tenth century Arabic *Kitab Sirr al-Asrar*, or more widely recognized *Secreta Secretorum*, which is attributed to Aristotle and contains "teachings on political matters, medicine, physiognomy, astrology, magical gems, the virtues of herbs, amulets, and recipe"²⁶ and circulated widely throughout Europe in its Latin version. Later in the thirteenth century Alfonso X commissioned the translation of other various Arabic and Hebrew texts into Castilian such as the *Libro de los juegos* (Book of Games), texts by Avicenna, Abu al-Qasim, and others. He also was responsible for commissioning the translation of the *Lapidario* (Lapidary) which contained a detailed account of the properties of certain stones in relation to the Zodiac signs and what came to be commonly known as the *Picatrix*, which was translated by the Jewish scholar and personal physician of the King, Yehuda ben Moshe ha-Kohen, based on an earlier Arabic source *Ghayāt al-Hakīm* or the *Aim*

²³ For more information on the attraction Toledo had for magical knowledge seekers like allegedly Pope Gregory VII and others, see Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte, "La escuela de nigromancia de Toledo," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 13 (1983): 205–68; here 208.

²⁴ David Wacks, *Framing Iberia: Maqāmāt and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain*. The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 88.

²⁵ Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe*, Magic in History (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 30.

²⁶ Láng, *Unlocked Books* (see note 25), 59.

of the Wise, attributed to the pseudo Maslama Ibn Ahmad al-Majriti.²⁷ This text was also translated shortly afterwards into Latin based on the Castilian.²⁸ The Castilian version now only exists in fragments, but the Latin translation survives in some seventeen manuscript-copies, including those housed in the British Library, the Welch Library, and the Warburg Institute among others. The work, which also contains a section on the magical properties of stones, is considered a mixture of many beliefs and magical traditions focused mainly on astrological magic, and it contains references to demons and the malicious manipulation of others – implying that whoever used this text believed in the existence of demons, a commonly held medieval Christian belief.²⁹ This establishes the belief in demonic presence – as seen with Thomas Aquinas’s comparison between demons and angels – and by extension an acknowledgement of their powers and influences like those seen in *Cantiga 125*.

Alfonso X’s role in commissioning a variety of magical texts does not mean he practiced this magic, as J. Horance Nunemaker points out. In fact, the major law codes Alfonso had compiled, the *Siete Partidas*, particularly Partida VII, Title XXIII, which concerns “diviners, fortune-tellers, soothsayers, wizards and buffoons,” outlines what divination is, who uses these practices and makes clear what acts should be prosecuted as illicit. The text describes necromancy as:

Nigromancia dicen en latin á un saber estraño que es para escantar los espíritus malos. Et porque de los homes que se trabajan á facer esto viene muy grant daño á la tierra et se señaladamente á los que los creen et les demandan alguna cosa en esta razon, acaesciéndoles muchas ocasiones por el espanto que reciben andando de noche buscando estas cosas atales en los lugares extraños, de manera que algunos dellos mueren, ó fincan locos ó demuniados; por ende defendemos que ninguno non sea osado de trabajarse de usar tal nemiga como eta, porque es cosa que pesa á Dios et viene ende muy grant daño á los homes.³⁰

[What is called *necromantia* in Latin is the strange art of calling up evil spirits, and for the reason that great injury happens to the [land] from the acts of men who engage in it, and especially because those who believe in them and ask for information on this subject suffer many accidents through fear caused by their going about at night looking for things of this kind in strange places, so that some of them die or become insane, or lose their minds; we

27 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghāyat Al-Hakīm*, ed. David Pingree (London: The Warburg Institute, 1986), xi.

28 Willy Hartner, *Notes on Picatrix* (New York: Science History Publication, 1965), 438.

29 An example of this is Thomas Aquinas and his repeated mention of demons and their various functions in his thirteenth-century theological guide, *Summa Theologica* written between 1265 and 1274.

30 *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso X, El Sabio*, Vol. III (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1807), 668.

therefore forbid that anyone shall dare to practice or make use of such wickedness as this, because it is something by which God is grieved, and great harm results from it to men].³¹

Here we see that Alfonso's condemnation, which built on previous material³², of the use of magic for his Spanish/Castilian subjects is not universal, but rather depends on the type of magic used. If "evil spirits" are summoned to cause death, fear, and madness, said magic should be condemned because such consequences "grieve" God; however, if it is used with "good intentions" or to "cast out devils," then said magic should be "rewarded," as is clarified in the subsequent part of the law:

Pero los que ficiesen encantamientos ó otras cosas con buena entencion, asi como para sacar demonios de los cuerpos de los homes, ó para deslegar á los que fuesen marido et muger que non pudiesen convenir en uno, ó para desatar nube que echase granizo ó niebla porque non corrompiese los frutos de la tierra, ó para matar langosta ó pulgon que daña el pan ó las viñas, ó para alguna otra cosa provechosa semejante destas, non debe haber pena, ante decimos que deben rescebir gualardon por ello.³³

[However, those who practice enchantments or anything else with good intentions, as for instance, to cast out devils from the bodies of men; or to dissolve the spell cast over husband and wife so that they are unable to perform their marital duties; or to turn aside a cloud from which hail or a fog is descending, that it may not injure the crops; or to kill locusts or insects which destroy grain or vines; or for any other beneficial purpose similar to these, cannot be punished, but we decree that they shall be rewarded for it].³⁴

In fact, the *Siete Partidas* reveals that the king and his lawmakers accepted several forms of magic as licit and did not deny their existence or power, only the effects of said magic as the determining factor of its praise or condemnation.

This act of necromancy and calling on evil spirits appears not only in the legal treatise produced in the Alfonsine workshops but also within the *Cantiga*

³¹ *Las Siete Partidas*, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott. Ed. Robert I Burns (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 1431. The translation has what I changed to "land" as "country" which is anachronistic in this context. The original Spanish is "tierra."

³² The Fourth Lateran Council addressed and defined the role of demons for Christian Europe. This influenced many sections of the *Siete Partidas*. See *Las Siete Partidas* (see note 30) and Paul Quay, S.J., "Angels and Demons: The Teaching of IV Lateran" *Theological Studies* 42 (March 1981): 20–45.

³³ *Las Siete Partidas del Rey* (see note 30), 668–69.

³⁴ *Las Siete Partidas* (see note 31), 1432.

of this article, which was also produced in the royal court.³⁵ As mentioned earlier, *Cantiga 125* was not the only *Cantiga* to contain magic or demonic characters. The latter appear in roughly 10% of the *Cantigas*³⁶; however *Cantiga 125* is the only one to narrate the process of necromancy, as Francisco Corti explores.³⁷ Necromancy, as Corti explains, was used in thirteenth-century Iberia to provoke a state of mental disorder in people, a “*locura*,” to obtain high positions in court, create illusions or to obtain the love of a woman.³⁸ Magic and its perception in society are complicated, and even more so in medieval Spain where the interest in it was not limited to any one social class nor gender and often held contradictory functions for the same individual.³⁹ Necromancy itself was often times considered one of the more “hazardous” forms of magic, but, as José Escobar explores, despite running “contrary to the teachings of the Church, it was apparently widely practiced, even among so-called Christians, in order to obtain power over an unsuspecting victim who then became the target of demonic attacks or influences.”⁴⁰ However, whether a text was considered religious or illicit often was “obscure” since “the numinous quality of a book of magic could resemble that of a liturgical or devotional book.”⁴¹ That being said, any theological or liturgical literature that speaks against necromancy is “incomprehensible without knowledge of the necromancers’ formulas”⁴² suggesting a

35 This topic is also discussed in earlier Church texts like Gratian’s *Decretum*, Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* as well as other magic in relation to marital issues. See Catherine Ryder, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

36 According to the Oxford *Cantiga Database*, these forty-seven *Cantigas* are the following numbers: 11, 14, 17, 26, 38, 41, 45, 47, 58, 67, 72, 74, 75, 82, 85, 96, 109, 111, 115, 119, 123, 125, 154, 157, 182, 192, 197, 201, 213, 216, 238, 241, 254, 259, 267, 272, 273, 274, 284, 298, 311, 343, 365, 378, 392, 404, and 409.

37 Franciso Corti, “*Cantiga 125: la nigromancia y las relaciones entre imágenes y textos*,” *Alcanate Revista de Estudios Alfonsíes* 5 (2006/2007): 293–305; here 293.

38 Corti, “*Cantiga 125*” (see note 37), 294.

39 Later, as Nunemaker describes “the Marquez de Villena, in the fifteenth century, lists *magia* at the head of his list of the forty forbidden arts. *Necromancia* is a subdivision of *maleficio*, and is itself four times subdivided. We have likewise white magic and black magic, more generally, good magic and bad magic.” See Horance Nunemaker, “An Additional Chapter on Magic in Mediaeval Spanish Literature,” *Speculum* 74 (1932): 556–64.

40 José Escobar, “The Practice of Necromancy as Depicted in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros* 4 (1992): 33–43; here 33–34.

41 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Magic in History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 7.

42 Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. Magic in History (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 11.

necessary familiarity with the practices by both those who were thought to practice and those who condemn it.

By extension, oftentimes these necromantic practices were associated with lay clerics since they had some basic training in exorcism.⁴³ Kieckhefer points out that most clerics had little training and rarely received an extensive theological education, but regardless would have basic knowledge and as such would often receive a book of exorcism “as a symbol of his theoretical function, [even though he] might never perform a real exorcism in his life but if he went astray he might indeed have occasion to command demons.”⁴⁴ Furthermore, as Sophie Page clarifies, “motivations for necromantic practice included curiosity about the nature of demons and a desire for contact with the numinous; its practitioners could therefore still view it as a religious activity.”⁴⁵

This religious connection with necromancy justifies in part the fictitious representation of a cleric drawing on his existing necromantic knowledge. However, this was not so cut and dry and the ownership of magical texts, especially by pious men, either “enhance[ed] the appearance of licitness in a text or the illicitness of the text tarnishing the reputation of the monk.”⁴⁶ In *Cantiga 125* “the details revealed in the miracle show how this art was supposedly practiced and why perhaps King Alfonso X and his collaborators decided to include it in the collection as a [potential] warning to Christians and in praise of Holy Mary.”⁴⁷ Warnings against the dangers of magic can be noted in Iberia as early as in the seventh century with Isidore of Seville since he “acknowledged the competence of demons [and] taught that demonic magic should be avoided, precisely because demons were effective – but harmful – agents.”⁴⁸ All of this suggests that magic was not considered a frivolous and fictitious pastime, but rather a powerful and effective activity that, depending on its purpose, should be avoided.

The practice from those familiar with necromancy, thanks to their understanding of rites of exorcism, Escobar explains, “consisted of the invocation of

⁴³ For more information on clerical education and their magical knowledge, see Nurit Golan’s contribution “Magic and Science: The Portail des Libraires, Rouen” in this volume.

⁴⁴ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 41), 153.

⁴⁵ Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*. Magic in History (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 21.

⁴⁶ Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 45), 3.

⁴⁷ Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 45), 36.

⁴⁸ Láng, *Unlocked Books* (see note 25), 21.

the names of evil spirits and the drawing of magic circles,”⁴⁹ which is something we see illustrated in the accompanying visuals of this particular *Cantiga*. Though such talismanic symbols were present in many grimoires, the *Ghayât al-Hakîm*, and its subsequent translation as the *Picatrix* – both testimonies of what was understood as magic preceding and contemporary with the *Cantigas* – serves as a contemporary testimony to the same talismanic symbols found within the illustrations of *Cantiga* 125. Curiously the magic circle needed to perform the necromantic act is not mentioned in the narration, but rather depicted in the accompanying illustrations.

Tewfik Canaan explains that “the twists and flourishes which often finish the strokes are called “lunetts” or “crowns” [and] are found in Arabic talismans and originate in Jewish magic.”⁵⁰ Such symbols can appear in various arrangements and oftentimes are associated as “seals of different prophets.”⁵¹ Claude Lecouteux adds that “each angel and each demon possessed its own signature, its own symbol, but such signatures were not necessarily unique and each angel or demon could have several.”⁵² It is these lunettes, angelic and demonic symbols that appear in the necromantic pentagram in the fourth and sixth illustration of the cleric. The talismanic symbols in this *Cantiga* are nearly the same, in varying sequences, as those found throughout the *Ghayât al-Hakîm* or *Picatrix* – both its original Arabic version and its later Latin translation – which, as mentioned earlier is based on the Spanish translation from the Arabic by order of our Alfonso X.⁵³

Though similar symbols appear throughout the *Picatrix* for spells ranging from insect repellent or compulsion for someone to vacate a space, the most relevant is a love spell. Similar to what the cleric hoped to accomplish in our *Cantiga*, this spell draws the intended person to the spell caster immediately and renders the victim ready to do as the spell-caster wishes. This spell reads:

If you want to have a person whom you love to come to you in a hurry, draw the following symbol on a new piece of cloth on the day of <Venus> and in its hour, and while the ascendant is the second phase of <Taurus> with <Venus> in it. Burn the piece of cloth from one

49 Escobar, “The Practice of Necromancy” (see note 40), 38.

50 Tewfik Canaan, “The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans,” *Berytus Archeological Studies* V (1938): 141–51; here 141.

51 Canaan, “The Decipherment” (see note 50), 143.

52 Claude Lecouteux, *The Book of Grimoires: The Secret Grammar of Magic*, trans. Jon E Graham (2008; Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2013), 27.

53 Another best known and influential text of medieval Arabic magic is an explanation of these symbols, the *Shams al-Ma’ârîf* or *The Book of the Sun of Gnosis*, a thirteenth-century grimoire written by Ahmad bin Ali Al-Buni in Egypt.

end and mention the name of the person in question. As a result, he will come quickly to the place of the talisman. This symbol emerges when <Venus> is at its peak strength and in this phase. This symbol is: <symbols>.⁵⁴

There is more detail in the original Arabic in regards to what the practitioner should do such as calling out the target's name while burning the piece of cloth. However, whether we use the spell in its original Arabic or in the Latin translation – a translation from the Castilian translation produced in Alfonso X's court – the end goal is the same: the practitioner acquires their target's affection and their immediate presence. With slight variations, the later Latin version of this same spell reads, in the English translation of John Michael Greer and Christopher Warnock:

For any man which you wish to quickly come to you or to any place you wish. Make these figures in linen cloth, in the day and hour of Venus, with Venus rising in the second phase of Taurus, and in that hour write the name of he whom you wish to come. Then set the top of the linen cloth on fire. At once he whom you said will come. Here is the figure: <symbols>.⁵⁵

Regardless of the version, the practitioner's victim has no choice but to return their affection and go to them much, just as the devout woman in the *Cantiga*, “que a poucas d'amor dele logo sse non enssandeceu” (69; “went mad with love for him” 155) by hands of the devils who “en tal guise a encendeu” (69; “impassioned her so much,” 155) and “torna-t' alá,” (68; “[got] her for [him]” 154) given the cleric practitioner's own “saber / fez ajuntar os diablos” (68; “occult knowledge [with which] he called the devils together” 154).

Though the *Ghayāt al-Hakīm/Picatrix* do not require the assistance of demons or devils, the above-mentioned spell does render its target lovesick and at the mercy of the practitioner. Additionally, the symbols required in both translations of the spell mirror the symbols found in the necromantic circle of our cleric in this *Cantiga*. They do not appear in the same order, but considering their stylistic patterns and appearance suggest a link between the two.

This similarity in both symbolic tools, namely talismanic lunettes, and end result, the acquisition of the beloved's desire, suggest that the scholars involved in creating the *Cantigas* were familiar with the *Ghayāt al-Hakīm/Picatrix*, since it

54 *Picatrix: Ghayāt al-Hakīm: The Goal of the Wise*, trans. Hashem Atallah, ed. William Kiesel (Seattle, WA: Ouroboros, 2002), 120.

55 *The Picatrix: The Occult Classic of Astrological Magic*, trans. John Michael Greer and Christopher Warnock (Iowa City, IA: Adocentyn Press, 2010), 100.

was a work that was being translated in/for the same Alfonsine workshops around the same time.

This *Cantiga* does not negate the existence or effectiveness of the described magic, but rather places the Virgin Mary's "magic" or "miraculous" interventions as being more powerful than the conjured demons or their conjurer – as the refrain suggests:

muit é mayor o ben-fazer
da Virgen Santa Maria que é do demo o poder
nen d'ome mao perfia (67).

[The benevolence of Holy Virgin Mary is much greater than the devil's power or man's perversity] (154).

Here we clearly see the presumed superiority of the acts of the Virgin to those of the cleric or the devil, which would consist of any practice that does offense to the Catholic faith since, as the refrain tells us, the Virgin's power was superior. Escobar sees this *Cantiga* as one that "not only aptly depicts the actual practice of summoning demons, but also provides a stern warning to clerks engaged in necromancy that the demons they had conjured up actually had them under coercion and that the demons appeared of their own free will in order to ensnare the soul of the one who had summoned them."⁵⁶ However, the cleric from this *Cantiga* seems to know what he is doing and only when he is going to be punished by the Virgin does he blame the demons for any wrongdoing he was supposedly forced to do. Furthermore, once the Virgin speaks with both the cleric and the newly married woman and they both agree to devote themselves entirely to God, the cleric tells the bishop that he was: "Fol / son de que casar quige, mailo demo, que sempre sol / fazer mal aos que ama, m'enganou" (71; "Mad to have wished to marry, but the devil, who always harms those he befriends, deceived me," 156).

However, it was the cleric who clearly instigated the interactions with the devils through his own previously acquired skills and even threatened to kill them if they did not obtain the girl for him. This could suggest a strategic confession on the part of the cleric. By conforming to the Virgin's wishes and blaming his actions on the devil, despite having caused the complications of this *Cantiga* through his own volition, the cleric is able to avoid a more serious punishment and the *Cantiga* is able to demonstrate the lesson of the Virgin's powers being more powerful than those of the devil.

56 Escobar, "The Practice of Necromancy" (see note 40), 40.

Therefore, in conclusion, the creators of this *Cantiga* recognized the existence of certain magical practices and used them to highlight the power of the Catholic Church in comparison to the powers of a competing establishment. Beyond mere recognition, this *Cantiga* in particular demonstrates the extent to which the translated knowledge of Alfonso's court, including magical symbolic letters and talismans, was transmitted. Their inclusion in the illustration of the *Cantiga* reflect the knowledge of magical texts being translated in the same royal workshops and offer a unique Iberian touch to the transmission of a pre-existing narrative, addressing not only alterations of translation but also adaptations in light of newly translated knowledge.

Kathleen Jarchow

Magic at the Margins: The Mystification of Maugis d'Aigremont

With only three surviving manuscripts, the late thirteenth-century Old French epic *Maugis d'Aigremont* is often dwarfed by a more extensive song in the same cycle featuring its titular character's cousins *Les Quatre fils d'Aymon* (Fig. 1). Indeed, Maugis's cousins' epic – more widely known as *Renaut de Montauban* – at over twice the length, easily obscures *Maugis d'Aigremont* by sheer volume alone.¹ In addition, there remains only one modern critical edition available of *Maugis d'Aigremont* completed by Philippe Vernay.² Despite his exceptional contribution to the study of the chanson, Vernay's edition is in Old French, rendering the story inaccessible to the lay audience. With the exception of Rémi Fournier-Lanzoni's modern French edition appearing as part of his doctoral dissertation in 1995 – recently reworked into a *laisse-by-laisse* prose translation published in 2014 – to date there have been no attempts at an English translation of the text.³ Furthermore, there is still much research and even more to discover by studying the relationships between the French tradition of *Maugis d'Aigremont* and its analogues in the Dutch *Madelgijs* and the German *Malagis*.⁴ Moreover, a more thorough comparison remains to be completed between the handful of Italian manuscript fragments of *La Sala di Malagigi* as they relate to the Mau-

1 *Renaut de Montauban: Edition critique du manuscrit Douce*, ed. Jacques Thomas. Textes Littéraires français, 371 (Geneva: Droz, 1989), 15–16. Compared to *Maugis d'Aigremont*, there are thirteen extant manuscript copies of *Renaut de Montauban*.

2 *Maugis d'Aigremont: chanson de geste*, ed. Philippe Vernay. Romanica Helvetica, 93 (Berne: Francke, 1980).

3 Rémi Fournier-Lanzoni, "Maugis d'Aigremont, *Chanson de geste* du XIII^{ème} Siècle: Traduction et Commentaires," Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1995, 117. He uses the Cambridge Peterhouse 2.0.1 manuscript as his base. See also *Maugis d'Aigremont, chanson de geste suivie de La mort de Maugis*, ed. Rémi Fournier-Lanzoni and Jérôme Devard. Littérature classique, textes et commentaires (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014).

4 Hans van Dijk, "Les Études sur l'Épopée Française aux Pays-Bas," *Cinquante Ans d'Études Épiques Actes du Colloque anniversaire de la Société Rencesvals* (Liège, 19–20 août 2005), ed. Nadine Henrard (Geneva: Droz, 2008), 213–28; here 217–21. Van Dijk explores the difficulties in scholarship due to "l'état fragmentaire du corpus" of the chansons de geste in Dutch. He highlights the significant contributions made to the study of the Dutch *Madelgijs* by Bob W. Th. Duijvestijn. See also Albrecht Classen's contribution in this volume.

Kathleen Jarchow, The University of Connecticut

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-013>

gis’s metamorphosis into his Renaissance counterpart *Malagigi* in the well-known *Il Morgante* by Luigi Pulci and *Orlando Furioso* by Ariosto.⁵

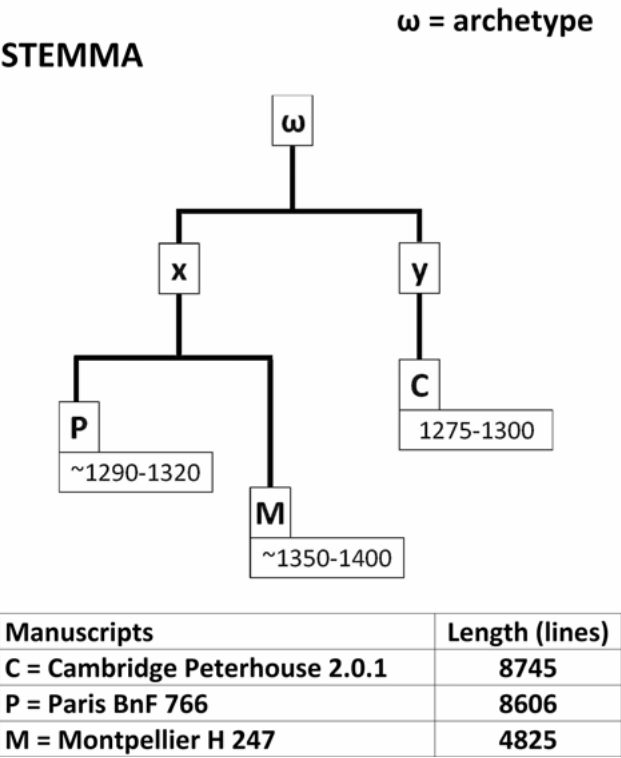


Fig. 1: Stemma

Vernay’s first publications on *Maugis d’Aigremont* began appearing in 1972, published as a part of his doctoral work which enabled, finally, more scholars access to this magical mortal figure; certainly, his 1980 critical edition has served as the benchmark for scholarly study for the last (almost) forty years. That being

5 For the list of Italian fragments, see Jacques-Charles Bunet, “Sala di Malagigi,” *Manuel Du Libraire Et De L’amateur De Livres: Contenant: 1. Un Nouveau Dictionnaire Bibliographique, 2. Une Table En Forme De Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris: Chez Silvestre, 1843), 176. For Maugis, as he appears in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian epics, see Luigi Pulci, *Morgante: The Epic Adventures of Orlando and His Giant Friend Morgante*, trans. Joseph Tusiani. Indiana Masterpiece Editions (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000); Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. Guido Waldman (Oxford, New York, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2008).

said, this anonymous *chanson de geste* is often overshadowed by another more popular *chanson* in the *Doon de Mayence* cycle featuring Maugis's cousins in *Les Quatre fils d'Aymon*.⁶ Additionally, *Maugis d'Aigremont* is often dismissed as an uninspired prequel to the more popular *chanson Renaut de Montauban*.⁷ The song is furthermore, and shortsightedly, subsumed under the cycle of "*les barons revoltés*," which likewise diminishes its significance as an individual work: a narrative that pushes the limits of the *chanson de geste* by developing a unique character who is both mortal and magical.⁸ Accepting *Maugis d'Aigremont*, however, under the rubric of "*chanson d'aventure*,"⁹ acknowledges and even endorses the tale's decidedly unique position on the spectrum between the conventional Old French Epics (*épopées françaises*) and the "later" songs (*chansons tardives*).¹⁰ Regardless of where *Maugis d'Aigremont* fits generically or even

6 François Suard "Le développement de la *Geste de Montauban* en France jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge," *Romance Epic: Essays on a Medieval Genre*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller. Studies in Medieval Culture, 24 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), 141–61; here 141. Suard speaks to the growing popularity of *Renaut de Montauban* from its appearance at the beginning of thirteenth century until the end of the Middle Ages. He makes this judgment not only on the basis of an abundance of texts – in both verse and prose – but also on the number of languages into which the tale was translated during this time period. Suard cites the bibliography created by Philippe Verelst, "La Bibliographie," *Etudes sur Renaut de Montauban*, ed. Jacques T. E. Thomas, Philippe Verelst, and Maurice Piron. Romanica Gandensia, 18 (Ghent: Imprimerie George Michiels, 1981), 199–231. The lengthy bibliography is testament to the success of *Renaut de Montauban*.

7 Philippe Verelst, "Renaut de Montauban et textes apparentés" (Maugis d'Aigremont – Vivien de Monbranc – Mabrien) *Recherches récentes* (1990–2006)," *Le Souffle Épique: L'esprit De La Chanson de geste: Études En L'honneur De Bernard Guidot*, ed. Bernard Guidot, Sylvie Bazin-Tacchella, Damien de Carné, and Muriel Ott. Ecritures (Dijon: Editions universitaires de Dijon, 2011): 133–43; here 135. Verelst maintains that *Maugis d'Aigremont* has received relatively little attention and it is one of the songs "on the periphery."

8 Anne Berthelot and Françoise Laurent, *Histoire de la littérature du Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), 93, 141–47; here 144. Berthelot qualifies several songs as "Les Indépendants." These songs, though they adopt themes from the cycle of "*les barons revoltés*," they increasingly incorporate *romance* elements (93). She further expounds on this thematic shift from the traditional *chanson de geste* toward the *merveilleux* elements of the *chansons tardives* (144).

9 William Kibler, "Three Old French Magicians: Maugis, Basin, and Auberon," *Romance Epic: Essays on a Medieval Genre*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller. Studies in Medieval Culture, 24 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), 173–87; here 183. Kibler posits a new moniker for the later unconventional *chansons de geste*.

10 Claude Roussel, "L'autonomie de la *chanson de geste*," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et Humanistes* 12 (2005): 15–28; here 15. He recognizes, and, to some extent, appreciates Kibler's terminology but argues that the popular tendency to retroactively define and label such things

where he finds himself vis-à-vis other characters, the performativity of the genre contributes and even encourages the slippery nature of this powerfully magical character.

William Calin's statement that, "the French Epic is not a fixed entity in space and time but a richly varied, highly organic literary genre"¹¹ only reinforces the idea that the *chansons de geste* were (are) relatively fluid spaces by dint of their original mode of transmission. Calin's idea is all the more poignant because he limits his study to three songs in the Old French Epic of Revolt: exactly where *Maugis d'Aigremont*, by dint of its kinship with *Renaut de Montauban*, loosely finds itself. In the cauldron of the Old French Epic of Late *Aventure* is where Maugis d'Aigremont crafts his heady brew of fabulous exploits and dynamic conjuring.

Maugis the Character

Of late and, due in large part to the extensive contributions spearheaded by Philippe Verelst, interest in the character of Maugis d'Aigremont has spiked. Verelst admits, "Décidément, le *larron enchanteur* est un personnage à la mode"¹² (Decidedly, the enchanter *larron* is a fashionable or popular character). Indeed, his character, upon closer examination, has much to show the contemporary scholar and general public alike how medieval magic existed in a sort of intermediate

ignores the inherent connection and continuity between 'earlier' *chansons* and those which are considered as *chansons tardives* (15).

11 William Calin, *Old French Epic of Revolt: Raoul de Cambrai, Renaud de Montauban Gormond et Isembard* (Geneva and Paris: Droz, 1962), 201. Calin asserts that Eric Auerbach's evaluation of the *chanson de geste* genre is too rigid; however, Calin's statement is accurate only for the songs categorized as being part of the Old French Epic of Revolt. See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (1946; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 96–122; here 110. In defense of Auerbach's valuation of the genre, he is referring specifically to *Chanson de Roland*, a song firmly in a different cycle of the *chanson de geste* genre and one that, admittedly, portrays a rather unimaginative and predictable life in the confines of a feudal society.

12 Phillip Verelst, "Maugis à Tolède: Quelques Aspects du Personnage dans *Maugis d'Aigremont*," *Reading Around the Epic: A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Wolfgang van Emden*, ed. Marianne Ailes, Philip E. Bennett and Karen Pratt. King's College London Medieval Studies, 14 (Exeter: Short Run Press, 1998), 69–83; here 69. The term *larron* (thief, robber) has negative connotations in contemporary society; however its use in the medieval period had wider and more diverse meanings and carried less of a negative connotation. See also the contribution by Cristina Azuela in this volume, addressing the magician (only in his youth), corsair, and pirate Eustace.

zone where a fusion of natural, divine and learned magic harmoniously came together. Equally, for the medieval audience, Maugis's eponymous chanson, and, in particular the passages related to the performance of magical operations perhaps served not only as a didactic tool about the nature of world, but, undoubtedly as a way to cater to the *fantastic* tastes of the time: a mix of magic and adventure.

Maugis makes for a strange bedfellow.¹³ He has been variously referred to as a “*merveilleux* wildcard”¹⁴ and as “[a]n ever-elusive sorcerer”,¹⁵ both of these statements point to Maugis as a vanguard personality and one that, according to William Kibler, had to be fitted into – or even grafted onto the standard heroic epic configuration.¹⁶ Kibler's claim – at the generic level – makes absolute sense. Additionally, there is ample merit to Kibler's suggestion that the emergence of such magician characters in the traditional epic, “may indicate some romance influence,” and that, “this [sort] of “epic” magician is probably of Germanic origin.”¹⁷ Again, these statements cohere when applied at the macro level, at the level of the genre *chanson de geste*. However, at a more micro level – that of the character – and, in this case, Maugis as an individual, his magical talents are not an incidental element overlaid onto a traditional *épopée* (epic) character. Yes, Maugis has to learn *les sept arts*;¹⁸ however, his magical talents become so inherent that in Toledo he is known principally as “Mestre Maugis”¹⁹ (Master sorcerer Maugis). His *dons évoûtants* (enchanting expertise) is as inseparable from his person as is the protective ring he wears on his ear.

A focused examination of the chanson at the character level reveals Maugis to be both a skilled magician *and* an impressive chevalier whose beguiling be-

13 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 3671–73. While in Toledo, Maugis is sleeping with Marsile's wife, and – this topic is of some debate – when caught by Marsile's men turns into a stag and leaps from the window to save himself.

14 John Cayer, “Heroic Uncertainties: Representations of the Hero in the French Epic of the Later Middle Ages,” Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2012, 114.

15 William H. Smart, “Sorcery and Sorcerers in the Old French Epic,” Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1973, 98.

16 Kibler, “Three Old French Magicians” (see note 9), 183.

17 Kibler, “Three Old French Magicians” (see note 9), 181.

18 Claire Fanger, “Plundering the Egyptian Treasure: John the Monk's *Book of Visions* and its Relation to the *Ars Notoria* of Solomon,” *Conjuring Spirits Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger. The Magic in History Series (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 216–49; here 220.

19 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 2446–47.

havior deftly straddles the worlds of the static epic and romance heroes.²⁰ A close reading of the laisses where *Maugis d'Aigremont* and its titular character diverge from the path of the traditional *chanson de geste* and voyage into the realm of *le monde féerique* (the fairy world) substantiates the individuality of the *chanson* and authenticates the unique dynamism of Maugis's character.²¹

The Cunning Cousin: Maugis *in media res*

The paucity of manuscript witnesses for *Maugis d'Aigremont* might explain, albeit not without uncertainty, how the *chanson* could easily recede into the shadows cast by the wider *épanouissement* (flourishing) of *Renaut de Montauban*.²² Paradoxically, however, it is precisely through the relative abundance of the surviving manuscripts of the *chanson Renaut de Montauban* that Maugis, as a character, emerges from obscurity.²³ At first blush, Maugis's abilities as a learned magician are not highlighted in *Renaut de Montauban*.²⁴ Furthermore, he not does play an active role in his cousins' *chanson* until nearly a third of the way

20 Bernard Guidot, "Travestissements, mutations and metamorphoses dans *Renaut de Montauban*," *Echoes of the Epic: Studies in Honor of Gerard J. Brault*, ed. David P. Schenck and Mary Jane Schenck (Birmingham, AL: Summa, 1998), 75–92; here 80–83. Guidot discusses the development of deeper transformation of the character Maugis as he is represented in *Renaut de Montauban*. Maugis's character has more dimension than a stereotypical epic hero and towards the end of his life becomes a pious hermit in both *Renaut de Montauban* and in *La mort de Maugis fragment*.

21 Philippe Verelst, "Le personnage de Maugis dans *Renaut de Montauban* (versions rimées traditionnelles)," *Etudes sur Renaut de Montauban*, ed. Jacques T. E. Thomas, Philippe Verelst and Maurice Piron. *Romanica Gandensia*, 18 (Ghent: Imprimerie George Michiels, 1981), 73–152; here 129 and 135. Verelst highlights the dynamism of Maugis's character reminding the reader that he is subject to the whims of the poet (129) playing a multitude of roles in *Renaut de Montauban* (135).

22 Verelst, "Bibliographie" (see note 6), 199–231.

23 *Renaut de Montauban*, ed. Thomas (see note 1), 15–16. There are thirteen manuscripts in verse and one in prose.

24 Maugis's full range of abilities are not brought to the fore until a third of the way into *Renaut de Montauban*. See Verelst, "Personnage de Maugis" (see note 21), 73–152; here 76–77, 79. It should be noted that Verelst cites folio numbers and not line numbers for his quotes from the Prologue of *Renaut de Montauban* (76–77). Consequently, the subsequent citations and the corresponding line numbers referenced in "Personnage de Maugis" do not match the line numbers in Thomas's critical edition of *Renaut de Montauban* (79). Kibler notes in "Three Magicians" (see note 9) that he follows the transcriptions from Verelst's "Personnage" (185). At the time of publication both Verelst's and Kibler's articles Thomas's edition had not yet been completed.

into the narrative.²⁵ Once Maugis does appear, however, he quickly becomes indispensable to his cousins, *Les Quatre fils d'Aymon* by fighting alongside them like any other knight in the Old French epics.²⁶

In fact, Maugis's utility as a noble *guerrier* (warrior) is maintained throughout *Renaut de Montauban* which would ostensibly seem to confirm his status as a traditional static epic hero – his character as a noble warrior and *bon larron* emerges in media res – he is already great and is recognized by his cousins as being so.²⁷ His magical abilities, however, become increasingly foregrounded in *Renaut de Montauban* signaling that Maugis, as a character, is already differing in degree from the traditional knight.²⁸ The addition of Maugis, and, moreover, his facility with herbs, charms and sleeping spells to *Renaut de Montauban* begins to push the thematic edges of the *chanson de geste* genre. Against the backdrop of his cousins' tale which undoubtedly earns it a place among the chansons in the "robber-baron" cycle, Maugis's increasing presence as a learned magician, and, at the end of the narrative, a pious hermit, remains somewhat of aberration in a more traditional tale like *Renaut de Montauban*. Such peculiarity, however, begs for a story about this hero's beginnings: How does Maugis hone his craft as a cunning and courtly chevalier? Furthermore, what are the details of the ordeals he undergoes to acquire his supernatural accoutrements that he will gift to his cousin Renaut? These questions, created by *Renaut de Montauban* and its backward construction for the *gesta* (genealogy) of the Duché d'Aigremont (Fig. 2) are answered in-depth by the paradoxically *a posteriori* prequel of the *chanson de geste Maugis d'Aigremont*.

25 *Renaut de Montauban*, ed. Thomas (see note 1), vv. 1537, 1562, 3827, 3841. Maugis makes his first brief appearances in the Prologue to inform everyone that his father, Beuves, is dead then, later, he returns and proves that he has performed either a charm or a ruse on Charlemagne by stealing his treasure!

26 Verelst, "Personnage de Maugis" (see note 21), 73–152, here 135. Verelst underscores the fact that Maugis is, at least in *Renaut de Montauban*, first and foremost a skilled knight like his cousins.

27 Kibler, "Three Magicians" (see note 9), 173–87; here 173. Kibler is quoting William Calin from *The Epic Quest* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), 27–28.

28 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism Four Essays* (Oxford and Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 33–34. Frye classifies heroes by their power of action. The first three classifications discuss differences in *degree* and *kind*. The superior in *degree* category is subdivided into two types. Maugis will, after Rocheflor, embody both of these types of superior in *degree*.

One Ring to Unite Them All: Maugis *ab ovo*

Despite the jongleur's eventual departure from tradition, *Maugis d'Aigremont* begins as many *chansons de geste*: that is to say, on a feast day, and, in the case of Maugis it is the feast of Pentecost. During the celebration, the duke Beuves d'Aigremont (see Fig. 2) is reveling with his loyal barons when he gets word that Sorglant de Monbrant's heathen forces are in route to invade his territory.²⁹ In the meantime Avice, Beuves d'Aigremont's wife, goes into labor and gives birth to twin sons: Maugis (d'Aigremont) and Vivien (de Monbrant). After their birth the duchess pierces each of the twin's right ears with separate pieces of a ring given to her by her husband Beuves. An anaphora marks the significance of the scene: "As .ii. enfans petiz qu'el durement ama, / As .ii. oreilles destres les aniaus pendu a"³⁰ (Two small infants that she will fiercely love, / Two rings were hung on each of [the boys'] right ears). The earrings are embedded with gemstones endowing them with even greater power.³¹ The boys' mother hopes that these earrings will guard against demons and the dark artifice of devils:

En l'un a une pierre, ja qui la portera
Anemi ne malfé ne l'enfantosmera,
Ne par art de dëable engignié ne sera.³²

[In one she put a stone that he will wear
Neither enemy nor demon will enchant him
Nor will he be deceived by the devil's artistry.]

In the *vers* (lines) surrounding this scene there is neither reference nor adjuration to a Christian God who will guard against potential devilry. The jongleur takes care to say that such amulets are normal practice in their region. This passage, therefore, is the audience's first glimpse that the *chanson* is moving be-

²⁹ Maugis's first appearance is in his father's *chanson de geste*. A copy of the *chanson* no longer exists as a separate work; rather, it has been subsumed into *Renaut de Montauban* as the prologue.

³⁰ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 80–81. The anaphora occurs across all three versions of the text

³¹ Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 75, 105. Kieckhefer explains the wearing amulets as a means of protection from things in proximity to one's person (75) and that the gems impart even more magical power to an item such as a ring (105).

³² *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 83–85. These earrings will, however, prove not only to be the key to the boys' later recognition of each other as brothers but also serve to indicate that these boys are descendants of noble lineage.

yond the Christian *miraculosus* – a theme native to traditional *chansons de geste* – and toward a mix of the *mirabilis* and *magicus*.³³ These earrings continue to play a major *merveilleux* (supernatural or marvelous) role throughout the narrative variously being used as a means of recognition for the boys, a protective amulet or as a means to counteract enchantments caste during battles.

Enchanting at the Sands: Natural and Ceremonial Magic at the Strait of Messina

Avice, Beuves d'Aigremont's wife, having given birth to two sons – Maugis and Vivien – on a charrette, in a forest and during a battle, has, understandably, taken ill. In the ruckus of the scene both of Avice's sons are kidnapped. The spy Tapinaux takes Vivien and absconds to the great city of Monbrant. Avice's Sicilian slave woman takes Maugis and heads, “Droitement à Palerne, là où ele fu nee”³⁴ (Straightaway to Palermo, where she was born). The narrative briefly follows the slave woman's journey as she travels with Maugis through several Italian cities and, at last, reaches the Franco-Norman territories of southern Italy. One morning, a little before noon, after having passed Aspromonte, a mountain massif in the southwestern tip of Italy, the pair arrive at the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea. However, in order to reach Sicily, the slave woman must first ford the Strait of Messina: “The ship-destroying strait, whose twin shores hem / The bounds of Italy and Sicily.”³⁵ This waterway, inhabited by the famed mythical monsters Scylla and Charybdis of the Attic epics, is saturated with symbolic significance. In addition to its legendary associations, the Strait of

33 Francis Gingras, *Une Étrange Constance: Les motifs merveilleux dans la littérature d'expression française du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006), 1–10; here 2. Gingras highlights the differing functions of *le mythe* and *la merveille*; whereby, *la merveille* shakes things up and blurs the line between what is natural and supernatural. Gingras departs from the analysis of Jacques Le Goff. For the tripartite separation of the supernatural in the Middle Ages see, Jacques Le Goff, “The Marvelous in the Medieval West,” id., *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (1985; Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 27–44; here 30. Le Goff's well known and oft cited definition: *miraculosus*, divine and/or God miracles or acts; *mirabilis*, non-Christian miracles or acts; *magicus*, diabolical supernatural acts. Here, in *Maugis d'Aigremont* the meaning of the rings is permeable: they are certainly not part of the *miraculosus* because they lack an invocation to God; yet, at the same time they are neither firmly in the *magicus* nor in the *mirabilis*.

34 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 331.

35 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. A. D. Melville and E. J. Kenney (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), XIV, 325. This book continues the story of Scylla and Glaucus.

Messina is a locus of liminality where the natural and supernatural meet and Maugis throws off the mantle of a static hero and dons the initiate's robes to transition into of a new kind of chivalrous character: a magical mortal.

The Natural Magic in Recursive Currents: Hydromancy?

The littoral *limen* created by the Strait of Messina is tied to the mortal qua earthly physicality of the waterway's location. Situated between Sicily and Italy the strait is formed by the proximity of these two land masses. The natural magic of the channel is rooted in this geomorphology. It is the competition between two large bodies of water – the Tyrrhenian and Ionian seas – for passage through the narrow inlet that causes the monstrous undercurrents. The combination of hydrography and geography constricts the normal flow of seawater from one side of the inlet to the other, and, in doing so, causes extreme hydrodynamic instability as the two competing currents collide in the channel. When these two waves overlap, a third wave – the transverse wave – creates powerful vortices which can force mists of water to hang in the air above the surface.³⁶ This *natural* occurrence is described with a touch of the *supernatural* in the British Naval Chronicles as, “[a] remarkable aerial phenomenon, called the Fata Morgana, or Fairy Morgana, which is sometimes observed from the harbour [sic] of Messina.” M. Houel's account continues as he describes how water vapor from the turbulent waters creates “horizontal prisms . . . like a moveable mirror” with “aerial moving pictures.” These images, after remaining for ten minutes, “render confused to the eye the objects that had been before so accurately represented and the picture vanishes.”³⁷ The recursive currents at the strait produce a sort of *mise en abîme* in the mists above the channel.

This description and pseudo-explanation of a natural phenomenon using an Arthurian ‘otherworldly’ figure demonstrates another *kind* of magic in this already mythical waterway. When coupled with the Fata Morgana phenomenon,

36 Homer, *Odyssey*, ed. Richard Lattimore (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), 188. Book XII, ln. 105. Charybdis causes the upward spout of water (three times a day) which could be the equivalent phenomenon described in the Naval Chronicles (see note 38).

37 James Stanier Clarke, and John McArthur, *The Naval Chronicle*, Volume 17, January–July 1807: Containing a General and Biographical History of the Royal Navy of the United Kingdom with a Variety of Original Papers on Nautical Subjects, Cambridge Library Collection (Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 311, Plate CCXXIX, Web. <https://books.google.com/books?isbn=1108018564> (last accessed on April 8, 2017).

the symbolic ferrying over to an island inhabited by supernatural beings is evocative of going through the Arthurian mists of Avalon. These passages, though redolent of the Arthurian *merveilleux* and its famed figures Morgan la fée and Merlin, remain a world apart from *Maugis d'Aigremont* and its titular hero.³⁸

Ferry Me Across the Fairy: Ritual of Passage

As Maugis and the slave woman cross the liminal space at the strait, they step through the proverbial looking glass of the Fata Morgana where, in the mists, the magical and the mundane converge. In Sicily, Maugis begins his initiate's journey and experiences several rites of passage where he will undergo "a change of condition or a passage from one magico-religious or secular group to another."³⁹ Maugis begins this change as he ventures beyond the confines of the relationships in the traditional *chanson de geste*. Though Maugis never abandons the Christian *Weltanschauung* of the Occident world, he nevertheless experiences an additive rite of passage whereby the act of crossing the Strait of Messina will indoctrinate him into a world where he gains a second degree of superiority.⁴⁰ The waterway is not only a metaphorical crossroads but also an 'of this world' boundary across and through which Maugis must pass as he pivots from a static to dynamic hero.

The Sicilian slave is Maugis's guide through his rites of passage toward the Fairy world. She and Maugis are together from the outset of the story and she serves in the much needed role of the caregiver and guardian for Maugis as they travel through Italy. She is a slave but as long as she is carrying Maugis she has a modicum of social position. Her last 'of this world' duty is to accompany Maugis through the treacherous waters of the strait. However, once she is in the *limen*, the slave woman takes on a slightly modified role: strictly that of a "threshold person;" a person who is simply in the liminal space with no identi-

³⁸ Albrecht Classen, in his contribution to this volume, discusses the Middle High German analogue of Maugis d'Aigremont, Malagis, and his role as the figure of a powerful magician who is neither marginalized because of his abilities nor made to live at the margins as do the Arthurian figures of comparison.

³⁹ Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1909; New York: Routledge, 2004), 11. In his landmark study, van Gennep speaks to the universality of the rites of passage or landmarks in human cultures.

⁴⁰ Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (see note 28), 33–34.

fying attributes of self, this “liminality is . . . likened to death.”⁴¹ The slave’s liminal attributes foreshadow her last role in *Maugis d’Aigremont*: she serves her final duty to Maugis as the sacrifice for his initiation into the Fairy.

The Strait of Messina is the geographically significant, mystically symbolic, and narratively emblematic for *Maugis d’Aigremont* and its eponymous hero. The mythological waterway represents the permeability between the ordinary and fairy worlds.⁴² The channel is also a generic boundary: *Maugis d’Aigremont* begins to push against the confines of a traditional *chanson de geste* once the narrative figuratively crosses to the other side. Finally, the mists of the Fairy Morgana provide the perfect illusory phenomenon to represent the *limitrophie* between the natural and the supernatural.

Ars Rhetorica: Linguistic Magic at the Strait of Messina

Here, in the narrative, at the Strait of Messina, hidden within a single *vers* is the turning point in the narrative: “Qant ot passé le Far . . .” (When [they] overcame the Strait).⁴³ In Old French the verb *passer* has more a diverse set of meanings than it does in modern French⁴⁴; certainly, the traditional meanings of ‘to traverse’ or ‘to cross’ apply however, more significantly, *passer* can also mean ‘to transgress’ or ‘to break through.’⁴⁵ For Maguis and the Sicilian slave the Strait

⁴¹ Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. (Chicago: Aldine Publishers, 1969), 95. Turner, building on the work of Arnold van Gennep, is discussing the forms and attributes of rites of passage. The Sicilian slave woman is the perfect “threshold person” because she is lacking in a fixed cultural identity and possesses nothing. Turner applies his analysis to the African Ndembu tribe, but, as van Gennep sought to point out, rites of passage are universal across all societies.

⁴² Laurence Harf-Lancner, *Le Monde des Fées dans le Monde l’Occident Médiéval* (Paris: Hachette, 2003), 103–12; here 103. Harf-Lancner devotes this section to discussing the locations of the worlds of the fairies – forest, aquatic, subterranean, etc. Here first point is, however, that even though there are boundaries between the fairy and human worlds, these borders are permeable.

⁴³ *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 384; this line appears across all versions of the *chanson*. The previous mention of the Slave woman and Maugis crossing the Strait of Messina at line 376 is omitted from both the Montpellier and the Paris manuscripts.

⁴⁴ Algirdas Julien Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français* (Paris: Larousse, 2004). All definitions and interpretations of *ancien français* come from this edition.

⁴⁵ Fournier-Lanzoni, “Maugis d’Aigremont, *Chanson de geste* du XIII^{ème} siècle” (see note 3), 117. Here Lanzoni translates the verb *passer* into the modern French *franchir* meaning ‘to overcome,’ or *passer au-delà* meaning ‘to cross beyond.’ He uses the Cambridge Peterhouse 2.0.1 manuscript

of Messina is a literal and figurative Rubicon. At the geographical limitrophe of the Italian mainland and the island of Sicily is where *Maugis d'Aigremont* and its titular hero begin to push *au-delà* (beyond) the conventions of the traditional *chanson de geste* genre and ford their way into the realm of *l'Autre Monde féerique* (the Other World or the Fairy World).⁴⁶

The medieval jongleur and copyist creatively mark this transition linguistically by a combination of structural, figurative and rhetorical devices. When the medieval audience heard, or, indeed, a contemporary scholar reads the lines:

Et a passé le Far à une matinee.
En une large lande soz l'epine à la fae
Ileques s'aresta et fist sa repose⁴⁷
[And one morning traversed le Strait of Messina
In a vast woodland under a fairy pine
It was here that she stopped to rest.]

And then, just a few moments later, they encounter three comparable lines:

Là s'aresta l'esclave, issi, com je vos di
Soz l'epine à la fee enmi le pré flori,
Qant ot passé le Far .i. poi avant midi.⁴⁸
[There the slave stopped, here, as I have told you
Under the fairy pine in the flowery meadow
When having overcome the Strait of Messina just a little before noon.]

The audience might consider the overlapping lines as purely another verbal echo common to the *chanson de geste* genre. In all likelihood parallelism as a mnemonic device served both jongleur and copyist alike. These possibilities are, however, mere speculations by a contemporary scholar. Nevertheless, this particular repetition, calls for a closer examination as it is germane to how *Maugis*

as his base. See also Stoyan Atanassov, "L'Autre Monde comme une scène de quidproquo," *Le Monde et l'autre monde: Actes du colloque Arthurien de Rennes, 8–9 Mars 2001*, ed. Denis Hüe and Christine Ferlampin-Acher. *Medievalia*, 45 (Orléans: Paradigme, 2002), 15–35; here 16. Atanassov also employs the verb 'franchir' for what the hero must do to enter the Other/Fairy World.

⁴⁶ Stoyan Atanassov, "L'Autre Monde" (see note 45), 16. Atanassov examines the Other World in an Arthurian context and aims to establish a standard typology for the Other/Fairy World in order to provide a more consistent analysis.

⁴⁷ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 376–78.

⁴⁸ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 382–84.

d'Aigremont begins to individuate itself and, in doing so creates a space for its titular hero to emerge as a character who is both mortal and magical.

Reading Between the Laisses

Between the end and the beginning of laisses XIII and XIV, the repetition of phrases is narratively and structurally significant as it produces a “pausing effect, or *palier*,” which slows down the heretofore quick, conventional and linear progress of both the characters and narrative alike.⁴⁹ This particular pause, here, in the narrative, not only creates breathing space but also symbolically mirrors the action in the poem: The Sicilian slave “s’aresta et fit sa reposee:” (she stops for a rest).⁵⁰ Beyond the form mirroring its content at this laisse boundary, the jongleur also creates a symploce – a rhetorical device combining both anaphora and epistrophe deriving from the Greek word συμπλοκή or *sumplokê* meaning “interlacing.” In order to visually illustrate how the anaphora and epistrophe connect the lines, the echoed clauses are in italics:

Et a *passé le Far* à une matinee
 En une large lande *soz l’espine à la fee*,
Soz l’espine à la fee enmi le pré flori
 Qant ot *passé le Far* .i. poi avant midi⁵¹

The symploce creates aural, visual, and, interestingly, geographic referents in the story. When coupled with the geography in the narrative, the symploce, and its attendant reverberation, signals the *arrival at* and *crossing of* the threshold by Maugis at the Strait of Messina – a symbolic locus across the Attic epics.⁵² The

49 Edward A. Heinemann, “Measuring Units of Poetic Discourse,” *Romance Epic: Essays on a Medieval Literary Genre* ed. Hans-Erich Keller. Studies in Medieval Culture, 24 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), 21–34; here 22, 25–26. He explicates the effects created by the reordering metrical units in the *chanson de geste*. Heinemann explicitly uses the categories set out by Jean Rychner. See Jean Rychner, *La chanson de geste: Essai sur l’art épique des jongleurs*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, 53 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1999), 69, 78. Rychner analyzes the reality and structure of the laisse in the *chanson de geste*. Rychner uses the word *paliers* (stairway landings) to define these pausing effects that do not halt the narrative but rather serve as a means to amplify a detail or to signal an important upcoming event.

50 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 378. This line is consistent across all three manuscripts.

51 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2); see note 40 for the translation.

52 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. A. D. Melville and E. J. Kenney (see note 35).

passage signals not only the divergence from the path of the heretofore traditional *chanson de geste* but also, and more importantly, the departure from the *réel* and the emergence of the *surréal* in the narrative through a *crossing over* into the otherworldly at the Strait of Messina.⁵³ Once baby Maugis enters this liminal space he begins the transition from static to dynamic epic hero: a character that is *au-delà* (beyond) tradition with his magical talents.

The Sands of Fate: *Stamen auratum*

Maugis has made it across the symbolic and geographical threshold, but before he can be whisked away to the Fairy in the next phase of his story, the jongleur must dispense with the Sicilian slave woman. And, after the *palier* (threshold or landing) at the *laisse* boundary there is the perfect narrative space for the action. The slave woman, having overcome the Strait of Messina, needs a rest and decides to take one under a fairy tree on the Sicilian shore.⁵⁴ Sadly for her, there is neither recompense for protecting Maugis nor respite from her long journey, “N’ot pas sa repose fet longuement issi” (Her rest is not long here) because wandering about the woods are a hungry lion and leopard.⁵⁵ When the two beasts arrive on the beach, their hunger cannot be contained! Even though the Sicilian woman attempts to maim the lion, her efforts are in vain and the audience is treated to a graphic scene of her decapitation followed by the lion and leopard devouring her dismembered corpse as they discard her head on the beach.⁵⁶

With only three lines remaining in the *laisse*, the jongleur abruptly concludes the slave slaughtering scene and, then, with equal concision, he uses

53 Homer, *Odyssey*, ed. Richard Lattimore (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), 187–69.

54 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 383. See also, Ferdinand Castets, “Recherches sur les chansons de geste et de l'épopée chevaleresque italienne,” *Revue des Langues Romanes* 15.3, 5–105; here 76. Castets posits that there is a connection between Maugis and Merlin. He contends that the faary imagery associated with the slave stopping under “l’espine à la fee” is akin to the meeting place for Viviane and Merlin. This connection is tenuous at best and represents not so much a filial relationship between Maugis and Merlin but an echo of fairy world tropes. Cf. Albrecht Classen’s contribution to this volume where he underscores differences between the German Malagis and the Arthurian figures Morgana and Merlin.

55 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 385–86. *Doon de Maience: chanson de geste*, ed. Alexandre Pëy. Les anciens poètes de la France, 2 (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1859), 46–51 vv. 1487–662. The infant Doon (Doolin) is in danger of being eaten by a tiger and, later, a leopard; however, it is God who intervenes and sends a lion into the scene to protect the infant (46).

56 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 411.

but one line to create suspense when the lion and leopard “en vont à l’enfant”⁵⁷ (move toward the baby). The single line, towards the end of the *laisse*, leaves the audience holding their breath as they await the fate of baby Maugis. Curiously, in the remaining two lines of the *laisse* the jongleur, using direct address – seemingly not *toward* the audience – implores “Damedeu” to stitch Maugis’s swaddling clothes into a cloth of gold and knit the tunic with golden thread.⁵⁸ Certainly not out of place, an appeal to “Damedeu” can be straightforwardly interpreted as a prayer to a (Christian) God. Alternatively, however, if “Damedeu” is considered in the context of this particular setting at the geographically liminal space next to the mystical waters of Fata Morgana, the “Damedeu”’s referent could also very easily be Fate. In this case, Fate as represented by one of the *Moerae* or *Parcae*: the mythological *weavers* of fate that control and spin the *threads* of life and destiny.⁵⁹ Appeals to pagan and Christian deities alike are commonplace during the medieval period.⁶⁰ Moreover, due to the possible Christian *or* pagan interpretations of the word “Damedeu,” such invocations were, perhaps, overlooked by an anxious clergyman and therefore not considered as a threatening sort of magic. However, the question remains: How magical is this charm?

In this specific example, there are a few possibilities. Clearly, the two lines are not said to the audience rather, the statements are aimed at an unknown person or thing. Adjurations that invoke restorative or protective powers and are directed at specific entities form part of the *līmen* where magic and religion exist simultaneously during this time period.⁶¹ Additionally, this charm required neither preparation nor ritual on the part of the practitioner – in this case the jon-

57 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 416.

58 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 417–18. The Old French verb, *sarcir*, has the equivalent to the Modern French verb *raccommoder* meaning to reinforce by sewing, stitching or darning. The Old French noun *gart* or *jart* is a sturdy and long thread. Both the verb and the noun are coupled with the word ‘gold’.

59 Harf-Lancner, *Le Monde des Fées* (see note 42), 25–45; here 25. Harf-Lancner discusses fairy godmothers and their role in destiny. In classical mythology, the *fata* or are called the *Moerae* in Greece and in the Roman tradition, the *Parcae*. Fate is always represented by three women the first of whom is the spinner of the thread of life.

60 Harf-Lancner, *Le Monde des Fées* (see note 42), 9–24; here 14. As a point of departure for her work, Harf-Lancner discusses a passage from Burchard of Worms’ penitential, *Decretum*, *Patrologie*, *latine* that she describes as being an example of how paganism survives inside of Christianity.

61 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 31), 56–94; here 70, 75. Kieckhefer discusses the difficulties in distinguishing the magical from the religious in verbal formulas. He defines three types of verbal formulas or charms: prayers, blessings and adjurations or exorcisms (70). He goes further to explain that it depended on the person as to whether or not they considered the charm as magic (75).

gleur – consequently, there is no evidence of ritualized magic. The most straightforward explanation, despite the clear mythological allusions, is that this particular charm is a vestige of folkloric superstition. The curious brew of supernatural possibilities and clear indications of ritual magical practice by the titular hero in *Maugis d'Aigremont* are what makes this *chanson de geste* truly unique.

Bestiae irata: Lions and Leopards Oh My

The Sicilian slave was “fortement crasse” (rather portly) and made a nice meal for both animals; notwithstanding, the lion and the leopard are still hungry and, hearing the baby Maugis nearby “soz l’espine”⁶² (under the [fairy] pine tree), the animals think about dessert.⁶³ The leopard is the first to lunge toward Maugis but the lion, “Ne vout qu’il en soit de noient parçoniers” (not wanting to share), becomes outraged and leaps to block the leopard.⁶⁴ While the jongleur dispatches the Sicilian slave across only nine *vers*,⁶⁵ he takes ample time describing the battle between the lion and leopard. Van Gennep would argue that the duration of the fight between the two animals is symbolically sufficient as to constitute an autonomous state.⁶⁶ In both the Cambridge and Montpellier versions of the manuscript the scene extends over forty-five lines.⁶⁷ For Maugis, it is a rite of separation not only from the Sicilian slave but also a territorial separation from the natural to the supernatural worlds. Additionally, *Maugis d'Aigremont* is leaving the metaphorical terrain of a traditional *chanson de geste* and entering the otherworldly landscapes common to the romance genre.

While the battle of the beasts seems, on the surface, inconsequential, it nevertheless constitutes Maugis’s last ritual before he enters the Fairy. The setting for the animals’ fight is still within a *locus intermedius* on the shores of the Strait of Messina. Both the battle and its setting continue to reinforce the contact between two worlds: *le réel* and *le surréel* (the real and surreal). The animal combat

⁶² Castets, “Recherches sur les chansons de geste” (see note 20). The repetitions of the line *soz l’espine* continue the allusion to an Arthurian *locale* or signal the copyist’s familiarity with the *Matière de Bretagne*.

⁶³ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 414.

⁶⁴ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 427.

⁶⁵ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 405–13.

⁶⁶ Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1960; see note 39) 1–14; here 8 and 11.

⁶⁷ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 425–70. The battle scene is cut short in the Paris manuscript. Furthermore, absent entirely from the Paris manuscript are the episodes where Maugis is at Rocheflor with Oriande, Baudri and Espiet. Specifically, lines 450–792.

is purposefully evocative of the brutal battles defending Christendom against its heathen foes found in spades across the *chanson de geste* genre. Indeed, the choice of animals cannot go unnoticed as the lion and the leopard are metonymic signifiers of the East and West divide.⁶⁸ This passage is even replete with all the attendant gore and vivid imagery of an epic battle with the vermillion stained ground and gaping bloody maws. Here, however, instead of the clamor of clashing helmets (*heaumes*) and sounds of splintered shields (*écus*) the audience hears a repetition of the signifier “entre,” which here has two meanings: an intermediary space between and a coupling in that space. Therefore, the animals’ clash conjures images of the incumbent struggle between the supernatural and natural worlds. The rhymed assonance emphasizes the contact:

Et des pões devant se sont entrelaciez;
As denz d’entremengüent, mout se sont damagiez:
Par les goules lor est le sanc vermeil raiez.⁶⁹

[And their front paws were entwined
Gnashing their teeth, seriously mutilating each other
As blood was gushing from their mouths.]

Ultimately, despite neither side wanting to concede, “As gorges s’entretienent et trestot à leisir”⁷⁰ (they took each by the throat finally destroying one another). To be certain there are clear resonances with traditional epic battle scene. The narrator, interestingly, even acknowledges that the animals have souls, “lor cuers dementir”⁷¹ (their souls were destroyed) in order to further reinforce the in-between of the divine and the occult.

Despite the allusions to the traditional *chanson de geste* battles, one glaring fact cannot go unacknowledged: the single combat takes place between two animals fighting over a baby and not two foes fighting for the glory of Christendom. The pair of animals could be interpreted as being part of what Stephen G. Nichols considers a “biaxial narrative structure” which would mirror the bifurcation at the *laisse* boundary and, of course, the divide at the Strait of Messina; how-

68 Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 27, 63–64. The winged lion of Saint Mark is a symbol of the Republic of Venice; the triple lion is a symbol for the House of Plantagenet by the early twelfth century. The leopard is an adulterous creation suggestive of an inability to produce heirs. Book of Daniel 7, Daniel’s dream that four beasts represented four kingdoms; also Balaam’s prophecies in Numbers chapter 24 where he sees the righteous people being bold as lions.

69 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 434–36.

70 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 443.

71 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 459.

ever, where Nichols sees these two as inexorable opposites with negative and positive connotations, for *Maugis d'Aigremont* any residual qualitative judgement is eliminated when the animals destroy themselves.⁷²

Furthermore, this polarity dissolves via the narrative image of the two animals intertwined – in the scene quoted above – which clearly points to a blend of features from *both* the Orient and the Occident. The old binary world of the 'good' Christian Occident and the 'bad' Saracen Orient fades into the background. This dissolution is reinforced by the fact that there is no clear winner: neither ideology prevails, both beasts are destroyed. This clearing of the slate, as it were, permits Maugis to emerge as a different sort of character; one that, despite living in the Christian dogma, will attempt to fuse, transcend or blatantly ignore traditional divides.

The rigid Romanesque dialectic structures present in the earlier *chansons de geste* are disappearing and, instead, the jongleur is, "reveling in the story for its own sake [which] is one of the prime characteristics of thirteenth-century narrative"⁷³ The iterative littoral echoes at the Strait of Messina give rise to a plurality of symbolic meanings in *Maugis d'Aigremont*. In this liminotrophy Maugis's character probes the beyond the static epic hero and is fed by an intermingling of magical, devotional, and mystical elements.

One Ring to Find Him: A Fairy, A Dwarf and A Baby

Until this point in the narrative Maugis has played only a supporting role in his chanson. Indeed, Maugis is still a baby all alone on a beach littered with two animal carcasses and the remains of the Sicilian slave. Marvelously, however, baby Maugis has survived! Ferried across the turbulent Strait of Messina, mystified by the enchanted mists of Fata Morgana and magically protected from the subse-

⁷² Stephen G. Nichols, *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 42–43, 46. Though Nichols is discussing sculptural narratives of tympanum, he translates the ideas as they apply to literary narrative; he as he goes on to speak directly about characters in the more typical *chansons de geste* (46).

⁷³ William Calin, "The Stranger and the Problematics of the Epic of Revolt: *Renaut de Montauban*," *The Stranger in Medieval Society*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Stephanie Cain Van D'Elden. Medieval Cultures, 12 (Minneapolis, MN, and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 104–16; here 111. Calin, well aware of his use of modern and contemporary literary theory is nonetheless proposing *Renaut de Montauban* as 'realism' for the medieval period. For further elaboration, see note 12.

quent battle between the lion and leopard, the decks are finally cleared and Maugis can finally take center stage in his eponymous chanson. Oriande, the fairy, and her sisters soon arrive on the beach to take Maugis to chateau Rocheflor. When he leaves the beach the rite of separation from the static epic hero will be complete.

Maugis is still *soz l'epine à la fae* (under the fairy tree) when Oriande ventures on the scene and is described as “la fae qui Rochflor tenoit”⁷⁴ ([T]he guardian of the enchanted Rocheflor). She is astonished by the carnage on the beach, and, when she sees that the baby survived, she announces to her sisters that they will take him to Rocheflor. When Oriande uncovers the beautiful baby, she notices the earring. As when Maugis’s mother first placed the rings on the boys’ ears, the significance of the moment is marked with an anaphora, or repetition of the first word in a clause. While Maugis is wearing the ring, “Në envenimement ne liepart ne lion / Anemi ne dëable ne nule traison” (No act of poisoning, neither by leopard nor lion / Nor trickery by any demon or enemy) will come to pass. The anaphora is quickly followed by an apostrophe marking the beginning of quasi-Christian devotional invocation:

Dame, foi que doi Deu qui sozfri pascion,
Onques ices enfant que nos ici tenon
Ne l’engendra vilianz, pautonier ne garçon.
Qui l’anel à l’oreille pendi au valleton
Et le mist en cest paile doré tot environ
Ne l’ama pas petit, por voir le vos dison.
Il est de haute gent, foi que doi Saint Simon,
Et je pri Damedeu par son seintisme non
Qu’il nos face à savoir de lui la nacion.⁷⁵

[By God, faith to whom I owe who suffered the passion
From whence came this infant we are beholding
Surely he is not an ill-begotten son nor of low-birth
That he has hanging from his ear the ring of a boy apprentice
And around him wrapped a golden cloth
So great was his love, truly he tells us so
He is of noble birth I swear to Saint Simon
And I entreat you God by your saintly name
That he will make it known to us his birthplace.]

Oriande’s supplication over the earring is at once *miraculousus* and *mirabilis*. The most obvious sign is that Oriande is a supernatural figure appealing to a Chris-

74 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 474.

75 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 506–14.

tian god. The first line of her invocation could be – depending on the translation – an appeal *only* to God (the father) or to *both* the Virgin Mary and God. The apostrophe “Dame” could be used a means to stress that Oriande is praying to “God”; or, “Dame” could be taken as Mary. Regardless of which meaning is gleaned from the first line, there is no mistake that hidden in following lines are examples of the fusion of ritual devotion and magic common to the thirteenth century.

The remainder of the prayer qua charm has, revealed through the imagery of the Christ's child,⁷⁶ a mixture of phrases – as either the inverse or the reverse – from the gospel of John, the Justinian hymn and the Nicene Creed.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the invocation promotes the idea that Maugis is an initiate or apprentice who is wearing a monk's golden cassock.⁷⁸ The admixture of the fairy's spoken charm, the ‘found’ apprentice child and the magical devotional elements demonstrate the thirteenth-century's proclivity for a type of occultism that still retains a patina of holiness.⁷⁹ This brand of magic and devotion might also be a precursor to the angelic magic seen in the *Ars Notoria*.⁸⁰

The final element of Oriande's charm reinforces the mixture of the ritual and devotional magic is the echo of the pious phrase “foi que doi” (faith that I owe) to the God who “sozfri pascion” (suffered the passion). In the first instance she is giving or owing her faith to God and, in the second, it is to Saint Simon. The name (Saint) Simon is both shrouded in mystery and chock full of meaning. Simon could be referring to Saint Simon whose name is an allusion to one of the twelve apostles; however, and more significantly, it is also suggestive of Simon the Magician.⁸¹ Regardless of which Simon is being invoked by Oriande

76 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 510. The hinge of the invocation is the line “Et le mist en cest paille doré tot environ” whereby one translation evokes an image of the Christ child (particularly the Byzantine images) with a rind (cuff) of gold encircling his head and a second interpretation is that Maugis is wearing a straw-colored cassock of an initiate.

77 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 506–07. “Onques icest enfant,” Behold the Lamb of God (John 1:29); “Ne l'engenra vilianz,” His only – and not ill – begotten son (John 3:16). Variations of both of these phrases are found in the Nicene Creed and the Justinian Hymn.

78 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 76), vv. 510.

79 Kiekheffer, “The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber Iuratus*, the *Liber Visionum* and the Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism” (see note 18).

80 Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits* (see note 18), vii–xviii; here vii. In the introduction to the text, Fanger defines ritual magic and the subcategory of ‘angelic’ magic.

81 Fournier-Lanzoni, “Maugis d'Aigremont” (see note 3), 767. Fournier-Lanzoni posits in the “Notes de traduction” section (note 21) that the “.S. Simon” is referring to one the twelve apostles whose name was changed to Saint Peter. However, he mistakenly conflates the Saint Simon/Peter with Saint Simon of Persia (who is associated with Saint Jude).

here, the type of invocation she makes is one that seamlessly combines both magic and devotion – especially when, only eleven lines later, the name Simon is mentioned again by Espiet the dwarf but this time as “Simon Mages.”⁸² The implications of one or both Simons would have posed no issues in the *Zeitgeist* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁸³ Certainly, irrespective of which Simon – saint or not – they both are infused with mystical and magical meanings that would have been readily understood by the medieval audience. Under the title of *Actus Petri cum Simone* in the biblical apocrypha *Acts of Peter* is the story of a contest of miracles between Saint Peter and Simon the Magician.⁸⁴ The contest is evocative of the duel between Noiron and Maugis towards the end of *Maugis d’Aigremont* when Maugis meets his brother Vivien.⁸⁵ Another indication that the jongleur or the scribe was familiar with the apocrypha of Saint Peter and Simon the Magician is that the name of the giant, Noiron, battling against Maugis echoes the name of the Roman Emperor Nero who, in this scene from the *Acts of Peter*, is quite taken with Simon the Magician. Saint Peter purports that *his* miracles are of a divine nature versus those of Simon who practices mere trickery. Even though Simon loses twice in the miracle showcase showdown, Nero imprisons both Peter and Paul as imposters!

No sooner does Oriande finish her appeal to both Christian and pagan deities to reveal Maugis’s *nación* (heritage or country) than does Espiet, the dwarf, arrive on the beach. The appearance of Espiet continues to push against the limits of the *chanson de geste* genre. The Strait of Messina is reinforced again as a

⁸² *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 523. Espiet is described as being more powerful than Simon the Magician.

⁸³ Émile Mâle, *Les saints compagnons du Christ*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), 104–05. Mâle discusses the famous scene from one of the Biblical apocrypha known as “*Domine, quo vadis?*” and this scene’s relevance to Simon the Magician. Saint Peter is told to leave Rome after the miracle showdown between himself and Simon the Magician. As Peter is leaving town he meets Jesus who is en route to Rome for his second crucifixion. In another version of the story it is Peter (Simon) who is leaving Rome with his brother Andrew and, upon seeing Jesus, Simon is dubbed Cephas which is Latin for *pierre* or *rocher*. This renaming is a direct evocation of the phrase, “upon this rock he will build his church.” The ambiguity of the figures of Simon the Magician and Peter the Apostle blurs the lines between where Le Goff’s Christian *miraculosus* meets the *magicus*.

⁸⁴ Richard I. Pervo, “Narratives About the Apostles: Non-canonical Acts and Related Literature,” *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Apocrypha*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 65–89; here 74–5. Pervo provides a detailed account of the episode between Simon the Magician and Peter with reference to the cross influence between the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Paul*.

⁸⁵ *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 6746. Yet another invocation to Saint Simon before the battle gets underway.

margin or boundary between the natural and supernatural. Espiet is Oriande's nephew and the narrative shifts here to a detailed description of Espiet's features:

N'ot que .iii. piez de haut, si cort plus de randon
Que chevax espanoiz ne mulez arragon.
Les chevox ot plus sors c'or froiz ne leton:⁸⁶

[No more than three feet tall, he runs much faster
Than Spanish horses or Aragon steeds
His hair darker than rubbed copper or gold.]

Espiet's features connote a powerful magical figure with his dark red hair being suggestive of the powerful Homeric Circe or the red-haired Morgan le Fay in the legendary Arthurian cycles. The figure of the dwarf is also a stock figure for *l'Autre Monde féérique* (the other-world of the fairies) where, usually in a forest, they reside and act either as a powerful totems or tricksters like Auberon the Fairy King in *Huon de Bordeaux* a mid-thirteenth century *chanson de geste*.⁸⁷ Espiet is described as an ageless figure with the face of a seven-year old child. Despite these diminutive characteristics Espiet is most certainly not a figure with which one would want to tangle:

Si en ot plus de .C. et ert mout fort larron;
Plus set que Simons Mages ne Basins ne Mabon.
Nuz ne se puet garder de sa subjection
Por ce qu'il est petiz et set d'enchantison.
Il vint droit à la fee sanz point d'arestison,
De Dieu la salua, qui fist saint Lazaron,⁸⁸

[Having more than one hundred years and being a clever conjurer
So wise that neither Simon the Magician, nor Basin nor Mabon
Could protect themselves from his seductive trances
For he knows spellcasting and, that he is sneaky and little

86 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 518–20. Line 520 regarding the color of Espiet's hair is uniquely in the Cambridge manuscript.

87 *Le roman d'Auberon: Prologue de Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. Jean Subrenat (Paris and Geneva: Droz, 1973), vv. 1352–429. Auberon who, like Espiet, conforms to the laws of the fairies never ages past seven years is purported to be the offspring of Julius Caesar and Morgan la fée. Additionally, there are connections to be made between *Maugis d'Aigremont* and *Le roman d'Auberon* as both seem to function as “*Enfances*” narratives with the trope of twin boys.

88 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 522–27. God raises Lazarus from the dead; a marvel which is strictly a part of the Christian *miraculum* supernatural in Le Goff's schema (see note 33).

He came speedily right up to Oriande without stopping
By the God who saved Lazarus he greeted Oriande.]

Espiet is tremendously talented; later in *Maugis d'Aigremont* he explains to Charlemagne that he was born in Toledo, the son of a magician.⁸⁹ So great are his talents that they surpass several renowned and powerful enchanters. The figures mentioned are Simon the Magician and two famed sorcerers featured in other *chansons de geste* Basin (de Gennes) in *Jehan de Lanson* and Mabon the Saracen in *La Chanson de Jérusalem*.⁹⁰ Espiet is a figure from *l'autre monde féérique*; yet for all of his otherworldly attributes just like Oriande he is able to seamlessly incorporate the Christian dogma of his time. Espiet's greeting to Oriande recalls her earlier incantation to both God and Saint Simon. The imagery associated with God resuscitating Saint Lazarus evokes the tale of Simon the Magician to whom is given the challenge of bringing back to life a man as part of the contest of miracles (discussed above).

Enter the Fairy: Maugis and the Seven Arts

Oriande's earring charm works! As soon as Espiet arrives he gives her the particulars on the *gesta* (genealogy) and *nascion* (proper country and class) of Maugis. This aside serves dual purposes: it provides the audience with a reminder of Maugis's noble lineage and it also locates *Maugis d'Aigremont* as part of the "geste Francor."⁹¹ There is a playful jest in the "geste" comment: the jongleur or copyist positions this phrase in a conversation between a fairy and a dwarf in a song about a noble magical knight as part of the *matière de France* which, according to a *chanson de geste* author Jean Bodel, is "voir chascun jor apparent"⁹² (each day seen to be evident or truthful). Even with the addition

⁸⁹ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 5344.

⁹⁰ Kibler, "Three Magicians in the Old French Epic" (see note 9), 173–87; here 176, 180. Kibler briefly speaks of Basin in comparison with Maugis as they are both characters that foreground the importance of the magician character in the *chanson de geste* genre. For Mabon in *la chanson de Jérusalem*, see Jan Nelson, Emanuel J. Mickel, and Geoffrey M. Myers. *The Old French Crusade Cycle* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1977). For Mabon's connections to Arthurian lore, see Chrétien de Troyes *Erec and Enide*, where Mabon is listed as representing a Celtic God.

⁹¹ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 562 and 565.

⁹² Jean Bodel, *Chanson des Saisnes*, ed. Annette Brasseur. Textes Littéraires français, 369 (Geneva: Droz, 1989), vv. 11. Bodel (~1165–1210) categorizes the three *matières* (quasi-literary groups) of *Bretagne*, *France* and *Rome*. Britain being the place of the Celtic and Arthurian marvels which are "vain et plaisant" compared to the *matière* of France which purports truth.

of two supernatural characters to *Maugis d'Aigremont* the audience is reminded that there is truth in jest. After fulfilling Oriande's desire for knowledge about the baby Maugis, Espiet speeds off on another adventure. The time has come for Oriande and her sisters to take their new charge to chateau Rocheflor.

On the shores of the transformative waters at the Strait of Messina the narrative crosses over the metaphorical *palier* (threshold), and, like the Fata Morgana, mystically reflects the time and transformations Maugis undergoes while at Rocheflor. On the way to the castle, they go through another geographically significant space: the broad woodlands of the Montgibel forest which surround the area at the base of the volcano Mount Etna.⁹³ The forest is a signifier calling to mind the magical *merveilleux* of the Fairy world.⁹⁴ As they pass through the magical Montgibel forest, the chateau comes into view. It is perched high among four giant mountains, ensconced in marble, with majestic views of the sea on all sides.⁹⁵ The arrival in this celestial palace signals Maugis's transition from "one cosmic . . . order to another."⁹⁶ Upon arrival, Oriande – a fairy – paradoxically, again, exercises her powers as a good Christian (!) and baptizes the baby as Maugis. In a genre otherwise known for its adherence to Christian dogma there is, on full display, a blend of the *miraculousus* (baptism) and *mirabilis* (a fairy performing the baptism) working hand-in-glove together.⁹⁷ No sooner is Maugis baptized than has he turned into a young man. The swift cyclical passage of time at Rocheflor is evoked with the vocalized ellipsis, "Einçoiz que le solaux ait aukes pris son tour"⁹⁸ (Thusly as the sun takes its circles) calling to mind circular imagery of the cosmos as the sun arcs across the sky. Following is an echo of "day and night"⁹⁹ and, like magic, within the space of a few lines, Maugis is grown into a young man. He is now ready for his training in the seven arts.¹⁰⁰

93 Christopher W. Bruce, *The Arthurian Name Dictionary* (New York: Garland, 1999), 364. Mont (e)gibel is another name for Mount Etna.

94 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 573; Forests are ubiquitous as the domain of the fairies. See for example, Laurence Harf-Lancner, *Le Monde des Fées*, (see note 43), 9–24; here 14–15 and 103–12; here 103–04. See also Stoyan Atanassov, "L'Autre Monde" (see note 45), 17.

95 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 579. There is water on three sides of chateau Rocheflor. The sounds of rushing water can be heard as they ascend to the chateau; the sounds also echo the imagery of the turbulent Strait of Messina.

96 Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (see note 40), 10. Baptism is the cornerstone rite of passage in Christianity.

97 Le Goff, "The Marvelous in the Medieval West" (see note 33).

98 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 609.

99 Stoyan Atanassov, "L'Autre Monde" (see note 45), 17. Atanassov, employs the example of *Erec and Énide* as an example of how time in the Other/Fairy World is concentrated whereby

Baudri, Oriande's brother, is one of Maugis's teachers at Rocheflor. He fulfills the role of a master magician. Baudri is magically ageless but is over one hundred years old! Baudri, like Espiet, can perform advanced magic and is endowed with "unusual physical properties" that Kibler (and Verelst) label as roles proper to magicians "After *Huon*."¹⁰¹ Baudri spent seven years and fifteen days in Toledo, "Mout fu bien des .vii. arz introduiz et apris" (Much was the work to master and learn the seven arts).¹⁰² To the previous line, the Montpellier manuscript also adds that Baudri, "Plus sot d'encantemens que nus hons qui fist vis" (Knows more about enchantments than any other man alive).¹⁰³ Baudri's character is most akin to powerful sorcerer; however, he proves himself to be quite a talented chevalier as well.¹⁰⁴ Baudri functions as a learned figure with descriptions befitting of a sage, "Baudri li viez mestre à la barbe florie" (Baudri the venerable white wizard) and "Baudri, le viel chanu barbé" (Baudri the old silvery beard).¹⁰⁵

During Maugis's time at Rocheflor he is attended day and night by his *communitas* and is instructed in the seven arts of medieval education, "[p]uis que vint en èage et quë il sot parler,"¹⁰⁶ (Once he came of age and could read the signs). Additionally, a close reading of *laisse XXI* reveals multiple levels of mean-

years go by in the span of a few days. See also Harf-Lancner, *Le Monde des Fées* (see note 42), 103–12; here 113. Harf-Lancner, in the first section of her chapter on "l'altérité" in the fairy world discusses symbolism and time in the fairy.

100 Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits* (see note 18), vii–xviii; here vii. In the introduction to the text, Fanger defines ritual magic and the subcategory of 'angelic' magic.

101 Kibler, "Three Old French Magicians" (see note 9), 175. Both Kibler and Verelst see *Huon de Bordeaux* as a pivotal work inasmuch as the magician characters of post-*huon* songs are enriched with more and greater powers.

102 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 615. See also Fournier-Lanzoni, "Maugis d'Aigremont, *Chanson de geste* du XIII^{ème} siècle" (see note 3) *laisse XX*, 33. Fournier-Lanzoni either chose not to translate, or simply misinterpreted the ".vii. arz" because his Modern French translation does not mention the seven arts and only repeats the seven years from the previous line. Moreover, he does not make mention of the addition to the Montpellier manuscript of *Maugis d'Aigremont* (H 247).

103 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see notes 2 and 94) vv. 615. The reinforcement of one of the seven arts adds all the more weight to Baudri's strength as a magician.

104 Philippe Verelst, "L'enchanteur d'épopée: Prolégomènes à une étude sur Maugis," *Etudes Médiévales*, ed. Marc Van Uytanghe, Jacques Thomas, Philippe Verelst, Rika Van Deyck, Paul Remy, Guy Mermier, and Raoul Blomme. *Romanica Gandensia*, 16 (Ghent: Imprimerie George Michiels, 1976), 119–62; here 120.

105 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 1283, 1147. Baudri is characterized throughout the narrative as a 'white wizard' or a benevolent magician and/or sorcerer.

106 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 633.

ing. Hidden in what on the surface looks like Maugis learning the basics of being a courtly chevalier are deeper Romance connotations about Maugis learning to be a skilled lover and to how to subtly deploy his skills as a magician. Of course, he has to learn how to play chess since there is a heated chess match in his cousins' tale!

Des eschez et des tables li fist assez mostrer,
Et trestoz estrumenz li aprist à soner,
Et par ordre de game sot trestoz chanz chanter.¹⁰⁷

[He was shown how to play chess and backgammon
To master instruments and courteous courtly customs
And to know how to read music and sing with finesse.]

In the same 'educational' *laisse*, Maugis and Oriande fall in love and quickly consummate their relationship! Only a few lines later, Maugis and Oriande are walking on the shores below chateau Rocheflor when Maugis notices a dark column of smoke spiraling up into the sky. Oriande tells him that the smoke ceaselessly rises from the depths of hell and darkens the sky. The island, *île de Boccan*, emanates the bitter stench of plague. Oriande paints a terrible picture Boccan. Compared to the other *loci* of the narrative – the *locus intermedius* (in-between space) of the Strait of Messina and *locus amoenus* (blissful place) at the chateau Rocheflor – the island is the first real *locus horribilis* in *Maugis d'Aigremont*. Moreover, Boccan is inhabited by all manner of diabolical creatures proper to Le Goff's *magicus*.¹⁰⁸ Heretofore the magical elements and operations in *Maugis d'Aigremont* have been otherwise 'angelic' in nature.¹⁰⁹ Oriande tells Maugis that there is a fairy horse named Bayard trapped on the island. As soon as she tells him about the magical Bayard, she realizes that he will not be able to resist the challenging quest to free the supernatural steed. The gauntlet has been thrown. Maugis needs to test his mettle and use his newly acquired magical skills. The island of Boccan not only serves as his proving grounds but also marks a milestone for Maugis. The island is where he rescues Bayard, the first magical ac-

107 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 635–37. Line 635 is straightforward in its meaning; however, lines 636–37 are double entendre whereby they have both musical, sexual and orator or eloquence of speech connotations.

108 Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (see note 33), 27–44; here 30, 36, 40. The maleficent supernatural (30), savages and monsters (40). Strangely enough, however, is that Bayard the horse is listed, in scare quotes, as a "natural" animal (36).

109 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 6785. The next appearance of a truly diabolically *magicus* figure is Noiron the enchanter.

coutrement that he will later gift to his cousins for their adventures in *Renaut de Montauban*.

The Ordeals: Blending Natural and Ritual Magic

As Oriande assures everyone, “Li chevaux est faez”¹¹⁰ (the horse is enchanted), and that Bayard is the supernatural offspring of a serpent and a dragon. He is prevented from fleeing the island due to being guarded by what will become Maugis’s ordeals: a devil, a serpent qua basilisk and a dragon. In addition to the terrible creatures there is a “grant derubement” (great chasm)¹¹¹ keeping Bayard trapped. One of Oriande’s sisters has had visions of the horse and he is chained to four golden pillars. Rescuing Bayard will require all of the skills he has acquired while living at Rocheflor.

Oriande beseeches Maugis not to go and warns Maugis that no one who has ventured there has ever returned. Her overtures are, however, in vain. Leaving aside, of course, the fact that *Maugis d’Aigremont* is composed *a posteriori* and its eponymous hero *must* obtain the magical steed for *Les Quatre fils d’Aymon* to ride in order to create a sort of continuity, Maugis nevertheless takes a quick moment to deliberate. He determines courageously that it would be better to try and fail than to have never tried at all. He resolves to go to the island and free Bayard, “se ja Dex li consent” (if it is now God’s will).¹¹² Oriande and her sisters remind Maugis that his earring is instilled with marvelous powers and that it will keep him from being enchanted by the gaze of beasts and that it will also shield him from the devil’s trickery. “Quant Maugis l’a öi, merveilles en fu liez” (When Maugis hears of the wonders bound [to the ring]),¹¹³ he feels more confident. Given the ordeals ahead, Maugis begins preparing in earnest.

During the short episode where Maugis readies for the challenges ahead, the audience is treated to a different sort of *équipement* (gearing up or outfitting)

110 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 667. There is a plurality of definitions for words meaning ‘fairy’ in *ancien français* the word *fæz* or *faé* is the adjective form. See Harf-Lancer *Le Monde des Fées* (see note 42), 25–46; here 44–45. Harf-Lancer provides several helpful definitions for the variety of forms of *fée* or ‘fairy.’ In the case cited “fæz” which is the adjective form stemming from *fatatus* meaning destiny (44); however, she further describes how the word *fæe* is a catch-all term for anything outside of the Christian *merveilleux* (45).

111 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 669.

112 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 685. The word *Dex* implies plural deities or saints, from the Latin *Deus*.

113 *Maugis d’Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 703.

than the usual *halbercs* (mail shirts) and *heaumes* (helmets) ubiquitous in the *chansons de geste*. Instead, Maugis undergoes a ritual native to the Old Norse, Icelandic and Scandinavian epics (sagas): the *berserkr*, or the dressing in and wearing of a bearskin to go into battle:

Une pel d'ors locue quë il ot escorcié:
 .I. vestemenz l'en fu isnellement tailliez
 Qui contreval li ferme jusques au col des piez.
 Tote jor sejourna deci à l'anuitier.¹¹⁴

[A bearskin that he had scorched or tanned
 He quickly made it into perfectly fitted single suit
 That from head-to-toe covered and strengthened him
 In this way did he stay for all day and night.]

Maugis's ritual robing for battle is an initiation rite into the world of the warrior. Even though Maugis is leaving Rocheflor to rescue a horse and not to do battle against heathen foes, the expedition to Boccan is, nevertheless, Maugis's first *belli* (war) exposure. His careful preparation of the bear suit and subsequently sleeping in it the night before battle is part of the "cérémonies magico-religieuses" (religious-magical ceremonies) of the *berserker*. The goal of this ritual is to strengthen the warrior and put him in a state of excitation.¹¹⁵ Maugis's behavior in this pre-battle *laisse* demonstrates a ritualized practice whereby he draws primal power from the bearskin overnight and then uses this power to become frenzied in front of the devil Raanas. The fury of a *berserkr* could also stun the enemy, rendering it weaker and easier to overcome.

In the Old Norse, the word *hamr*¹¹⁶ (skin) is related to the Icelandic terms *ein-hamr* and *hamnramr* reflecting the "fureur frénétique" (frenetic furor) of being in the berserker (skin) animalistic state; however, as Vincent Samson points out, in the Norse tradition, there is a distinct difference between the ability *to be* in a berserker trance and the capability to fully transform into the animal; the latter

¹¹⁴ Maugis d'Aigremont, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 708–11.

¹¹⁵ Michel Praneuf, *L'ours et les hommes* (Paris: Éditions Imago, 1989). Chapter VI "Regeneration, Lunes et Vents" section 3 "La Possession, des *Berserkir* aux Chamans." <https://books.google.com/books?isbn=2849523070> (last accessed on April 10, 2017).

¹¹⁶ Catharina Raudvere, "Trolldómr in Early Medieval Scandinavia," *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 83–108; here 102. Raudvere is referring to the Old Norse practices of *trolldómr* as they relate to the split of the soul during the night-riding. The word *hamr*, indeed means only to change skin and not to change form.

needing to be performed by skilled practitioners of magic.¹¹⁷ The inclusion and presence of this ritual illustrate the cultural contact zones between the Scandinavian countries and Western Europe whereby the jongleurs at French courts may have heard of or listened to tales containing lore of this type. Adding to the probability of this kind of cultural overlap is the comparatively late – twelfth century – Christianization of the Scandinavian countries ostensibly allowing more time for the behavior to gain literary voice beyond its indigenous sagas. Regardless of where or how this description of a berserker rite was absorbed into the narrative of *Maugis d'Aigremont* the ritualistic and ceremonial nature are perfect examples of the sorts of magical practices and tastes during the thirteenth century.

Finally, after Maugis spends the night in his bear skin, he makes the final additions to his battle gear: a double-horned *visière* (a helmet with a face-mask),¹¹⁸ and a fox pelt attached to the back of the headgear. To complete the outfit, Baudri gives him a metal clasp, “li a ses mestres le croc de fer baillié” (given to him by his masters).¹¹⁹ The gift from Baudri, the *croc de fer* (buckle/hook), serves as both amulet and weapon. Though Maugis has a sword, the *croc de fer* is the weapon he uses repeatedly on Boccan, and, in the end, he uses it to eviscerate the deadly basilisk. The echo of the *croc de fer* throughout the ordeal with the basilisk demonstrates its significance as a powerful weapon potentially having been forged by supernatural entities.

The first of Maugis's tests is to outwit *Röenarz* (Raanas), the devil inhabiting the island of Boccan. Maugis, upon arriving, deploys his ‘berserker mode’ and shrieks like the devil himself!¹²⁰ Maugis's howling, when combined with the horrifying *déguisement* (disguise) that he wears, helps Raanas mistake him for a handsome devil.¹²¹ Though Raanas's role in the narrative is terribly brief (two *laisses*), his comportment confirms and conforms to the thirteenth-century conception of the devil: an ugly and dim-witted jester. Maugis, having visited with

117 Vincent Samson, “Les Berserkir: les guerriers-faues dans la Scandanavie ancienne, de l'âge de Vendel aux Vikings, VIe–XIe siècle,” Ph.D. diss., University of Lille 3, 2008: 253, 257. Samson states that *einhamr* in its literal sense means ‘having only one form’ and, therefore, could mean a less enviable adjective (253). He then points to the Old Norse strict difference between those who can become frenzied and those who can change forms with the help of a magician (257).

118 Another echo or popular image of Viking indicating cultural crossover.

119 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 720.

120 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 751. Maugis may have been trying to strengthen his battle fury with this gesture.

121 *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 749. When Maugis arrives Raanas bounds out of his fiery pit and thinks Maugis “sembla bel” (looks handsome).

the devil, casts a spell on Raanas and puts him to sleep.¹²² Laisse XXVI, with only eleven lines, exhibits Maugis's first (minor) feat of magic. The sleeping spell is similar in tone to the other enchantments thus far in the narrative: charms that blend ritual Christian and magical elements. Longhi also observes the mixture of magical and religious terms in *Maugis d'Aigremont* finding that the narrative maintains, "en permanence une grande ambiguïté," which is due in part to the overlapping meanings *conjured* by the polysemous words.¹²³ Though Longhi concedes that the narrative does not give a clear-cut concept of the *Ars Notoria* her article nevertheless attempts to categorize and distinguish what sort of magic is being practiced in *Maugis d'Aigremont*.

The sleeping spell that Maugis uses to enchant the devil is described as powerful enough so that all the gold in the Orient would not make the devil awaken. As a part of the soporific spell, Maugis invokes the name of Saint Nicolas a renowned thaumaturge or healer, "De Damedex de gloire et de saint Nicolaz" (To the glory of the gods and to Saint Nicholas).¹²⁴ Two things happen in this single line. First, the appeal to "Damedex" which, like the "Damedeu" of is redolent of a Christian God; however, when the word terminates with an 'x' there is no doubt that the word is referring to (multiple) pagan gods or even goddesses. Then there is the appeal to Saint Nicholas. Today this charm would be called a *healing buff* – a preemptive enchantment cast in hopes that you remain strong for a longer period of time in battle. As Maugis moves into the most difficult phase of his quest for Bayard on the island, he needs to summon both his greater magical powers and his abilities to protect himself. After having been in his 'berserker' mode, Maugis is tired but has gained confidence due to his successful (easy) encounter with the devil. The next vile entity that Maugis encounters tests all of his skills. He needs to move by the hideous serpent-basilisk without injury. In this pre-fighting scene Maugis uses ritual magic: he calls *and* paints on a rock the three names of God:

Einsi l'a bien Maugis par sa mestrie estraint.
 .iii. noms Damedeu a sor le perron paint
 Que ne se puet movoir, ainz se dolose et plaint:
 La grant force de Deu einsi le tient et vaint.¹²⁵

¹²² *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 774–77.

¹²³ Blandine Longhi, "Maugis et les speculations intellectuelles" (see note 60), 171.

¹²⁴ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 778. In this same invocation, Maugis also draws upon the name of Hippocrates.

¹²⁵ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), vv. 785–88. Note: there is an error in the transcription of vv. 786. In Vernay the line begins with ".iiii." instead of three.

[And in this way, Maugis, using his magical gifts
 The three names of God he did he paint on the giant rock
 Those that evil is unable to move through suffering and pain
 And in this way the powerful force of God hold and bring him victory]

However, and sadly for Maugis, the sleeping charm he casts does not last long enough and, as Maugis is trying to sneak by, the basilisk smells him and awakens with furious vengeance! Maugis admits that not even the names of god will save him. The basilisk breathes fire from out of his mouth flames and blisters the bear pelt to Maugis's skin. He attempts to beat the basilisk with the *croc de fer* (magical hook) that Baudri gave to him, alas, it is of no use. The only escape for Maugis is to squeeze into a narrow opening in a moss-covered lava rock. The basilisk pursues but is too large to fit into the entrance of the cavern. Over the course of the lengthy battle Maugis tries every spell and trick that he knows. He eventually curses the basilisk calling it a devil (*maufê*) and a demon.

Maugis, in a deafening berserker rage, again attempts to use his *croc au fer*. This time he meets with success and manages to violently gut the basilisk through the head all the way to his entrails and pull it back out crushing his heart, which gushes out of its mouth. The basilisk lets out a cry so loud that it reverberates all over the island of Boccan, and, at last, the beast is dead. Maugis calls upon God and the Virgin Mary at the end and thanks them for delivering him to safety. In the end, it is by using his prowess as a warrior and not as a magician that Maugis is able to overcome the basilisk. He can hear Bayard neighing and desperately wants to free him. The basilisk episode begins with magic and shows the initiate attempting to use his skills, but it is by the grace of God that Maugis survives.

Maugis can hear Bayard neighing and desperately wants to free him. The horse is, however, guarded by a ferocious dragon. Maugis seems to have regenerated from his bout with the basilisk. Maugis invokes the names of the saints; however, the text clearly states that Maugis defeats the dragon due to the number of charms that he knows that he is able to cast a spell over the dragon. He uses stunning spells and reversal enchantments so that the dragon is neutered and is can no longer use his evil powers. Finally, Maugis is able to free Bayard!

Conclusion

The episodes up to and including the rescue of Bayard demonstrate the ingenuity of *Maugis d'Aigremont* as a *chanson de geste* that pushes the thematic limits of its ascribed genre. Admittedly, the song is correctly connected to the “robber-

baron cycle” by dint of its association with *Renaut de Montauban*. However, the “robber baron” moniker is ill fitted to *most* of the narrative of *Maugis d'Aigremont* and sustainable only when applied to an examination of the post-Toledo episodes in the song. Kibler’s designation of *Maugis d'Aigremont* as a “chanson d’aventure” approaches an appropriate classification of this unique tale. The label adheres especially well when *aventure* is translated beyond the obvious single word ‘adventure.’ When further defined, *aventure* is an unmitigated occurrence happening *beyond* what is known or predictable to a person or group of persons capable of producing sensational or dazzling effects.¹²⁶ Clearly, as the episodes leaning up to and during the rescue of Bayard show, this definition fits *Maugis d'Aigremont*!

However, Claude Roussel correctly cautions against the tendency of contemporary scholars to retroactively apply labels and categories¹²⁷; because labeling runs the risk of eclipsing the possible connections and the continuity across the genre. *Maugis d'Aigremont* is most certainly a narrative that, like its hero *le larron enchanter* (the sneaky enchanter) Maugis, is capable of *déguisement* and *trompe-l’œil* (disguise and trickery) allowing it to uniquely exist in the fluid space of its performative genre.

Maugis d'Aigremont has long been considered a simple prequel-sequel created to backstop Maugis’s character as he relates to his family (Fig. 2). In fact, the narrative does provide the sources of his sword, Froberge, and the magical steed, Bayard as they appear in *Renaut de Montauban*; in spite of fulfilling these roles vis-à-vis his cousins’ chanson, *Maugis d'Aigremont* has nevertheless remained in the shadows of *Renaut de Montauban* by dint of the comparative dearth of manuscript witnesses (Fig. 1). Undoubtedly, Phillipe Vernay and Philippe Verelst have done much to bring *Maugis d'Aigremont* out of obscurity and into the light and, it is through their considerable contributions that the studies continue today.¹²⁸ Indeed, Verelst is calling for a new critical edition of *Maugis d'Aigremont*.¹²⁹ Sustained scholarly influence will doubtlessly lead to new and exciting connections between the Old French *Maugis d'Aigremont* and its analogues *Madelgijs* in Middle Dutch and *Malagis* in Middle High German.

¹²⁶ Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales. <http://www.cnrtl.fr/> (last accessed on April 11 2017).

¹²⁷ Roussel, “L’autonome de la *chanson de geste*” (see note 10), 15–28; here 15.

¹²⁸ *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Vernay (see note 2), and Verelst, “Renaut de Montauban et textes apparentés” (see note 7), 133–43. Verelst provides an excellent and updated bibliography (2011) for *Renaut de Montauban* studies.

¹²⁹ Verelst, “Renaut de Montauban et textes apparentés” (see note 7), 133–43; here 135.

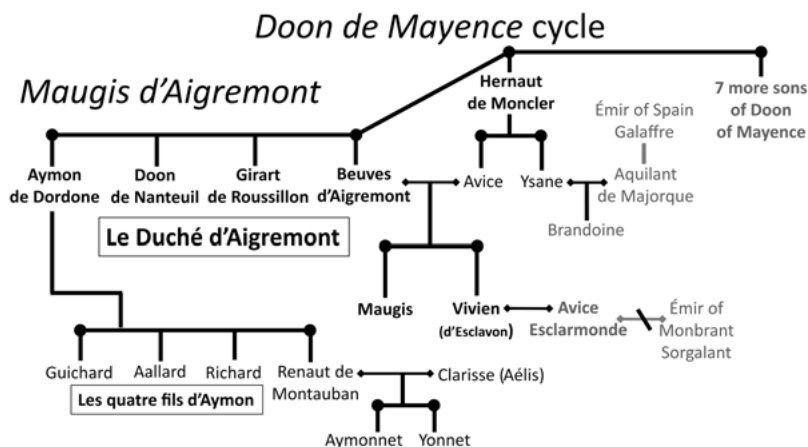


Fig. 2: Doon de Mayence cycle

As a character, Maugis d'Aigremont makes for an interesting study in the context of a learned magician functioning in a genre not known for showcasing characters that are able to move beyond the confines of a traditional static epic hero. Maugis's dynamic character also gives the contemporary scholar a glimpse into the tastes for, and tolerances of the portrayal of magic in the late medieval period. Furthermore, with heightened interest in all things supernatural, Maugis's character is a natural object of study in the context of thirteenth-century learned ritualistic magic whether it is divine or demonic. Though Maugis uses his magical abilities inconsistently at times, he nonetheless grows more powerful over the remainder of the narrative proving that magic, in the medieval period, was considered something that one practiced and a domain in which one aimed to improve their skills.

Maugis's character completes several rites of passage in the opening episodes of his narrative. Through the close reading of laisses XIII and XIV, the magical cleft in universe of *Maugis d'Aigremont* is unveiled. The Strait of Messina acts as a sort of magical portal that, once Maugis crosses it, he is indoctrinated into an ideal world where he learns courtly customs and the medieval seven arts. The episodes leading up to and including the ordeals on the island of Boccan demonstrate the birth and development of Maugis's dynamism and his development as an enchanter. He enters the Fairy at chateau Rocheflor as a baby of noble birth

and leaves as a courtly chevalier and learned magician.¹³⁰ He arrives at the Strait of Messina already fitted to the role of a traditional static character, but he departs Sicily as a quasi-romance hero ready to embark on a mission of self-discovery.

Finally, and most significantly, when Maugis says “goodbye” to Oriande for the last time, he reenters the world of the traditional *chanson de geste* as, “the most famous magicians in the Old French epic”¹³¹ In the remainder of his tale, Maugis will face Nubian giants who tempt him to embrace Mohamed as prophet. He will unknowingly fall in love with his aunt, Ysane! He will perform the highest order magical operation when he is caught *in flagrante delicto* with the émir Marsile’s wife. Lastly, in the end, before he is reunited with his brother Vivien, he will face the toughest magical dual against the demon Noiron.

Even all of its originality, *Maugis d'Aigremont* does have elements of a traditional *chanson de geste* such as defending one’s *patrimoine* (heritage or lineage) and proselytizing how the Christian God is great and those who follow Mahomet are not to be trusted. All of that being said, both sides of the Orient and Occident divide experience clear intermingling in the narrative – the lion and leopard and the marriages between families (Fig 2). Furthermore, on full display is the mélange of natural and supernatural elements further blurring and pushing against the genre boundary. To be certain, there are Christian conversions at the end of the song, but these seem to be almost tacked on out of necessity in order to escape the prying eyes of the more strict clergy who would willingly condemn a work that purports truth because of its genre. Even though the song is, admittedly, a *chanson de geste* by dint of its general thematic and formal characteristics; the magical mortal Maugis, “undermines the old *chanson de geste* as a genre and as a way of life.”¹³² *Maugis d'Aigremont* pushes *au-delà* (beyond) and eschews easy categorization with its blend of natural, supernatural and ritualistic magic on display in this thirteenth-century Old French Epic.

130 Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (see note 28), 33–34. Frye distinguishes between heroes that differ in *degree* and *kind*. These heroes differ only in degree and not in kind. Maugis begins as a hero who is superior to other men but not to his environment (an Aristotelian, mimetic epic hero). Maugis retains this first degree of superiority but also develops the other type of difference in *degree*: a hero who is superior to other men *and* to his environment.

131 Kibler, “Three Old French Magicians” (see note 9), 176.

132 Calin, “The Stranger and the Problematics of the Epic of Revolt” (see note 73), 104–16; here 111.

Claire Fanger

The Magician at Home with his Family: Comparative Historical Ethnographies of Two Pre- Modern Magicians from Autobiographical Sources: John of Morigny and the Tibetan Monk Milarepa

Emile Durkheim articulated a key polarity in the distinction between magic and religion by aligning the priest with a communal and public good and the magician with a private and mercenary one. Magic, he said,

does not bind its followers to one another and unite them in a single group living the same life. *A church of magic does not exist.* Between the magician and his followers, and between these individuals themselves, there are no lasting bonds that make them members of a moral body like the one formed by worshippers of the same god. The magician has a clientele, not a church.¹

In practice, of course, things are much messier than this simple binary suggests, and many instantiations of self-declared magic use occur in contexts that Durkheim himself would have recognized as religious (i.e., as grounded in shared categories and collective values). Yet Durkheim's idea that a priest has a congregation while a magician has a clientele has an affinity with many other definitions of magic before and since. There is a long history of understanding magic as ritual with distinctively private ends, often (though not always) going against the public good, or in search of ends that public institutions cannot satisfy. This version of things is propounded early on by Augustine of Hippo (see especially his *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, question 79), who was probably not the first, just as Durkheim is certainly not the last, to see the idea of magic turn on an idea of private ends. An idea of magic as private (always meaning aiming at a private good that at least some of the time appears to be in conflict with or in opposition to the public good) runs through the sketch of magic

¹ Emil Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman (1912; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 43.

Claire Fanger, Rice University, Houston, TX

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-014>

by Mauss and Hubert, and is part of the functional understanding of Malinowski as well.²

Of course, the definition of a magician as having a “clientele” rather than a “congregation” has immediate problems that I encourage undergraduates to point out. For the medieval world, it would be particularly hard to distinguish Durkheim’s ideal types – the magician with his “clientele” and the priest with his “congregation” – since the priest was quite likely to be the magician, and the congregation quite likely to be the clientele, under circumstances that did not always admit of a simple monetary relation between them. However, an idea of the “private good” remains a useful pivot point for examining magic in intimate situations.

In an effort to explore and modify the ideas of public and private operative in Durkheim’s distinction, this essay will compare two different but somewhat parallel anecdotes about magic use found in autobiographical writings from two different pre-modern cultural contexts in which we can see forms of magic used and shared between close friends and family. In the first case, I draw on the visionary autobiography of the Benedictine monk John of Morigny, written in early fourteenth-century France; I will look at the way he shared his knowledge of a ritual text called the *Ars Notoria*, with his younger sister Bridget and his subsequent use and rejection of black magic or necromancy (*nigromantia*). The second anecdote comes from a life of the twelfth-century Tibetan yogin Milarepa, who was induced by his mother to study under a teacher famous for his mastery of black magic, especially the ability to rouse destructive storms. The purpose of his magical study was to further his mother’s quest for justice in regard to an aunt and uncle who had appropriated the family’s wealth.

In both stories, the ultimate long term concern for the protagonists is reform of life, and the magic of the early period in their lives is rejected in the end. However these rejections have complex valences that are worth attending to as we try to understand the way the magician operates in his community in both narratives, and how practices understood as “magical” by the operator may be firmly fixed in a moral system, a tissue of obligations to parents, friends and siblings, even when apparently escaping it.

More broadly, I want to suggest that the analysis of personal dynamics in stories about magic users may be a useful way to make magical practices avail-

² An unusually clear and helpful historical synopsis of such definitions in magic scholarship is Yuval Harari, “What is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic,” *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, ed. Shaul Shaked. IJS Studies in Judaica, 4 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 91–124, but see esp. 97–102 for public/private distinctions from Durkheim through Malinowski.

able for cross-cultural comparison by keeping an ethnographic eye on intimate situations that complicate the simple binaries by which magic tends to get defined when scholars generalize about it. I aim thus to counteract the post-colonial scholar's tendency to see magic and religion in terms of separate social groups (i.e., "in groups" that think of their rituals as religious in orientation, and "out groups" that call them magic).³ I also argue against the tendency shown by some scholars to restrict "magic" (the word and the concept, where a concept is admitted) to "Western" occasions, or to eschew it altogether.⁴ I have picked two essentially similar kinds of stories from completely different geographic and cultural situations to facilitate the comparison.

John of Morigny

Both of my protagonists are men who have taken vows and dedicated themselves to the religious life. I will begin with John of Morigny: a still (at the time of this writing) relatively obscure French Benedictine who composed his magnum opus over a span of a decade and a half at the turn of the fourteenth century. We know about John's experience of and attitude to several different magic texts from the autobiography that forms part of his book *Liber florum celestis doctrine* (*The Book of the Flowers of Heavenly Teaching*), which is a composite work of liturgy, visionary narrative and exegesis.

3 The view that "magic" is an empty colonial construct with no utility but subjugation, is seen, e.g., in the essay by Margaret J. Weiner "Hidden Forces: Colonialism and the Politics of Magic in the Netherlands Indies," *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment*, ed. Birgit Meyer and Peter Pels (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 129–58.

4 The rejection of the term "magic" as unusable in a scholarly or etic context emerges in many scholars whose work is otherwise useful and compelling. See, e.g., Jonathan Z. Smith, "Trading Places," id., *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 215–29; Bernd-Christian Otto, "General Introduction" to *Defining Magic: A Reader*, ed. Bernd-Christian Otto and Michael Stausberg (Sheffield: Equinox, 2012), 1–15. Smith and Otto advocate replacing the word "magic" with more specific terms; Otto, e.g., writes, "we should either just speak of amulets, curses, etc., or of private rites (rather than intuitively and unreflectingly allocate them to a single overarching macro-category)" ("General Introduction," 11). Wouter Hanegraaff writes, citing Smith among others with this view, that the terms superstition and magic are "wholly unsuitable as neutral instruments in scholarly interpretation: they belong to the category of value judgments and political *Kampfbegriffe* (battle concepts), not of valid 'etic' terminology." id., *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 157. While I see the utility of more specific and concrete taxonomy also, they cannot be our only recourse.

This autobiographical portion, subtitled the “Book of Visions,” is remarkable both for its detailed narrative of magical practice and for its use as a framing device for John’s ritual text, a Book of Prayers that John began writing in 1301 and did not finish until sometime in 1308.⁵ The ritual includes a book of seven preliminary prayers of supplication and thirty prayers that lay out (and in principle effect) a program of learning, beginning with the purification of senses, moving to requests for knowledge of the liberal arts, philosophy, and theology, and ending with a long prayer of thanksgiving and confirmation. The book itself was condemned on two separate occasions, in 1315 and in 1323, as a work of magic, though John would have disavowed this description.⁶

The autobiographical “Book of Visions” itself was finished around 1310 in its first form. In this book, John describes his experiences with a number of magic texts in considerable detail, including accounts of using darker demon-summoning kinds of magic (*nigromantia*) more than once. He also describes his repeated encounters with an apparently more salubrious set of prayers in a popular text for enhancing learning processes, the *Ars Notoria*, which claims to be an “art” (never a magic art) of divine origin. Its practice offers a quick access to the liberal arts and other types of knowledge including the magic arts (even necromancy, though the magic arts were optional). It has aims most users perceived as good: the learning of the liberal arts, and other arts if desired, by calling on God and the angels. Yet some medieval theologians found its methods theologically problematic and criticized them.

John, whose own initial encounter with the book led him to suspect no ill of it (he describes its appearance as “most beautiful and most holy”), became very experienced with the use of the *Ars Notoria*, and tells us that indeed the prayers

⁵ For more information about the dating of the text and its parts, and its historical context in general, see the introductory materials in the edition by Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, *John of Morigny, The Flowers of Heavenly Teaching. Edition and Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2015). An early translation of the “Book of Visions” by Fanger and Watson can be found in the online journal *Esoterica* III (2001): 108–17; <http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeIII/Morigny.html> (last accessed on Feb. 26, 2017). For a broader interpretive reading of John’s book, see Claire Fanger, *Rewriting Magic: An Exegesis of the Visionary Autobiography of a Fourteenth-Century French Monk* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2015).

⁶ The first condemnation occurred in 1315, as we know from internal evidence; the second was 1323, when the text was burnt at Paris as known from external chronicle accounts. In both cases, the authorities were unnamed, and in the second, which was specifically a condemnation of the book, John himself goes unnamed as well. For a full discussion of those events, see my *Rewriting Magic* (see note 1), introduction, 2–3 for the 1323 condemnation, and for the one in 1315, especially chapter 6.

worked for acquisition of the liberal arts. He eventually turned away from the practice because, as it eventuated, the *Ars Notoria* also summoned demons. Their presence, as John learned from a vision, was a by-product of the prayers made of strings of unintelligible words supposed to be composed in mixed Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic, which had been corrupted by the subtle insertion of demonic names (I.1.9).⁷ While using the *Ars Notoria*, John suffered terrifying visions in which he was pursued by demons, sometimes monstrous in appearance, sometimes in holy disguises. It took some time for him to work out that the *Ars Notoria* was the cause of these bad visions.

At the same time, the *Ars Notoria* also assisted in supporting John's goals of attaining the liberal arts, so it must have been quite difficult to see it as all bad. The practice required fasting and purity, and a clean way of life, and this way of learning went well with the monastic vows John had undertaken earlier. Because of its apparent purity, its sacral goals, and its effectiveness as a teaching aid, John sometimes wondered if the demons plagued him as they did saints in the desert, because he wanted to live a life more fully dedicated to God. In short, despite his persistent demonic nightmares, John's ritual expertise in the prayer system of the *Ars Notoria* continued to accumulate.

It seems to have been during this time period – when he was becoming pretty good at the technique, but had not grasped the full implication of his symptomatic nightmares – that John's younger sister Bridget, who was fifteen at the time, asked him if he would teach her to read. He resisted at first, telling her she was too old to learn, but eventually relented, persuaded by her determination and what he may already have seen as her religious vocation. He set out to teach her using the *Ars Notoria*, thinking this would speed up the process; and indeed it helped her to learn with amazing rapidity.

But soon demonic attacks began to plague her also. There was one recurrent vision in which a malign spirit stood near her in her bed and “illam puellam ita per latera et dorsum stringebat fortiter ita quod nec loqui nec clamare poterat” (I.iii.2.a; “pressed so hard upon the girl's sides and back that she could neither speak nor cry out”). In one iteration of this vision, John was lying in the same chamber with her, and around midnight she felt the spirit approaching and he heard her crying “Frater mi, adest spiritus ille, sencio illum, pro Deo fugetis eum si potestis!” (I.iii.2.b; “My brother, the spirit is here, I feel him, for God's sake chase him away if you can!”). John first tells her to cross herself and say

⁷ All citations of the text here rely on the internal referencing system of the edition by Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, cited above, note 3. This referencing system also governs the translation in progress by Fanger and Watson, from which the English language passages here are drawn.

a Paternoster, Creed, and Hail Mary, but these accustomed defenses against demons do not work. The spirit draws nearer and begins to beat her, so that Bridget yells, “Ha, frater mi, ecce iam tenet me!” (I.iii.2.b; “Oh, my brother, look, he’s got me now!”). Then, says John, “tacite maximum incurri dolorem et timorem, cogitans quod hec pateretur propter opus Artis notorie” (I.iii.2.b; “I silently incurred great pain and fear, thinking that she endured these things on account of the work of the *Ars Notoria*”).

John is propelled by concerns for his sister that run in two directions. On the one hand, he stands behind her strong wish to learn letters once he becomes convinced that she is led by a good spirit; he respects her capacities and perhaps already suspects the desire she later makes plain to become a nun. Because he believes in her and trusts in God, he imagines she will earn no harm from the *Ars Notoria*. Yet as the demonic attacks persist, he is reminded of his own bad experiences and his doubts become more pervasive. In fact, his fears for his sister appear more pressing than his fears for himself. Certainly, he is quicker to see the ritual as a possible *cause* of the demonic attacks in Bridget’s case than he was in his own, and thus its renunciation as a possible solution to the problem:

Soror cara, renuncia Arti notorie et pompis eius et operibus, et cras promitte Deo et beate Marie coram ymagine in ecclesia quod de cetero per ipsam Artem non operaberis si remouerit a te beata virgo Maria timorem illius spiritus. (I.iii.2.b)

[Dear sister, renounce the *Ars Notoria* and its pomps and works,⁸ and tomorrow promise God and the blessed Mary . . . that you won’t operate through this art any more if the blessed virgin Mary will lift the fear of this spirit from you.]

This measure does work, and Bridget follows it with an immediate and genuine conversion away from the *Ars Notoria* and quickly begins committing herself to a monastic life.

John’s own conversion is notably slower, taking a sequence of three visions, and passing through a stage in which he turns away from the *Ars Notoria* only to embrace demonic magic for a second time in his account. He does not fully explain why his own temptations to the dark arts of necromancy, especially his *reversion* to necromancy after withdrawing from the *Ars Notoria* (“like a dog returning to his vomit,” as he puts it; II Prol.b). A part of it was surely disappointment at having to give up what was for him a habitual and effective

⁸ Renunciation of Satan and his pomps and works (or in some versions, the works of Satan and pomps of the world) is part of the standard language of baptism; see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology and Drama* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), chapter 5.

means of access to visions, but a part, too, appears to have been a sheer pleasure at ritual mastery. He does tell us at one point that he got so good at working demonic magic that he began to compose his own “new necromancy” (I.i.12). Once he lays aside necromancy, in the first of a sequence of good visions celebrating his repentance, he describes himself in a dream praying before the silver statue of the Virgin on the high altar in the Chartres cathedral – a frequent visionary venue for his conversations with Mary. As often happens when he merits her attention, the statue comes alive and speaks to him. As instructed, he gives thanks to God, then asks:

Maria, si libri istius artis nephandissime nigromancie apud me invenientur, dicetur quod hoc non est miraculum set per artem illam feci ymaginem ita descendere et transmutare? Et quid faciam libris istius sciencie? De societate mea remouebo et abscondam? (I.ii.1)

[Mary, if books of that most nefarious art of necromancy are discovered to belong to me, will it be said that this is no miracle, but by means of that art I made your image descend and change? And what shall I do with the books of this knowledge? Shall I remove and hide them from my colleagues?]

The Virgin does not answer, and we are left with John in this moment of powerful reflection composing two new prayers to Mary in the wake of this vision.

In both of these anecdotes we see how strongly John’s thoughts about magic, indeed his judgment of it, is inflected through thoughts about his sister and his colleagues. While he seems to pursue magical expertise for its own sake, at least some of the time, he also pursues it for the good of others close to him. He wants to help his sister learn to read, which he sees as a good on its own terms, though he balances this with a concern for helping to avoid the taint of demons. His fear of actual demons is largely compassionate; at least it may be said that he is rarely so afraid of a demon as when he sees his sister in torment. His fear of discovery by colleagues comes up only in connection with his lapse into necromancy; and it is not retribution from them that he fears, but rather that his monastic peers might lose their trust in the truth of the Virgin’s appearances to him and the divinely veridical nature of his dreams. He fears, that is, contamination of his homely religious sphere by his darker magical practices and their powers. Parallels to both situations are in evidence in my next example.

Milarepa

I draw in this section on the life of Milarepa, one of the most famous religious leaders in Tibetan Buddhism, born in the village of Kyangatsa in Western

Tibet and living at the turn of twelfth century. There are several features inviting comparison between these narratives. First, both protagonists engage kinds of magic they have good reason to understand as questionable; yet for complex reasons they continue to pursue it, even apparently to take pride in their mastery. What led them to magic was not therefore ignorance; it was actually knowledge, indeed partly a quest for ritual expertise. A secondary, more complex ground for comparison is generic: it derives from the use of an autobiography, echoing in both cases certain features of a standard genre of holy life. Both stories are cautionary tales, intended as teaching for those who would follow the path laid out by the saintly adept. Both paths involve an eschewing of magic to undertake a life of increasingly conscious simplicity and sanctity.

The life of Milarepa on which I draw here is actually a fifteenth-century production by a follower in the lineage of Milarepa, Tsangnyön Heruka, who turned the biographical materials about the saint into the form of an autobiography. According to the translator,

There is strong evidence to suggest that Tsangnyön Heruka believed himself to be Milarepa's reincarnation, an assertion that his followers promoted. In this case, the biography of Milarepa might then be understood not as an artificial autobiography, but a real one, with the author speaking as his own biographical subject, recounting the events of a former life, a venerable genre in Buddhism.⁹

Thus it is unsuitable to lay too much stress on the distinction between autobiography and pseudo-autobiography here. Of course, autobiography is a complex genre outside Tibet too; John of Morigny's work is equally polyvalent, overlaying elements in the genre of "*confessio*" with elements of hagiographic convention, interweaving all with biblical quotations mapping his experiences onto those of St. Paul. The grounds for comparison of these two works remains robust, not only because both works use a first-person voice in composition, but also because of the way both books are intended to be used teaching tools; the first per-

⁹ From the introduction by Donald S. Lopez to *Tsangnyön Heruka, The Life of Milarepa*, trans. Andrew Quintman (London: Penguin, 2010), 14. All references to the *Life* are to this edition. Beyond the fact that autobiographical accounts written by reincarnated subjects is a Tibetan genre, other overlaps between biography and autobiography come about under the influence of Tibetan writing practices, as Janice Gyatso describes: "What is labeled biography not infrequently turns out to have been dictated by the subject to a scribe. Even biographies composed centuries later reproduce passages, from either oral or written sources, that originate with the subject. On the other hand, works that are considered autobiography are often completed and sometimes edited by the subject's disciple." Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 103.

son voice helps the reader in each case identify with the voice of the sinner in order, like him, to be redeemed from the profane world of earthly knowing.¹⁰

Milarepa is renowned both for his heroic sanctity and for his pursuit of what commonly available English translations label “magic” or “black magic.” Translators of Milarepa’s story include both native and non-native speakers of Tibetan. They have all exploited a full range of English words in the lexical area of “magic” (including black magic, spells, charms, and incantations) in the course of telling the tale. The story, of which I have time here for only the barest skeleton, begins when young Milarepa is asked by his mother to go and train as a magician in order to wreak revenge on an aunt and uncle who appropriated the family’s wealth.

Milarepa agrees, motivated in part by the taunt of his aunt and uncle when entreated for fair distribution of family goods (“if you are many, then make war on us; if you are few, cast spells”; 20), but also in part by his mother’s threat of suicide if he does not cooperate. He travels to seek out a master, “a lama named Yungton Trügyel (Terrifying Conquerer)” who has “great power in charms, spells and terrible incantations” (24). The lama at first passes him and his fellow students off with “a few incantations . . . and a smattering of various formulas and useful practices” (25) and dismisses them after a year. Milarepa refuses to leave when the other students do, saying “I have not yet learned enough magic” (26). He explains further that the techniques shown by Yungton Trügyel so far may not be sufficiently dramatic to prevent his mother’s suicide. Because of his persistence, he is finally sent to another lama who has the power to call down hailstorms with the tip of a finger. Milarepa learns well and eventually goes on to demonstrate his powers in his home village, killing thirty-five people and, through various displays of forceful magical control over the weather, regaining the lost property. At the news of his magical prowess, his mother rejoices, recalling the initial taunt of the aunt and uncle “this is how we, few in number, have obtained more by magic than, had we been many, we would have obtained by

10 It is worth noting that not only saintly biography, but even self-conscious mock-autobiography may lay claim to teaching goals of a similar kind. To give a late fourteenth-century example, John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, frames itself as the “confession” of an aging suitor warning readers about Love’s dangers. Some of the Latin epigraphs explicate how the record of the lover’s mistakes is intended to be a useful learning device, for example: “In things unclear experience shows the way; / By it may others learn; the leader’s track, / A crooked record of the dangers met, / Instructs the follower, lest he should fall. / So openly I bring myself to write / Of nets I tumbled in, for me outstretched / By Venus; thus a lover warns the world” (translation from Siân. Echard and Claire Fanger, *The Latin Verses in the Confessio Amantis*. Medieval Texts and Studies, 7 (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1991), 17.

war” (28). Like John of Morigny, he persisted in his magic for reasons that evidently related both to pressure from a family member and to his desire to acquire ritual expertise for its own sake; like John, too, he repents in the end.

For it is after all a saint’s life. Later, of course, and despite his mother’s perception of magic in this case as an instrument of justice, Milarepa repents his harmful actions; he explains: “I was filled with remorse for the evil I had done by magic and by hailstorms. My longing for the teaching so possessed me that I forgot to eat. If I went out, I wanted to stay in. If I stayed in, I wanted to go out. At night sleep escaped me. I asked myself unceasingly and passionately by what means I might practice the true teaching” (41). Ultimately, he seeks out the great lama Marpa, disciple of the famous Naropa of India, to pursue a better life.

One incident from his meeting with Marpa serves to bring out further parallels with European discourses on magic: in the episode where he approaches Marpa to become a disciple, Milarepa goes to lay a book down near Marpa’s shrine. Marpa says, “‘Take that filthy book away; it would defile my sacred objects and my shrine.’ ‘He responds in this way,’” thinks Milarepa, “‘because my book contains black magic’” (46). Carefully, he puts the book away. Studying with Marpa, through extremes of asceticism and obedience, Milarepa shows the same depth of persistence he had used to acquire magic, eventually becoming a bodhisattva and surpassing his masters. As in the incident John of Morigny related, worrying over his books of black magic as he prays, in his dream, before the high altar at Chartres, so in this case there is a worry over the possession of a book of black magic when it is brought into contiguity with a sacred altar space.

The storm-bringing skills or powers that Milarepa learns from Yungton Trügyel themselves have parallels in medieval European traditions;¹¹ but this is not the only thing that is interesting, for the story reveals indices of an analog or parallel discourse taking place around the use of such powers in medieval Tibet as might have occurred in medieval Europe. The powers displayed by Milarepa are a kind of knowledge, but they are difficult of explanation, esoteric, and not immediately transmissible (it takes him years to learn them; we are not told exactly how they work). Despite the difficulty of explanation, the techniques can be contained in a book. But the magical knowledge once gained has a morally ambiguous status; how it appears is a matter of perspective. Some (Milarepa’s mother,

¹¹ For overview of medieval literature on storm-bringing, see Francesco Borri, “Nightfall on Ravenna, Storms and Narrativity in the Work of Andreas Agnellus,” *Magic Ritual and Witchcraft* 8 (2014): 62–84.

perhaps Milarepa too, in the beginning) sees the use of such knowledge as justified by circumstances; to others (Marpa, and Milarepa later on) the knowledge is so intrinsically sully that the book containing it is banned from the shrine area in Marpa's house. In the end, Milarepa lays his magic aside and does penance. We do not find out what happens to the magic book.

Concluding Observations on the Private and Public Good

Looking at these small, local family situations is a useful way to illuminate what is at stake in broader social judgments about magic. The insights I have tried to bring out about magic in the family make use of, without capitulating to, one of the classic binaries that structures so many attempts to distinguish magic from religion: the distinction between public and private goods. In the two narrative examples I have discussed, the "private" marks not so much the limit of the single small individual against a single normative and uniform collective, but rather a small shifting network positioned against and within a larger shifting network. At any given moment the system of values orienting "insider" and "outsider" viewpoints are at once completely interlocking and completely in motion; each actor is aware of and reacting to the perceptions of others; each changes with time his perspective in relation to values of the family.

It is useful at this point to contrast a situation of intra-familial positioning with respect to "insider" and "outsider" networks that does not involve magic at all. I here invoke a fictional account, an episode from the TV series *Gotham*, which traces, against the backdrop of a suite of extraordinarily careful, somber, and artistic set designs, the life and education of the young Bruce Wayne, who will eventually grow up to take on the identity of the vigilante superhero Batman. The series also looks into the back-stories of a number of the supervillains famous from Batman's long life as a comic book character. In *Gotham*, however, we become privy to how many of the villains started out as Bruce's friends and peers, all under the watchful eye of the butler Alfred, the only member of Bruce's household remaining to care for him after the murder of his parents.

In "Pinewood," episode 18 of the series, there is a memorable close-up of the young Bruce Wayne picking a lock, a skill he acquired in his recent fieldwork in Gotham's criminal underworld. He quiets the worried Alfred (looking on *in loco parentis*), saying, "Alfred, these are technical skills. Morally neutral."

This assertion that lock-picking is "morally neutral" counteracts an implicit but unstated criticism on the part of Alfred. There is no insider acting and no out-

sider judging here. In *Gotham*, no character is ever allowed to be seen as pure hero, pure villain, or pure victim. Both Alfred and Bruce are “insiders” in the sense that they have made an alliance that involves entering a building that is not theirs. Both know that lock-picking is a practice normally performed by criminals, and both see the sense in which, even here, it is problematic from a legal perspective. Both need the lock picked but their relation to the practice is different. Alfred is worried because Bruce is a child in his care, and is concerned over where the technical skill was acquired. Bruce knows that Alfred is worried and understands the problem he is having. The reason that he suggests this “technical skill” is “morally neutral” is in fact that he is aware that it is very likely to be perceived otherwise. The practice of lock-picking has two faces, then: it is a technical skill, but it is not wrongly regarded as a skill burglars have, which may lead some people to react with suspicion to its friendly or utilitarian implementation.

I argue that magic is like lock-picking in this example, in the sense that it involves technical skills, but the moral judgments around their use in any given example may be delicate and shifting. If the judgments of onlookers to the practice differ, nevertheless, as in the case of Alfred and the young Bruce Wayne, these variable judgments are very likely to be mutually comprehensible. The practices understood as magical in a given context may be seen simultaneously as instrumentally useful and intrinsically anti-social; they may be perceived as intrinsically immoral or amoral, and these conflicted or opposing attitudes can coexist in the same social interchange, and even in the same person.

The family sphere is both a private and public domain; one will fight fiercely against siblings and parents, and yet against the outsider will turn again and fight for the nearest loved and despised blood relation as fiercely as for the self. Where then does the “public” good really begin? Where does the “private” good begin to hive off from it? And what is at stake in the moral and instrumental judgment around rituals meant to advance the good of family or family members? The judgments are necessarily local and no less necessarily dynamic and mutable. In portraying the relation to magic as a dynamically negotiated but nevertheless always socially significant process, it is useful to look at magic use in the specific context of intimate and familial relations, because there is a point at which, in constructing intimate relations (as with the child Bruce Wayne’s relation to Alfred) some normal social values have to give. The family is the point where the boundaries between self and other are most entangled, and where almost all the rules that we obey in normal social situations will at some point be broken.

Examining magic in the context of family relations illuminates the difficulties with Durkheim’s simple distinction, but also reveals useful things about the shifting and often essentially altruistic nature of private goods as they relate to

family. By looking at the magician's relation to his family members in these two examples, I have tried to show how a practicing magician gets skin in the game of ends sought by a small intimate community. In both stories, we see how personal judgments about magic are adumbrated in context with respect not only to ends-means arguments, but also with respect to networks of intimate social relations that entail responsibilities of different types towards others. More broadly, we see that the value, rationality, and legitimacy of a practice characterized as "magical" is something that is always being negotiated, both outwardly and inwardly, by the ritual expert. Determinations of what constitutes magic and its value are continuously under construction, and orthodoxy is no more stable than its opposite in these determinations. Both pro and anti-magical positions are embedded in the same theological rules. To share categories is not to share opinions. One cannot even agree with one's own statements all the time.

The value of setting the two narratives of Milarepa and John of Morigny side by side inheres in the way it thus becomes possible to show how the valences of contested rituals take shape in the personal experience of the two magicians (for reasons related to, but not limited by, the categories "public" and "private"). The attitudes of the practitioners to their actions change over time. In one way the protagonists of my stories "always know perfectly well" what they ought not to do; in another way, there is an ambiguity to their initial approach even to the blackest forms of ritual practice. This ambiguity evidently allows them to not know, or to forget, or to assign an initially different value to these skills that suddenly become pragmatic means to an end.

One of the problems with understanding magic in terms of "polemics" is that it removes all intimate relations from the situation under description, and makes it seem as if pro-magical and anti-magical judgments are hermetically sealed, sequestered from each other, held by separate and static groups. But judgments about magic use cannot be sequestered, not only because the negative judgments against magic use are just as available to magic users as to others, but indeed because values are not properly speaking institutional values *unless* they are internalized. Yet this internalization is neither static nor overdetermined; the boundaries of private interest shift fluidly, both within and against the social body that institutionalizes magical rituals always among others. Like the lock-picker, the magician is one who is necessarily keenly aware that his "useful technical skills" will eventually be seen by someone (fairly or unfairly) to inhabit contested turf.

Lisa M. C. Weston

Curious Clerks: Image Magic and Chaucerian Poetics

When Geoffrey Chaucer has his Franklin remark that “yonge clerkes . . . been lykerous / To redden artes that been curious,” he draws upon an apparent cliché of medieval students.¹ Not all of Chaucer’s students, granted, are actually magicians even when the cliché is invoked. When *The Miller’s Tale*’s Hende Nicholas cynically (or practically) “predicts” a flood through “myn astrologye” (3454 and 3514), he does so fallaciously in order to cuckold his landlord. And the Clerk of Oxenford “al be that he was a philosopher” (*General Prologue*, 297), has little gold (alchemically or otherwise produced) in his coffer. *The Franklin’s Tale* particularly has come to represent something of a test case in Chaucer’s skepticism as well as his knowledge of occult sciences, including (as the *Tale* does) two clerks of Orléans who are explicitly curious about magic: the one whom Aurelius hires to eliminate the rocks that so worry the *Tale*’s despairing Dorigen, and that other earlier one (remembered by Aurelius’s brother) who, although a “bachelor of lawe” at the University to “lerne another craft” (1126–1127), occupied himself instead with a book that “spak muchel of the operaciouns / Touchynge the eighte and twenty mansiouns / That longen to the moone” (1129–1131). Such characters (and, similarly, his apparent ridiculing of alchemy in *The Canon Yeoman’s Tale*) can (and have) been read as revealing Chaucer’s underlying skepticism about the magical arts – although that perceived skepticism may stem at least in part from our own desire for a “modern” Chaucer who distinguishes science from magic and rationality from superstition in the same way that we may seek to do today.

Chaucer’s treatments of his characters’ interest in natural magic may, however, reveal either or both a cultural habit of mystifying advanced learning as something close to miraculous, or – and this is not dissociated from that mystification – a contemporary anxiety about the potentially illicit nature of such knowledge. Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1168–1253) and Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–1294) stand, for instance, as historical models for such curious clerks, for scientists re-

1 *Franklin’s Tale*, 1119–20. John H. Fisher, ed., *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Second Edition. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1989). All quotations from this edition.

Lisa M. C. Weston, California State University, Fresno

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-015>

membered (correctly or incorrectly) as masters of natural magic. Chaucer's contemporary John Gower describes a brazen divinatorial head constructed by Robert Grosseteste in Book IV of his *Confessio Amantis*; and at least by the time Robert Greene wrote *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (ca. 1589), Bacon was known as much for a similarly legendary brass head as for his work in optics, astronomy, and mathematics.² But what did Chaucer know – what might he have seen, read or even studied – of books which spoke of the magical “operaciouns” he ascribes to his Orléans students? How curious a “clerk” might Chaucer himself have been? And how might such knowledge have affected his poetry, not only in terms of references and allusions to curious “artes,” but also in terms of underlying concepts of language and poetry?

That Chaucer was interested in the natural sciences can hardly be denied. His works contain numerous references to the “newe sciences” of the thirteenth and fourteenth century universities. According to the *General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* the Physician reads “Bernard, and Gatesden, and Gilbertyn” (434) – Bernard de Gordon, a Scotsman active at Montpellier between 1270 and 1330; Oxford’s John Gaddesden (ca. 1280–1361); and Gilbertus Anglicus (ca. 1180–ca. 1250) – as well as numerous earlier classical and Islamic authorities like Rhazes, Avicenna, and Averroes. Chaucer seems also to have been interested in optics as well as medicine: *The Squire’s Tale* references Alhazen and Vitulon – Alhacen or Ibn al Haytham, whose *Kitab-al-Manazir* was translated into Latin as *de Aspectibus*, and his commentator Witelo, whose 1274 *Perspectiva* developed and promoted Alhacen’s concept of intromission, the theory that what we see is the product of rays emitted by physical objects.

Moreover, Chaucer was himself the author of a *Treatise on the Astrolabe* and perhaps of another (anonymous) work on *the Equatorie of the Planetes*.³ References in his *Treatise* to contemporary Oxford astronomers John Somer and Nicholas of Lynn suggest something more than a passing or theoretical interest in contemporary scientific scholarship. Both astronomers had connections to the court of Richard II. Somer produced his astronomical tables for Joan of Kent; and Chaucer is connected to Lynn especially through their shared patron, John of Gaunt, for whom Lynn produced his 1386 *Kalendarium*, an almanac with addi-

² On Bacon and Grosseteste and legends of speaking brass heads, see E. R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), especially pp. 69–71 and 88–91.

³ For Chaucer’s authorship of the *Equatorie of the Planetis*, see Derek J. Price, “The Equatorie of the Planetis” *Journal of the S. W. Essex Technical College and School of Art* 3 (1952): 154–68; Derek J. Price, ed. *The Equatorie of the Planetis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955); and Kari Rand Schmidt, *The Authorship of the Equatorie of the Planetis* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993).

tional astrological and medical information – exactly the kind of information that Chaucer includes in his portrait of his Physician.⁴ Chauncey Wood and Marijane Osborn (among others) read Chaucer's *Treatise* as a technological and scientific text and argue his agnosticism about if not outright rejection of astrological influence.⁵ Certainly, in the *Treatise* he seems cynical about astrologers romancing the interpretation of horoscopes to prey on the gullibility of their clients. But, does a cynical (or probably realistic) view of purposeful, even malign mystification equate to complete disbelief? Even as he denounces the casting of horoscopes for judicial astrology (that is, astrological calculations performed for the prediction of events or the selection of times for actions, magical or not) Chaucer shows interest in the astrolabe as a device for reckoning time and for charting celestial motion and influence.

As Edward J. Milowieki argues, Chaucer's developing interest in the technical aspects of astronomy appears not only in his composition of his *Treatise* but also in an increased incidence of astronomical timing and dating in his later poems. Milowieki speculates that this increased interest may be the result of Chaucer's travels in France and Italy, and his exposure to continental courtly patronage of such intellectual pursuits. In France particularly he may have had occasion to visit the library of Charles V with its large collection of astronomical and astrological texts: Chaucer's *Treatise* may, in fact, have been inspired by the *Practique de Astrolabe* written by Pèlerin de Prusse for Charles (then still Dauphin) in 1362.⁶

Chaucer is also adept, moreover, in using less "scientific" aspects of astronomy in his poetry for at least rhetorical effect. When in *The Miller's Tale* Nicholas cites astrology in order to cuckold his gullible landlord, the prediction of a great

4 On Somer and Lynn and their connections to Chaucer, see Cornelius O'Boyle, "Astrology and Medicine in Later Medieval England: The Calendars of John Somer and Nicholas of Lynn," *Sudhoff's Archiv* 89.1 (2005): 1–22; C. David Benson, "The Astrological Medicine of Chaucer's Physician and Nicholas of Lynn's Kalendarium," *American Notes and Queries* 22.5–6 (January/February 1984): 62–66; and Edgar Laird, "Astrolabes and the Construction of Time in the Late Middle Ages," *Disputatio, a Transdisciplinary Journal of the Late Middle Ages* 2 (1997): 51–69.

5 Chauncey Wood, *Chaucer and the Country of the Stars: Poetic Uses of Astrological Imagery* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970). Marijane Osborn, *Time and the Astrolabe in the Canterbury Tales* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), argues Chaucer's deep and abiding interest in astronomy as a science and the astrolabe as a piece of time-keeping technology.

6 Edward J. Milowieki, "Chaucer, Astronomy, and Astrology: a courtly connection," *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness. Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society*, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Rochester, NY, and Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 477–88.

flood may draw on contemporary legends of Noah as an astrologer as well as practices of astrological prediction of storms – predictions that also play a role in Book III of *Troilus and Criseyde*, in which Pandarus chooses to bring the lovers together on a night when the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Cancer will occasion a great storm.⁷ More elaborately, in his “Complaint of Mars” Chaucer augments classical mythography with astrology, constructing a narrative by reference to something like the *kalendaria* produced by both Somer and Lynn and/or an ephemeris, a version of the “tables Tolletanes” or Toledan Tables corrected for more current times and an English location as the Franklin’s clerk corrects his in order to find the right time for the removal of rocks.⁸

In *The Knight’s Tale* the combining of the astrological and the mythographic – the association of magic and paganism and/or superstition – colors all the depictions of the classical gods and pagan rites as both like and unlike anachronistically contemporary practices. The devotions of the lovers and Emelye occur at the specific hours of the night linked to their (astrological) planetary ruler’s greatest influence. Thus Palemon goes to Venus’s temple two hours before dawn (2211), Emelye to Diana’s right at dawn, that is at the first hour of Monday (2273), and Arcite performs his rites at “the nexte houre of Mars folwyng this” (2367). The Thracian temple of Mars itself incorporates an astrological pun: it stands “In thilke colde, frosty regioun / Thereas Mars hath his sovereyne mansioun” (1973–1974). As much planet as god, Mars is associated with its astrological element, iron. And the god’s statue explicitly features two geomantic “figures / Of sterres that been cleped in scriptures, / That oon Puella, that other Rubeus” (2043–45).

Even more explicitly an astrological force, Saturn’s “cours that hath so wyde for to turne / Hath moore power than woot any man” (2454–55), referring to his planet’s location among the spheres transferring motion and power from the Prime Mover down to a central Earth. His influence affects both individual and universal fates:

7 John J. O’Connor, “The Astrological Background of *the Miller’s Tale*,” *Speculum* 31 (1956): 120–25; and Robert Kilburn Root and Henry Norris Russell, “A Planetary Date for Chaucer’s *Troilus*,” *PMLA* 39 (1924): 48–63.

8 *Franklin’s Tale* 1273. Johnstone Parr and Nancy Ann Holtz, “The Astronomy-Astrology in Chaucer’s ‘The Complaint of Mars’,” *The Chaucer Review* 15.3 (Winter, 1981): 255–66, as well as Wood, *Chaucer and the Country of the Stars* (see note 5), 115–30. On Chaucer’s use of astronomical tables, see also J. S. P. Tatlock, “Astrology and Magic in Chaucer’s *Franklin’s Tale*,” *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge* (1913; New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), 339–50; J. D. North, “Kalendres Enluumyned Ben They,” *Review of English Studies* 20 (1969): 129–54, 257–83 and 418–44; and Henry M. Smyser, “A View of Chaucer’s Astronomy,” *Speculum* 45 (1970): 359–73.

Myn is the drenching in the see so wan.
 Myn is the prison in the derke cote.
 Myn is the stranglynge and hangyng by the throte,
 The murmur and the cherles rebelling,
 The groynynge and the pryvee empoysoyng (2456–60).

Saturn in Leo is especially inauspicious, as “I do vengeance and pleyn correcioun / Whil I dwelle in signe of the leoun” (2461–62). Moreover Saturn has special importance in medical astrology: “myne be the maladyes colde,” and “my looking is the fader of pestilence” (2467, 2469).

In *The Franklin's Tale*, also ostensibly set in a time of pagan antiquity despite its otherwise anachronistically later medieval trappings, Aurelius invokes Apollo because of the god's influence on matter according to his “declinacioun” (1033) and prays for a “natural” miracle, that at the sun's next “opposicioun” with the moon (1057) “which in the signe shal be of the leoun” (1058), the constellation/sign of Leo, when sun is at its most powerful, an especially high tide may hide the rocks which so worry Dorigen and prompt her rash promise to her would-be lover.⁹ (That he asks that the effect be extended for two years, however, takes his request from the potentially natural into the unnatural and marvelous.)

The Franklin dismisses such ritual – and particularly the learning within the book of “operaciouns” – as

folye,
 As in oure dayes is nat worth a flye.
 For Hooly Chirches faith in oure bileve
 Ne suffreth noon illusioun us to greve (1131–34).

And the “operacioun” that makes the rocks disappear is likewise “supersticious cursednesse” (1272). He proclaims rather proudly, in fact, his ignorance of the magic he describes – “I ne kan no termes of astrologye” (1266) – as, indeed, he denies any knowledge of rhetoric – “I lerned nevere rethorik, certeyn” (719). Chaucer, however, clearly knows a fair amount about rhetoric and poetics – and at least enough about astrological terminology to produce the Franklin's tangled (and consequently, perhaps purposefully opaque and obscure) mystification of the process by which the rocks are made to disappear:

Hise tables Tolletanes forth he brought,
 Ful wel corrected ne ther lakked nought,

⁹ On Chaucer's application of contemporary understanding of tides, see Wood, *Chaucer and the Country of the Stars* (see note 5), 245–59.

Neither his collect ne hise expans yeeris
 Ne hise rootes ne his othere geeris,
 As been his centris and his argumentz
 And hise proporcioncs convenientz
 For hise equaciouns in everything.
 And by his eighte speere in his wirkyng
 He knew ful wel how fer Alnath was shone
 Fro the heed of thilke fixe Aries above,
 That in the ninthe speere considered is.
 Ful subtilly he hadde kalkuled al this.
 Whan he hadde founde his firste mansioun,
 He knew the remenaunt by proporcioun
 And knew the arising of his moone weel
 And in whos face and terme and everydeel
 And knew ful weel the moones mansioun
 Accordant to his operacioun
 And knew also hise othere observaunces,
 For swich illusiouns and swiche meschaunces
 As hethen folk useden in thilke dayes,
 For which no lenger maked he delays,
 But thurgh his magik for a wyke or tweye,
 It semed that alle the rokkes were aweye (1273–96).

Citation of the Toledan Tables represents only the most general of references to astronomical and astrological knowledge. Technical terms – words like *rootes*, *centres*, *proporciones*, and *equaciouns*, and allusions to the *eighte speere*, the *ninthe speere*, and the *firste mansioun* – abound, even if they are garbled and used nonsensically. The name *Alnath* for a star in the “head of Aries” would seem to name one of the fixed stars (that is, notably bright stars in stable positions within constellations, not necessarily those of the zodiac) which feature in medieval astronomical and astrological texts. Reading through the mystification, one can argue that the clerk’s actions – especially his use of the Toledan Tables – constitute either scientific prediction of high tide or calculation of the most propitious time for a magical “operacioun.”¹⁰ Troubling any clear answer as to how the clerk makes the rocks disappear, mystifying his craft, it allows even the possibility that he cunningly (or cynically) passes off as magic what is actually an ability to predict something natural.

10 On Chaucer’s application of contemporary understanding of tides, see Wood, *Chaucer and the Country of the Stars* (see note 5), 245–59, as well as (on question of magic and scientific prediction more generally) Angela Lucas, “Astronomy, Astrology and Magic in Chaucer’s Franklin’s Tale,” *The Maynooth Review* 8 (May 1983): 5–16, which builds on Tatlock, “Astrology and Magic” (see note 8).

Then again, the clerk's apparent success may be the product of stage machinery or legerdemain. For Aurelius's brother, after all, the issue is less magic or science than technology as a craft of delusion:

For I am siker that ther be sciences
 By whiche men make diverse apparences,
 Swiche as thise subtile tregetours pleye.
 For ofte at feestes, have I wel herd seye,
 That tregetours withinne an halle large
 Have maad come in a water and a barge
 And in the halle rowen up and down.
 Somtyme hath semed come a grym leoun,
 And somtyme floures sprynge as in a mede,
 Somtyme a vyne and grapes white and rede,
 Somtyme a castel al of lym and stoon,
 And whan hym liked voided it anon (1139–50).

He hopes, in fact, to find for his brother not so such a magical adept as a skilled illusionist. Following this lead, Mary Flowers Baswell, Anthony Luengo, and Joyce Tally Lionarons all consider Chaucer's skepticism as rooted in his familiarity with the stage machinery and automata created by "tregetours" responsible for such elaborate court spectacles.¹¹ Scott Lightsey also reads the clerk as a "tregetour" and magic in the tale as technology supportive of an "economy of wonder," a commodification of the miraculous. Embracing a "consciousness of the simulacrum," he suggests, later medieval court circles – the same circles that fostered astrologers and alchemists, if not those who dabbled in other occult studies – treasured not only the appearance of a marvel but also its unveiling as the product of human skill rather than supernatural agency.¹²

When modern readers have connected the magic within the tale – whatever its nature – and the "magic" of poetry that connection has usually been metaphorical. For V. A. Kolve, who reads the clerk's initial casting of illusions for Aurelius's entertainment as well as his removal of the rocks as narrative instances of magic *per se* (not stagecraft), the metaphor is especially realized by repeated ref-

11 Mary Flowers Braswell, "The Magic of Machinery: A Context for Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*" *Mosaic* 18 (1985) 101–10; Anthony E. Luengo, "Magic and Illusion in 'The Franklin's Tale'" *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 77.1 (Jan 1978) 1–16; and Joyce Tally Lionarons, "Magic, Machines, and Deception: Technology in the 'Canterbury Tales,'" *The Chaucer Review* 27.4 (1993): 377–86. See also, Truitt, *Medieval Robots* (see note 2).

12 Scott Lightsey, "Chaucer's Secular Marvels and the Medieval Economy of Wonder," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 23 (2001): 289–316; here 291.

erences to texts and to the setting of the magical workings.¹³ When the clerk entertains Aurelius and his brother before dinner in his house, showing him panoramas of forest hunts and court pastimes like jousts and dances, the setting is explicitly “his studie theas hise books be” (1206) – essentially the same setting as the beginning of most of Chaucer’s reading-induced dream-visions.

Paul Battles similarly argues for “Chaucer’s fascination with illusions and the processes whereby they are generated, particularly with the power of illusion to blur the boundary between reality and fantasy through the imagination.”¹⁴ As Battles notes, *The Franklin’s Tale* repeatedly foregrounds the association of magic (both astrological and stage) with words like *illusion* (1134, 1264, 1292); *appareance* (1140, 1157, 1265); *seeming* (1146, 1151, 1296); and with themes of deception of or by sight (*sighte* 1151, 1158, 1206; *sen* 1191, 1192, 1193, 1195, 1198, 1206).¹⁵ The illusions the clerk produces for Aurelius in his study, among his books, are especially foregrounded as things to be seen:

He shewed him er he wente to sopeer
 Forestes, parkes ful of wilde deer.
 Ther saugh he hertes with hir hornes hye,
 The gretteste that evere were seyn with eye.
 He saugh of hem an hondred slayn with houndes
 And somme with arwes blede of bitter woundes.
 He saugh, whan voided were thise wilde deer,
 Thise fauconers upon a fair ryver,
 That with hir haukes han the heroun slayn.
 Tho saugh he knyghtes justyng in a playn.
 And after this he dide hym swich plesaunce
 That he hym shewed his lady on a daunce,
 on which himself he daunced as hym thought (1189–1201).

This is, it should be noted, a passage of undeveloped ekphrasis, a poetic mode inherently based in the intermedial play of text and vision, and the power of words to stimulate images as much as their ability to convey, fix, and memori-

¹³ V. A. Kolve, “Rocky Shores and Pleasure Gardens: Poetry vs. Magic in Chaucer’s *Franklin’s Tale*,” *Poetics: Theory and Practice in Medieval English Literature*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 165–95; here 188–89. Kolve suggests that Chaucer takes his inspiration for connecting poetry with magic from Geoffrey of Vinsauf.

¹⁴ Paul Battles, “Magic and Metafiction in the Franklin’s Tale: Chaucer’s Clerk of Orleans as Double of the Franklin,” *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations*, ed. Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger. *Studies in Medieval Culture*, XLII (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), 243–66; here 247.

¹⁵ Battles, “Magic and Metafiction” (see note 14), 246.

alize a visual experience.¹⁶ For Carolyn Collette, the themes of sight and illusion, seeing and believing, in Chaucer's work is closely connected with his interest in contemporary optics and associated speculation on the psychology of vision and fantasy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁷

These connections are not, of course, without attendant anxieties. The ability to compel visions allows for misuse, for the ability to deceive, the compulsion of lies, and the confusion of true and false. The Franklin's disparagement of magic as trickery at best and at worst illicit "cursednesse" may, as Sherron Knopp suggests, voice some of Chaucer's own views and misgivings about rhetoric as much as about magic.¹⁸ For John Bowers, too, Chaucerian ekphrasis should be set in the context of later fourteenth century debate on images, posing iconophilia and the use of images in affective devotion (let alone magic) against iconoclastic distrust associated with Lollard opposition to "graven idols" and visual display.¹⁹ Even this anxiety, however, discloses a non-metaphorical link between magic and poetry, especially poetic modes like ekphrasis and genres like the dream-vision that exploit the ability of texts to provoke visual and sensual experiences. V. A. Kolve has explored medieval accounts of how literature is experienced, and

16 James A. W. Heffernan "Ekphrasis: Theory," *Handbook of Intermediality. Literature – Image – Sound – Music*, ed. Gabriele Rippl (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 35–49; and Andrew James Johnston, "Medieval Ekphrasis: Chaucer's Knight's Tale," *Handbook of Intermediality: Literature – Image – Sound – Music*, ed. Gabriele Rippl (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 50–64.

17 Carolyn Collette, "Seeing and Believing in the 'Franklin's Tale'," *The Chaucer Review* 26.4 (Spring, 1992): 395–410. See also Kolve, "Rocky Shores" (see note 13), 189–90; and W. Bryant Bachman "'To maken Illusioun': The Philosophy of Magica and the Magic of Philosophy in the 'Franklin's Tale,'" *The Chaucer Review* 12.1 (Summer 1977): 55–67, on the clerk as "manipulator of human perception" (63) and how that intersects with Boethian discussion of proper perception and governance of the will. See also V. A. Kolve, *Telling Images: Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative II* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), especially Chapter 1, for medieval accounts of how literature is experienced, and the production of fictional/fantastic images from stored memories of things seen.

18 Sherron Knopp, "Poetry as Conjuring Act: The Franklin's Tale and the Tempest," *The Chaucer Review* 38.4 (2004): 337–54; see also Mark J. Bruhn "Art, Anxiety, and Alchemy in the Canon's Yeoman's Tale," *The Chaucer Review* 33.3 (1999): 288–315, on Chaucer's anxieties worked out through the *Canterbury Tales*, moving toward the Retraction, about the deceptive and illusory nature of art as much as alchemy.

19 John Bowers, "Speaking Images? Iconographic Criticism and Chaucerian Ekphrasis," *The Art of Vision: Ekphrasis in Medieval Literature and Culture*, ed. Andrew James Johnston, Ethan Knapp, and Margitta Rouse (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2015), 55–76.

noted a contemporary interest in the production of fictional and fantastic images from stored memories of things seen.²⁰

Lightsey suggests that *The Franklin's Tale's* enclosed garden, in which Dorigen's friends attempt to distract her from her anxiety, is all but literally generic, a technological realization of texts like *The Romance of the Rose*.²¹ We might consider this an instance of reverse ekphrasis – or rather, in *The Franklin's Tale* as itself a text, an instance of an ekphrastic description of a counter-ekphrastic creation. If the garden fails to console Dorigen, it does create Aurelius as a lover and provokes from him a generic lament (944 ff) as well as the desire that moves the tale's plot toward its crisis and denouement.

Considering such things, then, we might usefully explore the possible influence of contemporary image magic on Chaucer's poetic theory and practice. We might, that is, consider the possibility that Chaucer and his contemporaries may have connected magic and poetry more than metaphorically.

Toward the end of Book VI of his *Confessio Amantis*, John Gower describes Ulysses as both “a grete rethorien” and “a grete magician.”²² His story is one of two exempla deployed in the poem's discussion of licit and illicit forms of magic. Divination by the elements (geomancy, hydromancy, pyromancy, aeromancy) are things “a man mai do be weie of kninde, / Be so it be to good entente” (1304–05). If these fail or disappoint, however, a lover may be tempted to turn to other less acceptable practices, to rely upon Necromancy and the use of “incantacioun” (1308) and “subfumigacioun” (1307–10). Gower's elaboration essentially outlines the ritual process of image magic:

He makth ymage, he makth sculpture,
He makth writing, he makth figure,
He makth his demonstraciouns;
His houres of Astronomie
He kepeth as for that artie
Which longeth to thinspeccioun
Of love and his affeccioun (1343–50).

It is expressly by means of image magic, too, that the Egyptian magician and astronomer Nectanabus conjures a dream-vision by which to seduce Queen Olym-pias in the second of the exempla:

²⁰ Kolve, *Telling Images* (see note 17), especially Chapter 1.

²¹ Lightsey, “Chaucer's Secular Marvels” (see note 12), 305.

²² *Confessio Amantis*, VI. 1399, 1400. G. C. Macaulay, ed., *The Complete Works of John Gower* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901). All citations from this edition.

thurgh the craft of Artemage
 Of wex he forgeth an ymage.
 He loketh his equacions
 And ek the constellacions,
 He loketh the conjuncions,
 He loketh the recepcions,
 His signe, his houre, his ascendant....
 And thane ferst he hath enoignted
 With sondri herbes that figure,
 And thereupon he can conjure (1956–61, 1974–76).

The product of this seduction is Alexander, whose education by Aristotle becomes the subject of the *Confessio*'s Book VII, a species of Mirror for Princes probably directed toward the Ricardian court. The educational program includes a précis of the disciplines of physics and mathematics, with an overview of both astronomy, "which makth a man have knowleching / Of Sterres in the firmament" (672–73), especially their celestial motion, and astrology

the which in juggementz acompteth
 Theeffect, what every sterre amonteth,
 And hou thei causen many a wonder (681–83).

To discussions of the planets and the zodiac is appended a more suspect body of knowledge, a list of the fifteen fixed stars and associated herbs and stones, based on the *Liber Hermetis de quindecim stellis et de quindecim lapidibus et de quindecim herbis et de quindecim figuris*. Its inclusion in Alexander's education is argued as necessary knowledge of "magique naturel" (1301), though exclusion of the figures – the images, likely the most controversial part of the original – and the fact that its teaching is credited not to Aristotle but to Nectanabus signal the potentially dangerous nature of the material. After the sciences, the educational program embraces rhetoric and the power of words. That power is explicitly analogous to the power of stones and herbs: "in ston and gras vertu ther is" but "word above alle erthli thinges / Is virtuous in his doings" (1545, 1547–48). And the writing of words is suggestively alined to the the making of figures or images, for "word hath under his discipline / Of Sorcerie the karectes" (1570–71).

Similar but less explicit conjunctions of magic and rhetoric suggest Chaucer's connection of the two in Book III of his *House of Fame*. Among the "ymageries" of "mynstralles and gestiours" (1190, 1197–98) that decorate the hall Chaucer includes the figures Orpheus and other classical mythological poets and musicians, But those images also include

jugelours,
 Magiciens, and tregetours,
 And phitonesses, charmeresses,
 Olde wicches, sorceresses,
 That usen exorisaciouns,
 And eke these fumygaciouns;
 And clerkes eke, which konne wel
 Alle this magyk naturel,
 That crafteley doon her ententes
 To make, in certeyn ascendentes,
 Ymages, lo, through which magike
 To make a man ben hool or syke (1259–70).

Exemplary magicians include Medea and Circe, Hermes Bellenus (Balanus), the reputed originator of alchemy and the disciple of Hermes Trismegistus, and two notorious biblical sorcerers, Elymos (Acts 13:8) and Simon Magus (Acts 8:9). One contemporary figure makes the list: “Colle tregetour” (1277), an English magician (or likely engineer of stage effects) active in France.²³

Interestingly and significantly, the passage delineates (and associates with clerks) acts of “magik naturel” and specifically the making of images (*ymages* 1269) at specific astrological times (*certeyn ascendentes* 1268). While an explicit description of any accompanying ritual is lacking, the close textual conjunction with invocations (*exorsisaciouns* 1263) and ritual fumigations (*fumygaciouns* 1264) may suggest some veiled but nevertheless detailed knowledge on Chaucer’s part of contemporary image magic rituals in which invocations and fumigations are performed over an image at an astrologically propitious hour in order to imbue it with power to a particular end. The medical intent cited here for these astrological images echoes Chaucer’s description of how the Physician’s skills are “grounded in astronomy” (414) and how

He kepte his pacient a ful greet deel
 In houres by his magyk natureel.
 Wel koude he fortune the ascendant
 Of hise ymages for his pacient (415–18).

23 This Colle is “in all likelihood be identified with the Colle T mentioned by a 1396 French conversation manual; as a English magician “qui savoit faire beaucoup des merveilles par voie de nigromancie” residing at Orleans” (Battles, “Magic and Metafiction” [see note 14], 251). The identification was first made by James F. Royster, “Chaucer’s Colle Tregetour,” *Studies in Philology* 23 (1926): 380–84.

Image magic texts did, in fact, often appear in manuscripts with medical texts, and/or originated in medical circles.²⁴

In the working of image magic an ephemeris and/or access to an astrolabe identifies the most appropriate time in which to imbue the image with the corresponding stellar or planetary influence. A text like the *Liber de quindecim stellis*, for example, the text appropriated by Gower for Alexander's education, lists fifteen fixed stars, "their names, coordinates, natures, complexions, and significations" and how their power interacts with that of the planets and the mansions of the moon.²⁵ The images created at these times in these rituals can take a number of forms. Although terms like *c(h)arecter* "character," *sigillum* "seal" and *figura* "figure" are used interchangeably in the manuscripts, characters were most commonly engraved on something, seals were larger and sculpted or imprinted, and figures involved something more complex, a mix of words, shapes and characters drawn on the page. Some characters were magic squares – arrangements of symbolically significant numbers adding to the same sum up, down, and across.

Other characters were taken from constellations or configurations of stars and planets – visual representation of the astrological conjunctions under which power was produced.²⁶ One may think, perhaps, of the two geomantic "figures / Of sterres that been cleped in scriptures, / That oon Puella, that other Rubeus" that adorn the statue of Mars in *The Knight's Tale* (2043–45). And sometimes the images were more representational of animal or human forms: in the *Liber de imaginum lune* a love-promoting image features two three-dimensional figures (in silver or tin) with heads and sides merged. In other texts such as the *Liber de septem figuris* two-dimensional images are to be drawn on cloth, parchment, or a mirror.²⁷ If one were to sow discord between lovers, might one not draw instead something like the Jealousy who appears with Venus in the Knight's Tale's temple of Venus, "that wered of yelewe gooldes a garland / And a cokkow sittynge on hir hand" (1928–30)?

Like the fictional Orléans volume of "the operaciouns / Touchynge the eighte and twenty mansiouns / That longen to the moone" at least – and perhaps like ones called upon to conjure illusions in a study or to make rocks disappear –

24 Frank Klaassen, "English Manuscripts of Magic, 1300–1500: A Preliminary Survey," *Conjuring Spirits. Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 3–31; especially 4–5.

25 Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister. Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), here 81.

26 Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 25), 87

27 Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 25), 88–89.

books of image magic constitute a specific textual form, including the thirteenth-century *Picatrix* (a translation of the twelfth-century Arabic *Ghayāt al-Hakīm* or *Aim of the Sage*) or the *Liber Razielis Archangeli* (a translation of the Hebrew *Sefer Raziel Ha-Malakh*). Or the *de Imaginibus* of the Pseudo-Ptolomy, or of Thabit ibn Qurra, or the *de Imaginibus sive annulis septem planetarum*, the *Liber imaginum lunae*, or the *Liber de quindecim stellis*, or one of many other magical treatises finding their way into the libraries of places as seemingly unlikely as the libraries of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and the Augustin Friars of York during Chaucer's lifetime.²⁸ Such texts and the manuscripts in which they appear straddle the modern divide between magic and science. MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 125, for example, once held by St. Augustine's Abbey, contains seven image magic texts – *Liber imaginum lunae* (fols 61r–62v) followed by *De viginti quattor horis* (fols 62v–63v), *De imaginibus diei et noctis* (63v–66v), *De quattuor imaginibus magnis* (66v–67r), *De discretion operis differencia ex iudiciis Hermetis* (67r) – alongside other less overtly magical, natural science texts.²⁹

In treatises like al-Kindi's widely copied *de Radiis stellarum*, which discusses the theoretical as well as practical aspects of stellar influence, an astrological image derives its power from natural causes, the propagation of rays emanating from stars and planets and acting upon the earth and its inhabitants. A similar scientific explanation of lines of power and influence – a unified underlying paradigm – informs the optic theory of intromission. Moreover, contemporary discussions about the power of words – in invocations, especially, but also by extension perhaps in poetry – are also germane.

As Sophie Page notes, “the question of whether words had natural power over things was widely debated in the late Middle Ages,” although “the instrumental efficacy of divine, angelic, and other sacred names and brief texts – both spoken and written – was assumed” rather widely.³⁰ Nor is this belief without contemporary scientific explanation: uttered sounds were conceived of as propagating through the air and affecting matter in the same way as light and visual images (in contemporary optic theory) and as more numinous stellar ra-

28 Frank Klaassen, “English Manuscripts of Magic” (see note 24), especially pp. 4–14. For more on the Canterbury and York libraries, see Frank Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic. Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), especially 57–80; and Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 25), 5–29.

29 Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 25), 75.

30 Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 25), 83

diations through the ether.³¹ As the *House of Fame*'s loquacious eagle informs the dreaming Chaucer, "soune ys noght but eyr ybroken" (763).

All – sound, light, astral influence – are ray (or as we would say, wave) phenomena that affect matter, moving through a surrounding medium like the ripples formed by throwing a stone in a pool of water:

for yf that thou
 Throwe on waternow a stoon,
 Wel wost thou hyt wol make anoon
 A litel roundel as a sercle.
 Paruanter brod as a covercle;
 And right anoon thou shalt see wel
 That whele wol cause another whel,
 And that the thridde, and so forth, brother,
 Every sercle causynge other (788–96).

Chaucer may or may not have been aware of the related but less overtly scientific, even more controversial magical genre of the *Ars Notoria*, in which complicated diagram-like images provide the focus for rituals in which angels (or sometimes other less angelic powers) are invoked to stimulate visions through which the adept may access earthly knowledge, divine the future, and/or acquire angelic wisdom.

Michael Camille has argued that "throughout the Middle Ages the visual and the magical arts were intimately intertwined," and that the use of magical figures may have developed from "a long tradition of using images to communicate complex forms of knowledge" or facilitate memory.³² Analyzing the iconography of both licit schoolbooks and illicit magical texts, Camille notes similarities that suggest the boundaries between the two are extremely permeable. The connection between magic and image – and between both and an ability to create illusions through manipulations of the natural world and language – highlights the connection between magic and the medieval university curriculum, the *trivium* as well as the *quadrivium*, the otherwise licit arts within the University curriculum studied by curious clerks and students.

³¹ Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 25), 83

³² Michael Camille, "Visual Art in Two Manuscripts of the *Ars Notoria*," *Conjuring Spirits. Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 110–39; here 111. On the *Ars Notoria* more generally, see Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic* (see note 28), especially 87–113; and Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 25), 93–129. One text in particular, a ritual to achieve a divine vision, is analyzed by Robert Mathiesen, "A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision from the *Sworn Book of Honourius of Thebes*," *Conjuring Spirits*, ed. Fanger (see note 24), 143–62.

Such studies, and the connections between magic and rhetoric, if not poetics, continues well after the time of Chaucer and his curious clerks, of course. Marsilio Ficino's 1471 translation into Latin of the ancient *Corpus hermeticum* represents a more recognizably humanist philological intervention into the magical tradition, as do Henricus Cornelius Agrippa's 1533 *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, and Giambattista Della Porta's 1558 *Magia Naturalis*. John Dee's 1564 *Monas Hieroglyphica* drew on his experiments in angelic communication to create a still enigmatic treatise on symbolic language. Following upon the work of figures like Nicholas Flamel (1330–1418) (especially his *Livre des figures hiéroglyphiques*) and the better known Nostradamus (1503–1556), Dee attempted through his philological exploration to unify linguistics and alchemy, astronomy, music, and optics into one systematic theory of *logos*.³³

My point is not that Chaucer was a magician, of course, or even that he had a deep and abiding practical interest in magical texts *per se*. Interestingly, however, at least one later medieval reader of Chaucer did: besides Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* and a work on geomancy, the fifteenth century British Library MS Sloane 314 contains a record of a necromantic experiment.³⁴ Chaucer's *Treatise*, in fact, survives in more manuscript copies than any of his other works except *The Canterbury Tales*. Catherine Eagleton's examination of the diagrams in eleven of those manuscripts reveals, too, that the *Treatise* may well have influenced the construction of "Chaucerian" astrolabes in the fifteenth century.³⁵ Moreover, as Robert M. Schuler has explored, the recurrence in late fifteenth and sixteenth century alchemical miscellanies of extracts from *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* – despite their original satirical context – suggests that Chaucer acquired over time a reputation as an alchemist and adept of natural magic.³⁶

While this reputation is clearly an exaggeration, I do wish to suggest that some familiarity with and awareness of such texts colors Chaucer's creation of scenes like those in his *Franklin's Tale*. And I would also like to suggest that,

33 For a provocative account of Early Modern occult thinking as critical epistemological and hermeneutic method, see Christopher I. Lehrich, *The Occult Mind. Magic in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

34 Klaassen, "English Manuscripts of Magic" (see note 24), p. 21.

35 Catherine Eagleton, "'Chaucer's own astrolabe': text, image and object," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 38 (2007): 303–26.

36 Robert M. Schuler, "The Renaissance Chaucer as Alchemist," *Viator* 15 (1984): 305–33. For the posthumous reputation of John Gower as knowledgeable about the magical arts, see Tamara F. O'Callaghan, "The Fifteen Stars, Stones and Herbs: Book VII of the *Confessio Amantis* and its Afterlife," *John Gower, Trilingual Poet. Language, Translation, and Tradition*, ed. Elisabeth Dutton with John Hines and R. F. Yeager. Westfield Medieval Studies, 3 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 139–56.

rather than dismissing the possibility of magic in favor of science (especially in our terms) or engineering as the underpinning of Chaucer's curiosity, we should take his appreciation of magic seriously. As Sophie Page notes, "an interest in image magic, understood in the broadest sense, is found throughout medieval society," but especially in medical circles and at the courts of Europe – even if that interest was not without criticism and denunciation as illicit, constituting a paradox that reveals "anxieties in medieval culture about the role of images in religious and magical rituals."³⁷

We might therefore usefully ponder the extent to which the poetic practice of describing images and figures – a matter of grammar and rhetoric – is culturally coincident with contemporary interests in vision, illusion and optics – topics prominent in books of image magic as well as treatises of natural philosophy – and, further, what epistemological connections may exist among image magic, Chaucerian ekphrasis, and the dream-vision genre.

37 Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister* (see note 25), 73–74.

Daniel F. Pigg

Representing Magic and Science in *The Franklin's Tale* and *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*: Chaucer's Exploration of Connected Topics

Introduction

It is a fallacy known in literary critical practices to try to determine what a writer believes about a particular topic, based on the evidence in the works that are credited to that writer. Such a topic is the relationship of Chaucer to science and magic. No doubt, many will immediately point to Chaucer's translation of *A Treatise on the Astrolabe* to demonstrate his direct interest in science, with his translation of the work for "Little Lewis."¹ Others will point to his interest in science, or rather his attempt to ridicule the simulation of a scientific event for material benefit, in *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, and still others will point to *The Franklin's Tale* to suggest Chaucer's interest in the world of magic and science.² The problem with such easy assumptions is that scholars have long ago moved beyond the stage of critical practice, which says that a mining of the texts themselves will give us those answers definitively. While it is safe to assume that a writer may be interested in a topic in a literary fictional exploration, it would be a mistake to accept that product as a statement of belief.

With respect to the topics of magic and science, we have several preliminary questions to ask. First, we have to ask the question of how magic and science were connected and not connected in the medieval world. It would seem on the surface as if magic is "nat worth a flye" (1132; not worth a fly), to use a phrase of the Franklin in his tale regarding the secret knowledge. But Aurelius in the fictional story is convinced the magician has been able to uncover a plan to help him. It would seem that the science of changing base metals into silver in *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, a practice also locked in secrecy, is particularly

1 Geoffrey Chaucer, "A Treatise on the Astrolabe," *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition, ed. Larry Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 661–83.

2 All text references to *The Franklin's Tale* and *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* are to *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry Benson (see note 1), 178–89, 270–81.

Daniel F. Pigg, The University of Tennessee at Martin

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-016>

noteworthy because it is a cloak for mere deception.³ Is magic a mere “slight of hand” and knowing how to read the flood tables correctly the same? Does that mean that Chaucer links magic with deception alone? Does that mean that Chaucer is anti-science, since science is being used in connection with magic?⁴

In the introduction to this volume, Albrecht Classen points out the importance of the time factor noted within *The Franklin’s Tale* itself – the period before Christianity in Brittany and the current time period of the teller in fourteenth-century England – as establishing an important distinction so as to distance magic in a significant way beyond challenge. In this collection, Lisa Weston also examines Chaucer’s interest in the world of magic across his career as a writer, with similar questions, which reminds us that we should take both magic and science as serious concerns in Chaucer’s work. The current study affirms both observations as important to a reading of these Chaucerian texts – *The Franklin’s Tale* and *The Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale*. We should take the presence of magic and science seriously not as simple plot devices, but as perhaps indicative of the deeper culture in which medieval people lived and the mental space of ambiguity they were willing to tolerate.

As early as 1924, an article entitled “Chaucer and Alchemy” published in the *PMLA* – a mere six-page article – suggests that Chaucer was “probably not only in sympathy with, but possibly knew (and if so, respected) the famous secret.”⁵ Further, he argues that the import of the story is to uncover those who were charlatans who were “becoming a public menace,” a problem that seemed significant enough in the short term to require a law “against multiplying” in 1403.⁶ Edgar H. Duncan in a 1960 article notes a 1374 instance involving William Brumley and Willian Shuchirch, the latter a canon at Windsor, and while Brumley was brought up on charges, he was later released. Readers may wonder if this is the basis for a fictional aspect of the *Pars secunda* of *The Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale*. There is even a suggestion that Chaucer may have fallen victim to Brumley’s alleged magic or that of another alchemist.⁷ While that idea is probably specu-

3 Mark J. Bruhn, “Art, Anxiety, and Alchemy in the ‘Canon Yeoman’s Tale,’” *Chaucer Review* 33.3 (1999): 288–315. See particularly the comments connection alchemical practices and Chaucer’s art on pages 292–93.

4 See also the comments on these issues by Lisa M. C. Weston in her contribution and by Albrecht Classen in his introductory essay in the present volume.

5 S. Foster Damon, “Chaucer and Alchemy,” *PMLA* 39.4 (Dec. 1924): 782–88.

6 Damon, “Chaucer and Alchemy” (see note 5), 782.

7 Edgar H. Duncan, “The Literature of Alchemy and Chaucer’s Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale: Framework, Theme, and Characters,” *Speculum* 43.4 (Oct. 1968): 633–56. See also Pauline Aiken, “Vincent of Beauvais and Chaucer’s Knowledge of Alchemy,” *Studies in Philology* 41.3 (July 1944): 371–89.

lative, it is also fair to say that Chaucer's Yeoman tells a tale that contains very sophisticated knowledge about alchemy and the trickery is practiced right before the eyes of those desirous of the hidden power of the processes. Actual identification of alchemists as "tricksters" occurs as early as in a decree of Pope John XXII (1316–1334).⁸

Even in a 2015 book entitled *Chaucer the Alchemist: Physics, Mutability, and Medieval Imagination*, Alexander N. Gabrovsky contends that evidence in the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* indicates "Chaucer's direct engagement with the science of alchemy."⁹ How Chaucer shapes that knowledge, of course, relates specifically to his more satiric use of the practices as Joseph E. Grennen once observed.¹⁰ Yet even these studies may not completely grasp the depth and usage of magic and science for the poet himself.

For readers who ask these questions – and they are legitimate questions – the answers can be evasive. The Orleans magician/lawyer of *The Franklin's Tale* actually creates a scene that one might find in a medieval romance; it appears magically before the eyes of Aurelius and his brother. It is a world that mirrors their cultural realities. How did he do that? From this "magic," they are persuaded that he has the knowledge to solve the problems of the love-deprived Aurelius. In *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, where the speaker notes with regard to the science even after several years that he is "never the nearer" to understanding, alchemy is described as a craft bought by a chantry priest for 40 pounds from a canon who has engaged in "slight of hand," a science that has led to poverty.¹¹

This essay asserts that magic and science are linked in the fictive works of *The Franklin's Tale* and *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, and their presentation is very much locked in the secrecy that each domain of knowledge would seek to offer. While it has been a trend among scholars to think that Chaucer merely dismissed both, what remains is a lingering suspicion that knowledge may exist within those domains that cannot be explained away by chance, flood tides, or slight of hand. That is the beauty of Chaucerian story telling that remains part of the mystery of the power.

8 Duncan, "The Literature of Alchemy" (see note 7), 635–36.

9 Alexander N. Gabrovsky, *Chaucer the Alchemist: Physics, Mutability, and Medieval Imagination*. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 21–22.

10 Joseph E. Grennen, "The Canon's Yeoman's Tale and the Cosmic Furnace: Language and Meaning in the 'Canon's Yeoman's Tale,'" *Criticism* 4.3 (Summer 1962): 225–40.

11 Robert Epstein, "Dismal Science: Chaucer and Gower on Alchemy and Economy," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 36 (2014): 209–48.

In order to understand the role of science and magic in these two tales of the Canterbury collection, we must first establish the difference between science and magic in order to perceive the importance of this topic, not only in its literal sense, but also in its symbolic import. With these distinctions in mind, we can then examine *The Franklin's Tale* and *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*. Most of the distinctions between science and magic were obviously made among philosophers and theologians, so it might be a problem to expect Chaucer to follow the whims of scholasticism in the voices of the characters he creates.

Distinguishing Between Medieval Magic and Science

Much scholarly work has been done on the topic of medieval science and magic as early as Walter Curry's *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences* (1926) and more recently Richard Kieckhefer's *Magic in the Middle Ages* (1989) and the second volume of *The Cambridge History of Science*,¹² devoted to medieval science. Kieckhefer in particular observes that

Intellectuals in medieval Europe recognized two forms of magic: natural and demonic. Natural magic was not distinct from science, but rather a branch of science. It was the science that dealt with "occult virtues" or hidden powers within nature. Demonic magic was not distinct from religion, but rather a perversion of religion.¹³

Natural magic concerned the ability to observe and understand nature itself. As J. A. Tasioulas notes, natural magic "relates to the wonders of the world, observed but not fully understood by medieval man, such as the hardening effect of radish water on iron or the curative power of mould on wounds."¹⁴ This is precisely the book of "magyk natureel" (1125) that Aurelius's brother's friend spends his spare time learning while engaging in more formal study at Orleans. This natural magic is deemed of no value by the Franklin, and he continues: "For hooly

¹² Walter Clyde Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, rev. ed. (1926; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960); *Medieval Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Michael H. Shank. *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). In particular, see "Medieval Alchemy," by William R. Newman, 385–403.

¹³ Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (1989; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 10.

¹⁴ J. A. Tasioulas, "Science," *Chaucer: An Oxford Guide*, ed. Steve Ellis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 175–89; here 185.

chirches feith is oure believe / Ne suffereth noon illusion us to greve" (1133–34; For the faith of holy church is our belief / nor permit any illusions to harm us). The intent here is to differentiate this experience from the darker other side.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the confusion of kinds of magic seems to be apparent as well. Some might focus on divination such as the interpretation of the medium at Endor's raising of Samuel for an importuning Saul in I Samuel 28.¹⁵ The thirteenth-century intellectuals sought to separate demonic and natural magic, with the distinction that the former invoked the demonic or coaxed out of nature a force that was not natural. Roger Bacon, a thirteenth-century philosopher, used the word "magic" to refer to "various kinds of frauds and deceptions."¹⁶ The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contain examples of magic used as a kind of trickery. Both the romance and the fabliau contain this particular understanding, and no doubt, Chaucer would have been aware of this idea. In a sense, from a safe distance, the magic became parodic by design.¹⁷

At a very popular level, however – and we have to assume that Chaucer's texts would have been open to various levels of learning – there was very little distinction between magic and science, between natural magic and demonic magic. Given that the teller of the tale of *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* is not the Canon himself, but his yeoman apprentice – a person who says even after working with him for years, he is "never the nearer" to understanding – we should see his constant desire to give his Canon over to the devil or actually referring to the Canon of *Pars secunda* as a "feend" (984) as an extension of his own inability to distinguish between science and magic of the occult variety.

Of course, *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, relates specifically to that branch of science called alchemy. Simply stated, alchemy was "based on the theory of the four elements that formed the basis for medieval medicine, it was thought that by somehow isolating the qualities of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture, any imbalance could be rectified. Thus a base metal could be transformed into a more perfect one such as gold."¹⁸ So while the tale itself deals both with the actual practice of alchemy as restorative of harmony, it actually brings the reverse of that. Such was precisely important for Chaucer's design: to create a harmony by separating the false from the true, now that the pilgrims are only rough-

15 See the contribution to this volume by Martha Moffitt Peacock.

16 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, (see note 13), 12.

17 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, (see note 13), 93; Michelle Sweeney, *Magic in the Medieval Romance from Chrétien de Troyes to Geoffrey Chaucer* (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2000), 11–53.

18 Tasioulas, "Science" (see note 14), 186.

ly five miles from Canterbury when the Yeoman and the Canon join the pilgrimage.

***The Franklin's Tale* and the Implications of “Magyk Natureel”**

The Franklin's Tale, a Breton lai, occurs sequentially first in *The Canterbury Tales*, although it seems certainly to have been written after the independent *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* that appears closer to the end of the pilgrimage to Canterbury. That distinction actually has little impact on the role of science and magic in an overall understanding. So how exactly does the world of magic – in this tale called “magyk natureel” (1125) as the Physician does – have an impact on the fiction? Does natural magic coax out of nature its specific processes? Does it speed them up, or does magic observe their sequence and respond? Does it make a difference that in the course of telling about these events that the Franklin in the midst of describing how the Orleans magician's knowledge of the 28 mansions of the moon says:

Swich folye
As in oure dayes is nat worth a flye –
For hooly chirches feith in oure believe
Ne suffereth noon illusion us to greve. (1131–34)

[Such folly
As in our time is not worth a fly
For holy church's faith is our belief
Nor permits no illusion to bother us.]

No doubt, the narrator distances the story and demystifies the significance of it through recourse to ecclesiastical statements, but what he actually does is to relegate the experience as little more than meaningless knowledge. All of these questions, however, deserve attention, if we are to understand the shadowy slip-page between the words of science and magic as related to this tale.

In the course of the tale, the challenge of the story circles around a love triangle of which Dorigen is the center, with her husband Arveragus, who holds an idealized understanding of “trouthe,” which must always be followed, and a loyal suitor who tries to win her hand, believing that her husband will not come home from battle in Britain. A collection of black rocks along the coast of Brittany threaten his return. Dorigen, in the form of a rash promise, suggests to Aurelius that he can be her lover on the day when he removes those danger-

ous rocks from along the seacoast, a feat that he deems impossible, but a feat he tries to perform through prayer. In the tale, Dorigen questions the reason for the location of the rocks and providence, and this aspect parallels the concerns found in Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (525) relative to the location of evil in the world and its overall purpose.¹⁹ First, Dorigen's prayer questions the reason for the rocks in the created order, and through faith, the experience is transformed so that "in a real sense the final result, the true reality, is caused by the manipulation of perception."²⁰ Through magic and philosophical speculation the rocks are shown to be an illusion. Aurelius too prays that the rocks may be removed by the gods, but that is simply futile. What he actually needs is a means whereby perception can be changed. The rocks will remain, but they will be covered for a period of time. In his prayer, he had requested that the rocks be covered by a flood lasting two years, but that would be a violation of the natural order – one that Phebus rejects. That both the prayers of Dorigen and Aurelius go unheeded by the upper world should not be interpreted as the deafness of that world, but instead prayers that upend the nature of reality by creating an illusion. The senses are always deceptive.

Magic becomes the means of establishing an illusion that will change the nature of reality. To heighten the illusion further of the Orleans magician's craft, he says to Aurelius and his brother that "I know the cause of your coming" upon meeting them. Further, he tells them "all that was in hire entent" (1178). Modern readers, may, of course, be highly skeptical here, but both are clearly taken in. Upon arriving at the Orleans clerk/magician's house, they are presented with a scene that is magically invented. Orleans, in addition to being a well-known university for the study of law, Orleans was also connected with astrological study, a detail highlighted even in the description of the place by Aurelius's brother. Called, a "revel," this scene disappears with he "clapte his handes two" (1203; clapped his two hands):

He shewed hym, er he went to sopeer,
 Forestes, parkes ful of wilde deer;
 Ther saugh he hertes with his hornes hye,
 The gretteste that evere were seyn with ye,
 He saugh of hem an hondred slayn with houndes,
 And somme with armes blede of bittre wounds.
 He saugh, whan voyded were thise wilde deer,
 Thise fauconers upon a fair ryver,

19 W. Bryant Bachman, Jr., "To Maken Illusioun': The Philosophy of Magic and the Magic of Philosophy in *the Franklin's Tale*," *Chaucer Review* 12.1 (1977): 55–67.

20 Bachman, "To Maken Illusion'" (see note 19), 59.

That with their hawks had the heron slayn.
 Tho saugh he knyghtes justying in a playn,
 And after this he dide hym swich pleasaunce
 That he hym shewed his lady on a daunce,
 Of which hymself he daunced, as hym thoughte. (1189–1201)

[He showed him before he went to supper,
 Forests, parks full of wild deer
 There he saw harts with their high horns
 The greatest that ever was seen by (the) eye,
 He saw of them one hundred slain by hounds
 And some with arms bled of bitter wounds.
 He saw, when voided was this wild deer
 These falconers upon a fair river
 That with their hawks had the heron slain.
 Then he saw knights jousting on a plain
 And after this he did to him such pleasant things
 That he showed him his lady in a dance
 Of which he danced himself as he thought.]

The intent is certainly twofold: first, it authenticates his magical powers and second, it shows that he understands the connection between Aurelius and Dorigen even imagined in the scene. Notes in the *Riverside Chaucer* with respect to this scene suggest its similarities to masques performed at court. The complexity of the scene merges together two possibilities: it could be a play actually presented or it could be a magic scene created by the direction of the Orleans magician, somewhat in the manner that Prospero would present in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.²¹ (899). Further, Joyce Lionarons and Mary Flowers Braswell suggest that his status as “tregour” – a “mechanical artist” – may have allowed him to present “theatrical performances of automata upon a revolving stage.”²² What does seem clear is that when he sees that it is “time,” he sends the scene away with a clap, thus heightening the sense of the event as magical. To the visible eye – a concept noted in this scene – all of this event appears to be legitimate.

Kieckhefer notes that the use of tricks, lighting that creates optical illusions, and even how to make an audience believe certain things were happening to

²¹ Larry Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer* (see note 1), 899. For a more in-depth study of the similarities between *The Franklin's Tale* and *The Tempest*, see Sherron Knopp, “Poetry as Conjuring Act: The ‘Franklin's Tale’ and ‘The Tempest,’” *Chaucer Review* 38.4 (2004): 337–54.

²² Joyce Tally Lionarons, “Machines and Deception: Technology in the ‘Canterbury Tales,’” *Chaucer Review* 27.4 (1993): 377–86; here 381; Mary Flowers Braswell, “The Magic of Machinery: A Context for Chaucer's Franklin's Tale,” *Mosaic* 18 (1985): 101–10.

them was known by the fourteenth century.²³ Both romance and fabliau contain such events.²⁴ Given that we are told that such magic is insignificant to produce any anxiety, it seems likely that readers are to understand that Aurelius has been taken in. Clearly, if there are occult elements here, they are rendered harmless for the purposes of the fiction.

From these events, the Orleans magician invents a way through which the rocks can be removed – at least temporarily. Using astrological tables, he is able to calculate when the tide would be high enough to cover the rocks, based on the effects of the moon. The narrator says: “But thurgh his magik, for a wyk eor tweye, / It semed that alle the rokkes were aweye” (1294–95; But through his magic for a week or two, / it seemed that all the rocks were gone). Also called a “miracle” in the text, surely the event is to be taken as a parody of “real magic” if such a term could be suggested. He clearly knows the best methods of calculations, using the Tollentanes, created during the reign of Alfonso X and improved further in the fourteenth century.²⁵ Rather than manipulating nature, the use of the tables finds the pattern whereby such a desired event can create an illusion for a short time. Our Orleans magician, rather than creating an obvious illusion to authenticate his work, here merely reads and calculates to his financial advantage – one that will yield him the desired 1,000 pounds. What seems something ironic is that when the rocks are covered, neither Aurelius nor Dorigen actually checks out the seacoast.²⁶

In *The Franklin's Tale*, Chaucer has brought together both magic and science in a way that momentarily convinces the affected parties that the synthesis of the two has provided not only income for the Orleans magician, but also the desired end for Aurelius – the love of Dorigen – although it was certainly thought impossible. Neither the magic nor the science, however, affects a permanent change in the natural world.

23 Kickhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 13), 91–92. For a discussion of the implications of medieval psychology on sight and perception, see Carolyn Collette, “Seeing and Believing in the ‘Franklin’s Tale,’” *Chaucer Review* 26.4 (Spring 1992): 395–410.

24 Kickhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 13), 93.

25 John North, “Astronomy and Alchemy,” *Medieval Science. The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Michael H. Shank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 456–84; here 468.

26 North, “Astronomy and Alchemy” (see note 25), 468.

The Canon's Yeoman's Tale, Its Multiple Canons, and Ambiguity

Without question, the most obvious tale for a study of science and magic in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*. If we read the tale in light of its context in the *Canterbury* collection, not only does it come late, but it also has characters whom we have not met before—the canon and his yeoman. That in itself contributes to the mystery. Lee Patterson has noted that the alchemical knowledge is little more than rudimentary, although comments regarding mercury vapor suggest Chaucer's very direct knowledge of the science.²⁷ For readers of the story, there are some implicit challenges from the start. Typical of several of the tales, there is a focus on the mechanical aspects of the arts themselves, and those explanations, of course, highlight that the Canon in the story, not the actual Canon for whom he works or any other religious canon, always has something up his sleeve. Readers may wonder if the critique is not against his own master, but against someone unknown canon, if the story is “real” in the sense that the tale purports to be real. Perhaps that is actually part of the greater illusion itself.

In the “Prologue of *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*,” readers are introduced to another character who perhaps at the time that he thinks he is unmasking the Canon, he is actually doing that to his own characterization. Immediately, readers are confronted with the Chaucer pilgrims attempt to make sense of this figure. Keeping with the dramatic aspect of the pilgrimage, these two pilgrims are ones with whom the speaker has not been to acquaint himself. That the yeoman's face is described in terms of the alchemic process itself is no surprise. The narrator notes not only that he has a “clote-leaf” (577; burdock leaf) under his hood, but that “[h]is forehead dropped as a stillatorie / Were ful of plantayne and of paritorie” (580–81; His forehead droops as a still [that] / was full of plantain and pellitory). The location from whence he and the Canon arrive suggests their location on the margins – a safe place for secretive activities. This is described as the place of “thise robbers and thise theves by kynde” (659; these robbers and these thieves by nature). Marie P. Hamilton contends that the description of the Canon suggests he is an Augustinian canon who is “an apostate to his order.” Further, apparently during the period between 1362–1398, there were a number of apostates from their orders as noted in a papal letter. His location is one in-

²⁷ Lee Patterson, “Perpetual Motion: Alchemy and the Technology of Self,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 15 (1993): 25–57.

tended to protect him from prosecution.²⁸ In a metaphorical sense, he represents a kind of temptation along the pilgrim's way to Canterbury and perhaps even a thief too. Readers thus do not have to wait until Shakespeare's Falstaff in *I Henry IV* to be fleeced while on the way to Canterbury.

In *I Henry IV*, Falstaff and a group of robbers seem to know the habits of those pilgrims going to Canterbury, and they lie in wait to attack and rob them. In the play, Prince Hall, knowing of Falstaff's practices, frightens Falstaff in the attempt and returns the stolen goods to the pilgrims. For the Shakespearean play, it is a moment of high comedy related to Falstaff's ability to use bombastic language to describe the event. In the case of Chaucer's Canon and Yeoman, the location suggests they too are waiting for their prey, but Chaucer does not develop their activity as comic, but instead rooted in deception. Readers might also think about the Pardoner's own designs to sell his relics for profit along the way to Canterbury to see the "infection" is already present in the group. Travel in the Middle Ages was certainly not without its perils, although Chaucer did not introduce difficulties that might beset pilgrims from those waiting along the way. Instead, he typically posed challenges from those inside the group toward one another.

While the initial description is obviously intended to reflect a kind of realism, seen also in the description of the Canon's exhausted horse, the images suggest quick travel to make up time. While they may "blondren evere" (670; blunder always), they have the ability to make "illusions" (673) and borrow gold which they will then multiply, of course, with the reality that "[y]et is it fals" (678). They have the ability, as did the Orleans magician, to create illusions that seem to blur the space between truth and fiction for the moment to gain their own money. Several times through, the yeoman will note that rather than making money, they are actually moving further into poverty, since they are financing their own designs to continue the experiments – a poverty noted in the manner of apparel, a key concept in Chaucer's fictive revelation about people and professions. Being now free from the Canon whose intentions have been revealed, he now gives his master over the "foule feende" (705). What the Yeoman has done is to unmask a Canon who has ventured into areas that were specifically prohibited because the desire for wealth actually undercuts the vows of the canon.²⁹

28 Marie P. Hamilton, "The Clerical Status of Chaucer's Alchemist," *Speculum* 16.1 (Jan. 1941): 103–08; here 107.

29 Hamilton, "The Clerical Status of Chaucer's Alchemist" (see note 28), 104–07.

The Canon has no choice; he must leave because he has been revealed as the person he is. As Peggy A Knapp notes, this Yeoman is a “whistle blower” in a tale where the concept of “pryvitee” is less prominent than in *The Parson’s Tale* but more than in *The Miller’s Tale*.³⁰ Secrecy is certainly a part of the magical craft itself as way of preserving the art as Kieckhefer notes.³¹ What would appear to the Canterbury pilgrims – if we are thinking about the tale in its dramatic context – is that his physical appearance suggests that he has destroyed himself. He wears the images of his own undoing health-wise on his body.

The unmasking of the now absent Canon actually turns into his own description of activity over seven years, but with a knowledge about which he is “never the neer” (721: never any nearer). In one sense, that might set up the concept of an unreliable narrator or at least one with limited omniscience, yet as the tale progresses in *Prima Pars*, he is actually quite knowledgeable of the process and the necessary ingredients. While he says “oure labour is in veyn” (777; our labor is in the vain) and provides a number of phrases that suggest the futility of the enterprise, the quest for the philosopher’s stone, the attempts to multiply, the bodily scaring that he himself possesses as a result of his work, and his own work under the careful supervision of a canon devil himself underline the duplicity. The following are lines that describe the Canon under whom he learned to “multiply”:

Men may hem knowe by smel of brymston.
 For al the world they stynken as a goot;
 His savour is so rammyssh and so hoot
 That though a man from hem a mile be,
 The savour wole infecte hym, trusteth me (885–89)

[Men may them know by the smell of brimstone.
 For all the wold they stink as a goat
 Their smell is so strong and so hot
 That though a man be a mile from them,
 The smell will infect them, trust me.]

The intent, of course, is to make the Canon appear demonic.³² Robert Cook has noted that in this first section of the tale, the pronouns change from 1st person

30 Peggy A. Knapp, “The Work of Alchemy,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30.3 (Fall 2000): 575–97; here 583

31 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (see note 13), 140–44.

32 Donald R. Dickson, “‘Slidyng Yeoman: The Real Drama in the ‘Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale,’” *South Central Review* 2.2 (Summer 1985): 10–22; here 13–14.

plural to 3rd person plural. The quotation above demonstrates that shift.³³ The Yeoman has moved away from talking about himself and the Canon's activity to canons in general, and then again from line 898, the Yeoman switches back to 1st person plural.³⁴ Here the intent is to separate himself from the Canon and the behavior of the alchemical canons, but ultimately he cannot do that. He is himself caught up in the scheme too! The Yeoman apprentice continues his description of his work with the Canon, along with an extended discussion of what caused the pot to crack. The intent here is to provide a rather rounded description of the alchemical science. If the intention is to restore harmony through the transmutation, clearly the cracking of the pot itself puts that enterprise as an impossibility.³⁵

In *Pars secunda*, the Yeoman tells a story of a “chanoun of religion” (972) is apparently not the master Canon for whom he worked, yet this one too “wolde infecte al a toun” (972; would infect the entire town). He corrupts the nature of language and he is he also linked to the demonic. While the Yeoman is quick to distance the description of his Canon for worthy one, the teller notes that “[t]o sclaunder yow is no thyng myn entente, / But to correcten that is mys I mente” (998–99; To slander you is not my intention / But for correction to those that are amiss). Readers may wonder how he has assumed such moral superiority at this moment. In this portion of the tale, the Yeoman tells of an episode that repeats several times. The players are a priest in London “anneleer” (1012; a chantry priest) who desires to buy the craft of the Canon for forty poulds. While transformation through alchemical means is what the priest believes he is buying, actually he has purchased a denatured language. The Canon says:

Trouthe is a thyng that I wol evere kepe
Unto the day in which that I shal crepe
Into my grave, and ellis God forbede.
Bileveth this as siker as your Crede. (1044–47)

[Truth is a thing that I will always keep
Unto the day in which I shall creep
Into my grave, and otherwise God forbid
Believe this as certainly as your Creed.]

33 Robert Cook, “The Canon’s Yeoman and His Tale,” *Chaucer Review* 22.1 (Summer 1987): 28–40; here 33.

34 Cook, “The Canon’s Yeoman” (see note 33), 33.

35 For an intriguing Marxist reading of the production of capital in this scene, see Britton J. Harwood, “Chaucer and the Silence of History: Situating the Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale,” *PMLA* 102.3 (May 1987): 338–50.

These words come immediately after the Canon has asked to borrow a mark from the priest, which the Canon returns again in three days and affirms that he is true of his word and deed. What is also interesting is the same term “trouthe” is also noted in the *Franklin’s Tale*, when Arveragus says: “Trouthe is the hyeste thyng that man may kepe” (1479; truth is the highest thing that anyone may maintain). For Arveragus, the term relates to the “word as bond” concept that he believes that Dorigen must follow through with in her promise to go to Aurelius. For Arveragus, the concept is one of honor related to his social class – a concept that eventually structured the entire moral order of *The Franklin’s Tale*. All characters maintain that feudal notion of “trouthe,” even the Orleans magician/lawyer. In the case of the Canon – previously linked by the Yeoman to “the feende” – the intention is utter deception to increase the curiosity of the chantry priest and to turn “trouthe” upside down.

As this section of the tale continues, the slight of hand transformation occurs three times. To highlight the subterfuge that is gained by having the priest to blow on the fire and thus to preoccupy him for the “trick up the sleeve,” the Yeoman responds: “What, devel of helle, should it ells be? / Shavings of sliver silver is, pardee!” (1238–39; What, devil of hell, should it be besides? / Shavings of silver are silver, without question). Described in the form of selling himself to the Canon “Body and good” (1289; body and material goods), his action is couched in the form of black magic – he has sold his soul to the devil himself! Even the goldsmith says the transformed base substance is silver – it was silver to begin with. That the priest is completely taken in now should actually be no surprise. There was no transformation – except for a bit of chemical smoke conveniently designed to distract attention for the reality of the slight of hand – but there was certainly an exchange. The priest pays forty pounds and probably spent the rest of his life trying to figure out why he was not performing the alchemical process correctly, or more than likely having discovered that he was swindled would turn to swindling others in the same way.

The concluding section of the tale, unlike *The Pardoner’s Tale*, is not about the Yeoman’s trying to sell his knowledge, but actually deals with a series of alchemical masters and their words. Since his intent is to show that alchemy should be rejected, he uses his auctors – his authorities – in that way. Quotations from “Arnold of the New Toun” and the references to Hermes and Plato are actually intended in a positive way in their original texts, but as Grennen notes, “Chaucer is sufficiently well acquainted with the science of the alchemists to turn their own technical jargon against them, but he does this as an ironist,

not as a moralist.”³⁶ Grennen’s point is certainly a worthy one to consider, but it is also important to note that the speaking voice here is that of the Yeoman. For the Yeoman, the intent does seem to be moral, and such will fold into a design that seems to found in several of the tales that come late – geographically speaking – as the pilgrims approach Canterbury. Throwing out the false is necessary to finding the true – trouthe indeed!

Conclusion

So what we can say about Chaucer, magic, and science? As a late medieval person whose job often demanded a significant interaction with the material culture of building and technology, Chaucer did incorporate ideas of technology in his tales, both seriously and comically. *The Franklin’s Tale*, under the domain of the romance genre, certainly allows for the possibility of the magical to enter in intriguing ways. That there is a blurring of magic and science even in the words of the tale teller should indicate the easy slippage between the two domains. Astronomical knowledge does make a difference literally in the level of flood tides. Natural magic indeed does the trick necessary to Aurelius’ desire.

The Yeoman of *Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale* threatens to tell secrets, not only on his own Canon, but also on the enterprise of another canon – a false alchemist – whose slight of hand makes others his dupes. Was there some larger point that Chaucer might have been aiming at in his use of magic and science in these two tales? Lee Patterson suggests that the alchemical concerns of *The Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale* actually at both linguistic and cultural phenomenon relate to the aspects of artistic creation. He opines that what Chaucer actually does throughout the tales is a kind of unmasking that the Yeoman does by giving up secrecy and the undermining of authority figures throughout his text.³⁷ Chaucer is described as “elvish.” Further alchemy and poetry are referred to as “transformative arts.”³⁸

Perhaps an unmasking is important for a Chaucer who in his fiction is among the pilgrims some five miles away from Canterbury. Distinguishing the false from the true, the base metal from gold and silver, magic from science, and magic natural from darker aspects that encircle the traditions, lies at the very heart of the Chaucerian project. There was a reason Chaucer explored magic and science – metaphorically they are the keys to unlocking the world

³⁶ Grennen, “The Canon’s Yeoman and the Cosmic Furnace” (see note 10), 240.

³⁷ Patterson, “Perpetual Motion” (see note 27), 54–55.

³⁸ Patterson, “Perpetual Motion” (see note 27), 55.

of phenomena that can be controlled and the world that cannot. Sometimes those differences are all matters of perception.

Albrecht Classen

Magic in Late Medieval German Literature: The Case of the Good Magician Malagis

With 23003 verses, the fifteenth-century Low German epic verse poem *Malagis* (ca. 1440–ca. 1460) could be easily regarded as a major representative of late medieval literature, although it has survived in only two manuscripts, both housed in Heidelberg – Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 340 (A) and Cpg 315 (B), with B being a direct copy of A.¹ Even in its modern printed edition, the text comprises close to 600 pages, which can easily scare off readers who just might not have enough time to plough through such a massive tome. Indeed, literary historians have so far mostly ignored this anonymous work, even though we have available since 2000 a historic-critical edition.² However, the editorial efforts actually extend as far back as to the 1950s, when Gilbert de Smet began to explore the relationship between medieval Dutch and medieval Low German literature, which is an ongoing research topic of considerable importance.³ Nevertheless, this does not mean at all that modern scholars have also tried to come to terms with the content of this highly unusual German *chanson de geste*, here disregarding the detailed entry in the *Verfasserlexikon*.⁴

1 <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/1256> (last accessed on April 4, 2016).

2 *Der deutsche Malagis nach den Heidelberger Handschriften CPG 340 und CPG 315*, unter Benutzung der Vorarbeiten von Gabriele Schieb und Sabine Seelbach ed. Annegret Haase, Bob W. Th. Duijvestijn, Gilbert A. R. De Smet, and Rudolf Bentzinger. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, LXXXII (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000).

3 Bart Besamusca, “Humor in de Malagis,” Gilbert de Smet, *Van Madelgijs tot Malagis: Een bundel opstellen verzameld n.a.v. de tachtigste verjaardag van Gilbert de Smet*, ed. Georges de Schutter and Jan Goossens. Studies op het gebied van de oudere Nederlandse letterkunde, 1 (Ghent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 2002), 65–76; Gilbert A. R. de Smet, “Der frühneuhochdeutsche Malagisroman im Umkreis der Heidelberger Umdichtungen,” *Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters in den nideren Landen: Gedenkschrift für Hartmut Beckers*, ed. Volker Honemann, Helmut Tervooren, Carsten Albers, and Susanne Höfer. Niederdeutsche Studien, 44 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 273–90. See also the contributions to *Dialog mit den Nachbarn: Mittelniederländische Literatur zwischen dem 12. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Bernd Bastert, Helmut Tervooren, and Frank Willaert. Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 130. Sonderheft (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2011); cf. further, Bart Besamusca, “Medieval Dutch Charlemagne Romances: An Overview,” *Olifant* 26.2 (2011): 167–93.

4 Hartmut Beckers, “Malagis,” *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. 2nd rev. and expanded ed. Kurt Ruh et al. Vol. 25.1/2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985),

Albrecht Classen, The University of Arizona

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-017>

The Ignored Late Medieval Romance *Malagis*

Literary historians, such as Max Wehrli, Thomas Cramer, Volker Meid, or Peter Nusser have virtually all ignored this text,⁵ apart from a few specialists interested in Dutch-German literary relations, and, amazingly apart from one of the earliest philologists, famous Georg Gervinus who both in his studies from 1836 and 1853 discussed *Malagis* more explicitly.⁶ Unbelievably, a search online yields virtually nothing either, so it is very understandable that Nathanael Busch and Björn Reich have included *Malagis* into their list of “vergessene Texte des Mittelalters” (forgotten texts from the Middle Ages).⁷ However, popularity has not always been a marker of high quality, as we know from the history of bestsellers since the Middle Ages and until today.⁸ Two manuscript copies of one work is a poor indicator, to be sure, but we also have to keep in mind the enormous volume of this work and its connection with pan-European literature in order to recognize its proper place within the literary canon and its endemic value.

The anonymous German poet/translator drew from a Dutch source which has survived today in fourteen fragments from ten manuscripts and then, in a prose version in twelve modern print versions from 1556 to 1885. This Dutch version, in turn, was based on a French text, *Maugis d'Aigremont*, which has survived in three manuscripts from the first half of the thirteenth century, and then in a prose version which was printed at least fourteen times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1518–1660).⁹ Nevertheless, within the Ger-

1191–93. However, Beckers has not much positive to say about *Malagis* and criticizes it as an anachronistic and ineffectual epic poem.

5 Albrecht Classen, “German Literary Historians as Guardians of Culture and Intellectual Memory: Challenges and Promises from the Past and the Present. Memory as Cultural Identity,” *Studia Neophilologica* 87.1 (2015): 186–201.

6 Georg Gervinus, *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1836), 76–89; id., *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1853), 216–18.

7 Nathanael Busch and Björn Reich, “Derbe Erotik? Groteske Zauberkunst? Vom Zauberritter Malagis und dem nackten Kaiser Karl,” *Vergessene Texte des Mittelalters*, ed. id. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2014), 157–70.

8 See the contributions to *Bestseller – gestern und heute: Ein Blick vom Rand zum Zentrum der Literaturwissenschaft / Bestseller – Yesterday and Today: A Look from the Margin to the Center of Literary Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Eva Parra Membrives. *Popular Fiction Studies*, 2 (Tübingen: Narr, 2016). I myself deal with “bestsellers” in the Middle Ages.

9 For the various editions of the Dutch fragments, see *Der deutsche Malagis nach den Heidelberger Handschriften* (see note 2), XXVII–XXXII; for the Old French text edition, see *Maugis d'Aigremont: Chanson de geste*, ed. Philippe Vernay. *Romanica Helvetica*, 93 (Bern: Francke, 1980);

man-speaking world only the Heidelberg court of the Count of the Palatinate appears to have had some interest in the *Malagis*, and there does not seem to have been any particular kind of reception beyond that narrow circle of litterati in that particular setting.

But in order to study magic and magicians in the Middle Ages, for our purposes *Malagis* emerges as an ideal example since here we come across a most astonishing case of a highly learned and fully accepted master of necromancy who operates openly at the school and at court and utilizes magic for his own purposes, as Busch and Reich recognize, without being marginalized or feared as a dangerous figure.¹⁰ Clerical condemnation of magic does not figure here at all, whereas the conflict between the sorcerer and the emperor assumes central importance in the first part of this large epic poem. *Malagis* is certainly not a complementary figure to the mysterious Fay Morgana or her counterpart, Merlin, in much of Arthurian literature.¹¹ Instead, *Malagis* can be identified as a regular scholar working in Paris where he has achieved highest accomplishments for his arts and operates successfully among the company of the most learned individuals.

Magic as a Medieval Science

Before we proceed further, however, we need to recapitulate what we know about the treatment of magic in the premodern world at large in order to comprehend the historical and scientific framework for this massive Low German epic poem, *Malagis*, even though I have discussed this already at length in the introductory

cf. also *Maugis d'Aigremont, chanson de geste*, ed. Rémi Fournier-Lanzoni. Collection Littérature classique, textes et commentaires (Paris: Harmattan; 2014). See now the contribution to this volume by Kathleen Jarchow.

10 Busch and Reich, “Derbe Erotik?” (see note 6), 168; cf. also Katharina Philipowski, “Zauber, Magie, Teufelsbeschwörung und ihre legendarische Überlieferung im ‘Malagis’ und ‘Reinolt von Montalban’,” *Das Potential des Epos: Die altfranzösische Chanson de geste im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Susanne Friede and Dorothea Kullmann. Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, Beiheft, 44 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2012), 299–325. See also Bob Duijvestijn, “*Er hett gelert und was eyn clerg gut / von nygromancij*: Die Zauberkunst im ‘Malagis’,” *Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters in den nideren Landen: Gedenkschrift für Hartmut Beckers*, ed. Volker Honemann, Helmut Tervooren, Carsten Albers, and Susanne Höfer. Niederdeutsche Studien, 44 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 67–86.

11 See, for instance, Jill M. Hebert, *Morgan le Fay, Shapeshifter*. Arthurian and Courtly Cultures (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Carolyne Larrington, *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006).

essay to this volume. Throughout the entire Middle Ages and far beyond, if not even until today, magic and science regularly represented competing epistemes. Simultaneously, the Christian Church, like other dominant religions, has always been deeply troubled by the presence of this uncontrollable, intriguing, but blasphemous phenomenon, as we can easily recognize looking, for instance, at the genre of magical charms that were systematically but not abruptly replaced by Christian prayers in the early Middle Ages.¹²

The phenomenon of magic is closely associated with power and the challenge of orthodoxy, wherefore Christian theologians, especially beginning with St. Augustine and subsequently throughout the following centuries have intensively argued against the grave danger of magic which they perceived as inspired by and made possible only by demons and the devil.¹³ Both magic and alchemy were regarded as non-orthodox, non-canonical forms of knowledge, often with subcutaneous forms of reception and epistemic alliances. While the medieval universities and the authors of encyclopedias emerged as the crucial authorities, claiming the entire field of epistemology for themselves, astronomers, astrologers, palm readers, occultists, and many other necromancers continued to exert their own influence, but without enjoying the same authority, often actually repressed and ignored, depending on the circumstances.¹⁴ As Martin Mulsow

12 Brian Murdoch, "Charms, Recipes, and Prayers," *German Literature of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. id. The Camden House History of German Literature, 2 (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), 57–72. See now, from a psychological perspective, Wolfgang Ernst, *Beschwörung und Segen: Angewandte Psychotherapie im Mittelalter* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011); id., *Gehirn und Zauberspruch: Archaische und mittelalterliche psychoperformative Heilspruchtexte und ihre natürlichen Wirkkomponenten. Eine interdisziplinäre Studie* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2013); Wolfgang Beck, together with Markus Cottin, *Die Merseburger Zaubersprüche: eine Einführung*. 2nd ed. Kleine Schriften der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeititz, 8 (Petersberg: Imhof, 2015). Magical charms can be found in virtually all cultures throughout time; see, for instance, Koichi Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Mandalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals*. Sheng Yen Series in Chinese Buddhist Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). For further pan-European perspectives on charms, see the contribution to this volume by Chiara Benati.

13 Christa Agnes Tuczay, "Magic and Divination," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Vol. 2 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 937–53.

14 Peter-André Alt, Jutta Eming, Tilo Renz, and Volkhard Wels, "Einleitung," *Magia daemonica, magia naturalis, zouben: Schreibweisen von Magie und Alchemie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. id. Episteme in Bewegung, 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 1–17. See now also the contribution to *Astrologers and Their Clients in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wiebke Deimann and David Juste. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 73 (Cologne, Weimar,

argues, we are dealing here with precarious knowledge.¹⁵ Magical and alchemical knowledge proves to be non-scholastic, highly eclectic, non-dogmatic, and was hence often persecuted and condemned by the authorities because they feared the uncontrollable counter-authorities.

Nevertheless, both forms of magic, white, or natural, and black magic have been pursued throughout the ages and have never been fully suppressed, not even in the early modern age since people have regularly looked for alternative modes of coping with the ultimate challenges of life, especially when neither medical doctors nor members of the cleric could intervene effectively and save a suffering person from his/her fatal illness or excruciating pain. The crucial question especially throughout the pre-modern period focused on the issue whether magic was produced with the help of demons or whether it was simply a highly learned, sophisticated art, as St. Augustine, Isidore of Seville, Thomas Aquinas, and many others discussed intensively in their works.¹⁶

Previous research has already dedicated much attention to this large field, which does not need to be repeated here.¹⁷ Instead, the figure of Malagis will be the focus of the present study, both because this epic poem has been so badly and unjustifiably ignored until today and because here we encounter a

and Vienna: Böhlau, 2015). For a detailed review, see Thomas Willard, in *Mediaevistik* 29 (2016): 499–501.

15 Martin Mulsow, *Prekäres Wissen: Eine andere Ideengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2012), 14–18.

16 Christa Habiger-Tuczay, *Magie und Magier im Mittelalter* (Munich: E. Diederichs, 1992). See also the contribution to this volume by Thomas Willard; cf. also the contributions to *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catharina Raudvere, and Edward Peters. The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe, 3 (London: Athlone Press, 2002); Gary K. Waite, *Heresy, Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. European Culture and Society (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Helmut Birkhan, *Magie im Mittelalter*. Beck'sche Reihe, 1901 (Munich: Beck, 2010).

17 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (1989; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*. Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1996); Anthony Aveni, *Behind the Crystal Ball: Magic, Science, and the Occult from Antiquity through the New Age*, rev. ed. (1996; Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2002); Michael D. Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Pub., 2007); Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, CXXV (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007); Frank F. Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

most fascinating example of magic that is elevated out of the shadow and is fully accepted as one of the central academic arts enjoying a high level of respect and recognition. In fact, as we will observe, Malagis proves to be a leading character at the courts and finds much support, while he has to face, quite innocently, Emperor Charlemagne's hatred and persecutions. In this regard, Mulsow's concepts do not seem to apply to this text, but he pursued his topic anyway in the light of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century necromantic literature.

Magicians in High and Late Medieval Literature

If we comb through the annals of medieval literature, especially in Germany, we can find a number of magicians operating more or less openly and with a certain degree of authority, but there are no parallels to Malagis in his educational background, his professionalization, and the conflicts he is confronted with when the emperor asks him to give a proof of his necromantic abilities. In Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210), we learn of the magical dog Petitcreiu, which dazzles its viewer through its multicolored fur, and charms the audience through its amazing music created by a bell around its neck, making the listener automatically happy. There are explanations about the creator of this fantastic animal and the bell, but Isolde realizes quickly the danger of that 'drug'-induced sense of false happiness and rips off the bell in order to stay loyal to her love for Tristan.

In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205), the sorcerer Clinschor operates powerfully in the background and endangers Gawan's life, while he is wooing Orgeluse. He is the lord of Terre de Labur (656, 14), and when he had been caught *in flagrante* with the queen of Sicily, her husband had castrated him. Clinschor survived, but then learned the art of necromancy in order to cause damage to mankind out of hatred over his physical demasculinization. He built the magical castle Schastel marveile – a literal translation into French – and kept there King Arthur's female relatives as prisoners for many years. Only if a knight would master the adventure at his castle and survive the many attacks, would the castle be freed and with it the prisoners. The narrator informs us that Clinschor was a descendant of Virgil, of whom it was often said that he had practiced magic.¹⁸

18 Elke Brügggen and Joachim Bumke, "Figuren-Lexikon," *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Joachim Heinzle. Vol. II (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 835–938; here 862. See also the contribution to this volume by Christopher R. Clason who discusses magic both in *Tristan* and in *Parzival*. See also my comments on *Parzival* in the introduction to this volume.

The most interesting and unusual magician – if that might be the right term in this context – seems to be the Old Man from the Mountain in The Stricker's *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* (ca. 1240–1260), who creates robot-like giants and seems to know much magic which he employs in his strategy against King Arthur. But he is defeated at the end with the help of a magical net which the protagonist Daniel had borrowed from a lady whom he had helped before from a most dangerous situation. In other words, one type of magic defeats another.

Once the Old Man has learned the truth about how his own lord King Matur had deceived Arthur, he changes his mind, subordinates himself under the latter, and receives as a gift the magical land behind the mountains and thus disappears from the narrative stage.¹⁹ Despite the many references to magic and magical objects (and lands), the author does not demonstrate any serious interest in a demonological etiology and also refrains from any religious reading, whereas he is apparently only concerned with the mechanical skills which the old man commands.²⁰

We also hear of magic in Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur* (ca. 1280–1290), which is controlled and employed by the Byzantine princess Meliur, but she basically misuses it for her personal agenda and thus would have almost destroyed her personal happiness, which Partonopier can overcome, however, at the end.²¹ Otherwise, we would be hard pressed to identify specific passages in medieval German literature where magicians operate so openly and brazenly being part of the high-ranking group of individuals at court.

19 Der Stricker, *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal*, ed. Michael Resler. 3rd rev. ed. (1981; Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015); Reisel, Johanna, *Zeitgeschichtliche und theologisch-scholastische Aspekte im 'Daniel von dem blühenden Tal' des Stricker*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 464 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1987); Marta E. Montero Navarro, "El mundo artúrico a prueba: La parodia cortesana en *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal*," *Kulturwissenschaft, Literatur, Übersetzung: Germanistik und Deutschunterricht in Spanien*, ed. Georg Pichler (Madrid: Ed. Idiomias, 2008), 275–84; Albrecht Classen, "Disrupted Festivities in Medieval Courtly Literature: Poetic Reflections on the Social and Ethical Decline in *Mauritius von Craûn*, The Stricker's *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*, and Heinrich Wittenwiler's *Der Ring*," *Neophilologus* 100.1 (2016): 87–104.

20 The Middle Ages knew many more robots and mechanical devices than we might have assumed; see now E. R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); she does not, however, seem to be familiar with The Stricker and his intriguing romance *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*.

21 Rüdiger Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg. Wege der Forschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 152–73. Here I will quote from Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*, ed. Karl Bartsch. With an epilogue by Rainer Gruenter. Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe: Texte des Mittelalters (1871; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970).

Looking at English literature, Geoffrey Chaucer includes a reference to a magician in his *Franklin's Tale* (*Canterbury Tales*, ca. 1400), who helps the scholar-cleric Aurelius to remove seemingly all the black rocks from the shoreline, which would secure Dorigen's love for him. She, however, had only formulated this promise to love him if those rocks would have disappeared in jest, and actually only because she had been thinking of her husband and worrying about a potential shipwreck on those rocks. This magician is introduced as a "clerk" (1173) who apparently knows how to utilize his astronomical knowledge to bring about the desired effects: "But thurgh his magik for a wyke or tweye, / It semed that alle the rokkes were aweye" (1295–96).²²

In Old Norse literature the poets commonly include references to the magical arts, to shape shifters, berserkers, and sorceresses, such as in *Egil's Saga* (thirteenth century), but magic itself or the practice of magic by individuals highly learned in necromancy are not discussed in detail.²³ There are magical weapons, halberds, for instance, that sing about imminent bloodshed, and we hear of magical charms, but most details escape us.

Magic in *Malagis*

Malagis, by contrast, operates with real magical effects and creates stunning phenomena that earn him greatest respect but also hatred. He is not ever deceiving his social environment and achieves, without the help of the devil or any demons, all the desired magical goals, even if this might be embarrassing for those affected by it. The epic poem consists of many different narrative strands which cannot be addressed here one by one. Instead I will focus only on the way how the poet projected Malagis as a magician and how this helped him to survive in a hostile environment.

While his early childhood is nothing short of catastrophic, barely making it possible for him to survive highly dangerous conditions, when he turns seven he receives his first intellectual training by Lady Oriande, who later reveals to him that she is his aunt. Being able to read and write, he begins to probe the library of Baldaris, his uncle, and finds books dealing with necromancy. These he studies secretly so hard and for such a long time that he turns pale in his face (1183),

²² Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, sec. ed. Robert Boenig and Andrew Taylor (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview 2012). See the contributions to this volume by Daniel F. Pigg and Lisa M. C. Weston.

²³ *Egil's Saga*, trans. by Bernard Scudder, ed. with an intro. and notes by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (London: Penguin, 2002), 3, 42, 47–48, 64, 69, etc.

though he also grieves that he had lost his father at such an early age. At first Malagis cannot fully grasp what is really contained in this mysterious library, but he has quickly comprehended that it consists of many different types of books, many of which contain magical lore:

Das man damit zwingen mag
 Beyde bij nacht und bij tag
 Den meyster der tufel von der hellen,
 Sathanas, und sin gesellen. (1259–62)

[with which you can force
 both at day and at night
 the master of the devils in hell,
 Satan and his companions.]

He is drawn by his inner nature to that secret knowledge and wants to acquire it himself: “Dar zu myn hercz und myn müt / Ist geneeygt, lip und ader” (1264–65; My heart and my mind, my body and my veins are leaning toward it). Although his aunt tries to keep him away from the arts of necromancy, due to his young age, he protests strongly, insisting that no force in the world would hold him back in studying this science.

In fact, this pleases Oriande so much that she happily takes him back into the library and tries to teach him as much as she can, though her knowledge seems to be rather limited, while Malagis soaks in everything he can learn in incredible speed. The narrator outlines the specific aspects necessary for necromancy, such as the “orysone” (1297; charm formula) and experiments with which one can conjure the devil himself (1299–1300). Within two years he already acquires mastership (1302–03) and can quickly demonstrate at a court festival what he can accomplish as a magician. But he is not the only one; instead he belongs to an entire family of magicians, since his uncle had established that library and had obviously helped his sister to acquire some knowledge. Necromancy is, hence, in Malagis’s blood, which then helps to understand why he can achieve so many triumphs as a magician in his later life. But already in his early years he demonstrates superior skills as a magician than his uncle, who feels deeply embarrassed when he is told by his sister about this situation (1329–39). Moreover, Malagis knows how to employ his magical skills already from early on in order to ridicule Baldaris, thereby proving from early on his complete superiority in the necromantic arts.

However, both are aware that the library itself contains all the knowledge, and the one who is entitled to enter there will soon be empowered to operate with every desired form of the magical arts. Malagis and Baldaris fight over the proper reading of some of the books held in the library, and they dispute

thus what a necromantic collection of books might have to tell the outsider. In that context we also hear about the two major centers of necromantic learning, that is, Paris and Tholet, or Toledo (1498–99). And Malagis, in his youthfulness, makes objects fly and plays with his magical skills in order to defy his uncle's authority (1688–90). In fact, he ridicules him with his tricks and demonstrates thus already in his youth what a master of necromancy he is (1705–08). Impressively, his uncle quickly acknowledges the young man's superiority and submits under his talent as a magician (1729–30). Baldaris has nothing to say about any negative features associated with necromancy, since he is practicing it himself, and only refers to the power which a good magician can exert, such as Malagis. For that reason he then intends to take him to Paris where he would gain further learning and could accomplish the perfection of his art, which pleases everyone at court (1782–83). For the author, then, necromancy proves to be a highly respectable art that deserves all support that it can receive even from authority figures.

But we would go wrong if we assumed that this protagonist then simply pursues the career of a learned necromancer. On the contrary, he deeply desires to become a knight and to acquire all the skills necessary for this position. We might recognize in him an avatar of young Parzival, though there is no barrier to this education, as Wolfram's protagonist had to face through his mother who had kept him artificially away from the world of the courts in order to protect him from the dangers of knighthood. Very different from Herzeloide, Oriande equips him with the best possible armor, provides him with a horse and allows him to participate in the tournament in which he immediately proves his physical superiority and his quickly acquired jousting abilities. Although he easily defeats his opponent, he spares him afterwards and even apologizes for his hard approach, which underscores his natural courtliness. Oriande then teaches him the basic lesson of knighthood, especially the ethical and religious values, and makes him to a knight. She also teaches him basic ideas about courtly love, about how to treat women, and declares her own love for him (2081).

Much more important for our examination then proves to be the subsequent section where Baldaris and Malagis travel to Paris where the former is splendidly welcomed and universally acknowledged for his profound knowledge as a magician. The young man knows, however, that he is much more advanced and would have deserved the same if not higher honor (2131–34). But Baldaris soon makes known to everyone among his circle of admirers that Malagis is actually superior to him and would even outdo the famous master Avicenna (2144), the iconic figure of ancient wisdom and necromancy (980–1037), who was greatly

respected throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern age.²⁴ This then earns Malagis the desired respect, although he has not even demonstrated any of his skills. However, the master of the company, later identified as Yvort, makes fun of him when they are drinking, and yet he is immediately bested by Malagis, who is a truly powerful magician, even though he refuses to compete openly against the master, insisting modestly on his own ignorance (2198–99).

Even though a personal conflict then threatens to erupt between them, it soon turns out that Yvort and Malagis are related. This is of great significance for the evaluation of magic in this context because the master's mother is Charlemagne's niece (2264–65). Malagis himself turns out to be the master's nephew, which altogether elevates both their necromantic skills into abilities that are practiced even in the highest echelons of society, and above all, within their family circle.

Nevertheless, this does not solve the personal tensions, and Yvort then wagers with Malagis to try out who might be better in stealing the bed in which the respective other would be lying during the night, apparently each one relying on his magical skills. Malagis wagers differently that the master would not be able to steal his bed, since he himself would not want to do such an evil deed as stealing. From early on, in other words, this young magician does not intend to utilize his learned abilities for moral wrongdoing: “Stelens enkan ich nit” (2379; I cannot steal).

They both agree then to carry out their wager in good humor (2396), and Malagis goes to sleep in a separate room. Soon Yvort appears in the shape of a devil, with fire and flames shooting out of his mouth, but the young man is not scared out of his wits, and instead employs a counter magic to make the other stand immovable as a captive. Yvort tries to convince him that he is not the devil, and promises him the prize money, but Malagis does not let him go and in the morning even threatens to kill him with the sword, until Yvort publicly admits his inferiority as a magician and acknowledges his nephew's full mastery over them all: “Groß ere wart ime gethan. / Alle die meyster gaben im priß / Und hiessen ine meister Malagiß” (2506–08; He received great honor; all the masters praised him and called him Master Malagis).

But the protagonist is not content with his own level of knowledge and enters one night Yvort's private library and studies in the secret book which his

24 Avicenna is such a well-known figure that it would be unnecessary here to discuss him in further detail; but see Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works*. Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science, 89 (Boston: Brill, 2014); cf. also the *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy* at: <http://www.iep.utm.edu/avicenna/> (last accessed on April 7, 2016).

uncle used to read diligently (2511–19). He has a conversation with a devil, Yrocondus (2524), who reveals to him how he carries out evil strategies to steal even infants' souls, misleads young children, making them curse their own parents. This then leads over to an entire hellish scenario where individual devils represent specific vices, that is, the seven deadly sins (2584 ff.).²⁵ However, Malagis dismisses this devil, as he sends away all the others whom he encounters through the study of the mysterious book, demonstrating thereby his good Christian faith and his loyalty to his fellow men, whom he does not want to cause harm through his magical charms. In fact, in contrast to the devil in the famous *Historia D. Johann Fausten* from 1587, which was later to become Goethe's source for his *Faust* (1808),²⁶ Malagis is in complete control of all the devils and only inquires about their particular strengths and abilities with which they torture people and try to steal their souls. He is never part of any devilish company and remains independent from all dark hellish forces, although, considering external voices, such as the contemporary writer Johannes Hartlieb in his book *Buch aller verbotenen Künste* from 1456, there was the steady fear that necromancers at the end were all falling victims to the devil after all.²⁷

However, when he has captured and tied up Belzebock, the latter feels so much pain that he promises to serve him in the future under any circumstance, freeing him from any lock and prison, for instance (2875–77). Subsequently the

25 This was a common topic in all medieval didactic literature; see now *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. Richard Newhauser. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 123 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007).

26 Jan-Dirk Müller, *Das Faustbuch in den konfessionellen Konflikten des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Sitzungsberichte. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 2014.1 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014); Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of a Late-Medieval Genre*. Studies in German Language and Literature, 15 (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, Ont., and Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 213–43.

27 Katharina Philipowski, "Zauberei, Magie, Teufelsbeschwörung und ihre legendarische Überlieferung im 'Malagis' und 'Reinolt von Montalban'," *Das Potential des Epos: Die altfranzösische Chanson de geste im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Susanne Friede and Dorothea Kullmann. Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, Beiheft, 44 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012), 299–325; here 308–18, argues strongly that none of the magical tricks performed by Malagis or any other magician amounts to much more than foolish jokes with no serious consequences. The narrative development does not fully support such a claim, as we'll see below. In historical terms, the very presence of many magical books, or grimoires, to conjure the devil and to exorcize him from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries indicates a quite a different concern in public. See now Florence Chave-Mahir and Julien Véronèse, *Rituel d'exorcisme ou manuel de magie? Le manuscrit Clm 10085 de la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich (début du XVe siècle)*. Micrologus' Library, 73 (Florence: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015). As to Hartlieb, see my discussion in the introductory essay to this volume.

protagonist turns into a teacher for all the magicians in Paris, instructing them both about necromancy and natural phenomena, such as how a foetus develops in a mother's womb and can easily become a victim of the devil's machinations. But again, this knowledge about the secret workings of the hellish servants does not seduce Malagis to utilize their powers for his own purposes; instead he steers clear of those temptations and fully embraces the Christian values and ideals by alerting them all that newborn infants must be baptized and hence be rescued for Jesus Christ (3013–16).

Even though Malagis does not demonstrate more magical tricks, does not perform magic in the vein as one might expect traditionally, carrying out evil deeds for his self-aggrandizement, he is generally praised by everyone as the greatest master of necromancy. As Baldaris comments: “Nu heißen wir ine meyster Malagiß. / Er ist sin wol wert, so mir myn leben” (3034–35; Now let us call him Master Malagis. He is worthy of this title, by my life). The narrator adds that Malagis was indeed master of necromancy and had full command of everything one could achieve through magic (3036–37). The entire company with Malagis and the other masters experiences great joy, “hochgezijt” (3041), which the narrator attributes primarily to this extraordinary necromancer. His reputation spreads far and wide, since he enjoys greatest respect as magician in a most learned fashion, since he is praised as the wisest person of them all operating in Paris (3050). Malagis is identified as the greatest teacher of his time who focuses on magic and necromancy (3051–52), but then tragedy strikes, which has not so much to do with his necromantic skills than with the conflict with the emperor, Charlemagne.

It deserves to be underscored that Charlemagne publicly recognizes Malagis for his great learning, which he identifies as “konst” (3057; art). He addresses him respectfully as “Lieber meyster Malagiß” (3056; Dear Master Malagis), and the necromancer happily complies in carrying out the emperor's wish, knowing fully well that he has complete control over his art and can achieve anything the latter might desire: “Von myner meysterschafft” (3059; Of my mastery). However, instead of asking for a serious demonstration of the necromancy, the emperor has a devious idea in mind, asking Malagis to make everyone present to be naked and dance like that on the floor. There is no doubt about the foolish nature of this request, so the sorcerer immediately requests not to be held liable for the consequences, “Aber darumb zornit nit uber mich” (3068; do not feel angry with me about them).

We are not informed how Malagis then carries out the charm, but we learn that Charlemagne and his wife are the first to disrobe and to enter the dance floor stark naked, only to be followed by everyone else. The narrator views the entire situation as a ridiculous scene and mocks at the emperor and his wife:

“Suß machten sie einen dancz / Und hoppelten da her als ein ganß” (3075–76; they started to dance and hopped around like geese). The consequences for Malagis, however, are dire since Charlemagne immediately flares up in a serious fury because he feels terribly shamed, having been exposed in public, since nakedness was, already then, viewed with contempt and shame.²⁸ While Malagis insists that he only carried out the emperor’s order, Charlemagne accuses him of having abused the situation to his advantage, deliberately misunderstanding his chestful wish in order to put him to shame: “Und du hast mich des willen in ernst geschant” (3089; you have purposefully and seriously embarrassed me). The issue hence hinges on the question how Malagis was supposed to interpret the emperor’s wishes without knowing his specific plan.

For Charlemagne the necromancer had pursued an evil intention and had willfully misread him, whereas he himself had only hoped to witness a delightful show of his entire court being naked, except for himself. The narrator does not explain how Malagis’s magical operation had operated, but apparently he had not been able to distinguish specifically among those affected by his charm. Only once he has interrupted his “experment” (3095; magical process), can everyone put on clothes again, and then Charles proclaims that Malagis would never be able to depart from Paris alive since he would order his capture and then execution (3101–05).

Both Baldaris and Yvort try to speak up for and to defend Malagis, pointing out that Charlemagne himself had ordered the necromancer to play this evil trick on everyone at the court: “von uvern wegen” (3115; because of you). From a legal standpoint, the protagonist had only carried out the emperor’s command (3120); Malagis himself intervenes, defends himself, and warns the emperor not to be too bombastic or blustering with his threats (3128). For Charlemagne, it proves to be unforgivable that his wife had undressed in public (3130–32), whereas Malagis insists that if she had kept her clothes on, she would have scoffed at her husband (3138), and that the entire affair had anyway been only a big joke for everyone. A good lord would recognize that and treat it as such: “Die sach al

28 Cultural historians such as Norbert Elias have argued vehemently that the Middle Ages did not yet know a sense of shamefulness as a result of being naked, which became, however, a specific marker of the civilization process. Even though many scholars have naively subscribed to this concept, both the present example and many others in early and high medieval literature strongly contradict such views. See Albrecht Classen, “Naked Men in Medieval German Literature and Art: Anthropological, Cultural-Historical, and Mental-Historical Investigations,” *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary-Anthropological Theme*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 3 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 143–69.

die in schympff geschicht, / Sol man zu gut uff nemmen, lieber herre" (3141–42; Matters that one does as a joke one should acknowledge kindly, dear lord).

No rational argument reaches the emperor, who now turns the table and accuses Malagis of being a "falscher zeuberer" (3143; false magician). But the necromancer informs him that he has complete control over his own life and would stay in prison only as long as he himself would want: "Und enwil ich, so enblibe ich nicht" (3161; And if I do not want, I will not stay there). While Charlemagne swears an oath on Jesus of Nazareth that he would persecute Malagis with all of his might, the latter praises God in His honor for having granted him the magical skills (3164), which clearly indicates that for Malagis and the narrator himself necromancy was not to be confused with black magic and was not an evil art granted by the devil. Malagis knows well how to apply his necromantic skills in a rational manner, and he does not draw from any devilish forces, since he is a devout Christian and only practices magic because it allows him to protect him from jealous, envious opponents, especially those with much military and political power, such as Charlemagne.

As the rest of this massive epic poem illustrates, the emperor constantly proves to be a fool, an irrational and undisciplined individual who terrorizes his subjects through vicious and unreasonable orders and commands, a personal characterization which does not need to be discussed much further here. However, it deserves mention that the poet/translator of *Malagis* was not at all the only fifteenth-century author to cast such a negative view of Charlemagne, as Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken's *Königin Sibille* (1437) and especially the long tradition of the *Haymonskinder* illustrate dramatically.²⁹ At the same time, as we easily recognize, the emperor turns into a ridiculous figure who seriously believes to have real power over Malagis whom he desperately wants to see hanged. In fact, he swears an oath not to eat anything until this would have happened, which the necromancer sarcastically comments with these words: "Das ist gut, herre konig, so blibt ir ane / Uwer zijt, als helff mir got, / Und det es uch zu loben not, / Nu seht wie henck ich hie" (3069–72; "That is good, lord king, then you will stay without food for the rest of your life, so help me God, and you will have a hard time to live [or: to praise?], look how I am hanging here). Malagis knows only too well that Charlemagne cannot do anything against

²⁹ See the contributions to *Karl der Große in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalters: Konstruktion eines Mythos*, ed. Bernd Bastert (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004); Werner Wunderlich, "Nachwort," Johan II. von Simmern, *Die Haymonskinder*, ed. id. Frühe Neuzeit, 35 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1997); Katharina Philipowski, "Zauberei, Magie, Teufelsbeschwörung (see note 25), 299–325.

him in real terms because he commands superior magical powers, which allows him to laugh about the emperor's empty threats.³⁰

Serious attempts by Baldaris and Vyvort on behalf of Malagis are quickly dismissed, and Charlemagne threatens every learned master in Paris with exile if they dare to come to Malagis's rescue. At this point the sorcerer submits under the emperor, allows him to take him to the prison, but announces as well that he would read his first lecture on necromancy the next morning in public (3202) right after the first mass (3203), identifying his scholarship in necromancy as an academic discipline that would be entirely tolerated by the church – another indicator of Charlemagne's presumption that he would have any right or ability to persecute such a powerful and highly recognized master of the arts. Moreover, Malagis emphasizes that he would leave the prison only with the emperor's explicit approval, taunting him even further by claiming actually more magical abilities than heretofore assumed. In fact, he informs the emperor that he regards this harsh treatment as unjust and inappropriate, and that he would free himself already by midnight.

Contrary to our expectations, he then does not evoke the help of any devil, and instead resorts simply to a magical formula, a charm, his "gramadet" (3238), which opens the extremely heavy fetters and the door to his prison cell. Then, however, he assumes the shape of a terrifying devil (3245–52), which chases everyone away while Charlemagne is so scared that he publicly grants freedom to Malagis, not knowing that the devil in front of him is the very same person. But again, the protagonist only puts on this scary figure to deceive the ruler, and once he has returned to his company of sorcerers, he explains the situation to them and then reads the first mass (3299). There is no effort on the poet's part to associate him with hellish powers, and instead he integrates the protagonist into the church.

Charlemagne almost loses his mind when he realizes how Malagis has fooled him, which will happen many times throughout the narrative, so he exiles him from his country. Again, however, the necromancer simply resorts to his magical art, creates an artificial, or imaginary, meadow on the river Seine, and announced that he would from then on live there without getting wet (3320–21), which everyone who observes this regards as a great entertainment,

30 Albrecht Classen, "Sarcasm in Medieval German Literature: From the *Hildebrandslied* to *Fortunatus*. The Dark Side of Human Behavior," to appear in *Words that Tear the Flesh: Sarcasm in Medieval and Early Modern Literature and Cultures*, ed. Alan Baragana and Elizabeth L. Rambo. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, forthcoming); see also id., "The Bitter, Biting Humor of Sarcasm in Medieval and Early Modern Literature," *Neophilologus* 101 (2017): 1–21.

since they burst out laughing, “Und hielten das vor schympff usser maße” (3324; and regarded it as one of the best jokes).³¹ After all, as Malagis subsequently explains to the furious emperor, he had expelled him from his lands, but he had not said anything about water, since that is common property (3343). Undoubtedly, here we recognize significant parallels to the tales of Till Eulenspiegel (1510), which were based on old oral traditions, even if the poet does not refer to this famous joker and trickster.³²

When the emperor then orders catapults to be brought in, Malagis ridicules him again and only has to say a short magical charm, here called “orison” (3377) for all the machines to be destroyed. The narrator praises him explicitly for his intelligence and spiritual powers: “Lesen mit herczen so klugen” (3378; began to read with such a smart heart [mind?]). However, at that point the devil Belzebuck appears again and carries out Malagis’s order to erect a defense structure, but the necromancer does not have to pay a price for this and stays clear of all devil worship. For him, as for the narrator, necromancy is a well-established, authorized, and publicly respected art; only the emperor fights against Malagis, but not because he is a sorcerer, but because he had first embarrassed him publicly, and then had defied his orders, which third led to his own ridicule. The group of courtiers, especially the other magicians, clearly recognize this dilemma and appeal to Charlemagne to turn around, to let the case rest, and thus to stop making a fool of himself since he has no power whatsoever against a necromancer like Malagis (3435–47). The emperor can only voice his surprise about Yvort’s bold

31 For the phenomenon of laughter, see the insightful study by Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters: Roguery in French and German Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 49 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi, 2000), esp. 143–76; Albrecht Classen, “Transgression and Laughter, the Scatological and the Epistemological: New Insights into the Pranks of Till Eulenspiegel,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 33 (2007): 41–61; *Komische Gegenwelten: Lachen und Literatur in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Röske and Helga Neumann (Paderborn, Munich, et al.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1999); to *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, Its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 5 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010); cf. also Sebastian Coxon, *Laughter and Narrative in the Later Middle Ages: German Comic Tales 1350–1525* (Leeds: Legenda, 2008). This example in *Malagis*, however, has not yet been discussed anywhere, with the exception of Bart Besamusca, “Humor in de Malagis,” Gilbert de Smet, *Van Madelgijs tot Malagis: Een bundel opstellen verzameld n.a.v. de tachtigste verjaardag van Gilbert de Smet*, ed. Georges de Schutter and Jan Goossens. Studies op het gebied van de oudere Nederlandse letterkunde, 1 (Ghent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 2002), 65–76. See now the contribution to this volume by Cristina Azuela.

32 Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (see note 5), 67.

words and slander Malagis, claiming that he must have been the product of hell (3460).

This is, of course, nothing but malignment, resulting from the emperor's desperation in his infinite wrath, but he loses the support of all the other magicians, who turn over to Malagis, who then becomes a shape-shifter and transforms into the figure of an angel, flies to Charlemagne's camp and secures enough food and drink for his companions and himself. Ironically, he has to conjure the devil Belczeboock to carry him across the water, but theological issues do not seem to concern the narrator, especially since he has the protagonist claim to the emperor: "Ich, gotes knecht, bin kommen her" (3541; I, God's servant, have come here). But then he takes so much food and wine, which he loads on the devil's back, that the emperor begins to worry and then inquires about the background of this arrangement, which allows Malagis to reveal the truth and to laugh about his opponent once again.

The narrative continuously intensifies the emotional stress on Charlemagne's part, since he feels so furious and yet so helpless, while he is told by some of his councilors: "Wir mogen uns nit verrecken / gegen diesem clerck subtilen" (3649–50; we cannot avenge ourselves against this sophisticated learned person). In the meantime, Malagis and his companions decide to move away to castle Roseflor where his aunt Oriande reigns, and they employ the devil Belczebook for their travel needs, this disappearing without leaving a trace. For Charlemagne this means that they all have been drowned by the devil (3721–22), but he only admits thereby his own ignorance.

While Busch and Reich argue that magic as it is deployed here in *Malagis* is predicated on the art of creating illusions with the purpose of deceiving the opponents, in many cases Malagis knows how to carry out true magic by transforming material conditions with the help of a charm, for instance, and to travel through the air, or to transport himself and the other magicians rapidly to a distant location.³³ No one except the emperor condemns or rejects Malagis's necromantic skills; on the contrary, the more magic he produces the more admiration he earns everywhere. This leads to the significant realization that the author operates here very much in the tradition of the courtly romance where, as we have seen above, occasionally magicians or sorcerers appear and intervene mysteriously, deceptively, threateningly, supportively, or in other manners in the protagonist's life without meeting much particular criticism.³⁴ However, in contrast to

³³ Busch and Reich, "Derbe Erotik?" (see note 6), 164.

³⁴ Stephen Maksymiuk, *The Court Magician in Medieval German Romance*. Mikrokosmos: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung, 44 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Peter Lang, 1996).

Wolfram's *Parzival* or The Stricker's *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*, in *Malagis* the magician is the protagonist himself, is publicly recognized as the greatest master of them all, and he does not even clash with the church. In other words, here magic matters only as a convenient narrative strategy to allow *Malagis* to escape every time when Charlemagne attempts to catch or even to execute him. We could almost feel pity for this pathetic emperor who proves to be so foolish and helpless in face of this masterly form of magic.

By means of his necromancy, *Malagis* can cast the emperor in extremely poor light and project a highly negative image of this traditionally mighty ruler of the past. While previous poets had endeavored quite similarly to present ineffectual, weak, and even pathetic rulers in a variety of contexts, here in *Malagis* we have reached the epitome of royal criticism. Considering how many times Charlemagne is almost about to lose his mind because of his extreme frustration and anger over his opponent's powerful strategies to undermine everything he does to destroy him, we can only wonder, tongue-in-cheek, why he does not die from a heart attack.

Whereas magicians are commonly somewhat associated with the devil, in *Malagis* the protagonist actually fights directly against a hellish world, when he tries to win the extraordinary horse Beyart for himself. Even his aunt warns him against this adventure, but he employs his best deceptive strategies, his magical skills, and he also entrusts himself to God as his ultimate protector against the devils (5816–17). In fact, when he encounters the devilish creature Ranas, he embraces him so firmly that he almost kills him, and at that moment appeals to God and all the saints to help him in this battle, which transforms the magician almost into a holy figure despite his status as a magician. Not only does he demonstrate his deep Christian faith, he also relies on his magical charm: “Da sprach er diß experment: / ‘Ich mane und bespellen / Bij alle der crafft der gesellen, / Der apposteln unsers herren . . . Darumb got was an das crucz gereckt” (6019–29; Then he spoke this magical formula: “I request and exert my magic in the name of the power of the fellows, our Lord's apostles . . . because God had been nailed to the cross). Ranas tries with all of his strength blowing flames through his nostrils, but *Malagis* has a magical ring that protects him entirely.

However, in the fight against the snake which is protecting the miraculous horse, he suffers badly and even has to appeal to the Virgin Mary for help (6491), as if he had lost all of his magical skills. Finally, he remembers his charms again and utters one of them to defend himself. Although it proves to be nothing but an ordinary Christian prayer, it achieves the desired effect, after all, since the dragon runs away. This he repeats another time, and thus he emerges as a Christian necromancer, virtually an oxymoron, and yet a critical

component characterizing the entire epic narrative, as Malagis himself formulates, once the snake has been defeated: “mit got bin ich der meister din, / Das wirt an dir wol bewert” (6608–09; with God I am your master, as it is apparent in your case).

All this is repeated in his battle against the dragon, since he triumphs at the end with the help of his “nygromancien” (6669; necromancy). However, when many new snakes appear and attach him, he is almost defeated, falls down and can only pray to God for help (6706–36). At this point, exhaustion overcomes Malagis, and he faints, seemingly dead. Nevertheless, later a messenger from Oriande’s court, Spiet, arrives and provides him with a magical drink that restores his strength (7156), which reminds us of the magical potion which the young man in Marie de France’s “Les deus amanz” secures from the aunt of his beloved who works in Salerno and knows of secret sciences and medicine.³⁵ Undoubtedly, the poet here evokes the tradition of the Fay Morgana, although we learn nothing about the true origin of that drink.³⁶ Another narrative strand is suddenly included which deviates considerably from the account of Malagis, so we have to wait for about four hundred verses to learn more about the protagonist’s adventure, who then has to fight against the wild horse that almost kills him and cannot be suppressed for a long time, until Malagis triumphs, but without resorting to any magic (7664). Nevertheless, Beyart is also a magical creature since it can understand human language, even if it cannot respond to people (7714–17).

We can conclude here with some final observations, since the narrator moves away almost entirely from the topic of magic and necromancy, and turns to traditional chivalric and knightly adventures. Malagis operates mostly as an ordinary knight, irrespective of his superior physical strength. He prays to God, appeals to the Virgin Mary, and proves to be a good Christian, irrespec-

35 Marie de France, *The Lays of Marie de France*, trans., with intro. and commentary, by Edward J. Gallagher (Indianapolis, IN, and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2010), 44. Marie (ca. 1190) does not say anything about magic per se, but the outcome here could have been the same as in *Malagis*, except that the young man, in his youthful arrogance, at the end refuses to take the potion and then dies when he reaches the mountain because his heart is failing. We also would have to keep in mind the magical love potion concocted by Queen Isolde in Gottfried von Straßburg’s *Tristan* (ca. 1210), which achieves its goal because the two protagonists unknowingly imbibe it and thus fall in love. See the contribution to this volume by Christopher R. Clason.

36 Peter Meister, *The Healing Female in the German Courtly Romance*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 523 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1990), offers a good overview of where mysterious women figures appear in Middle High German literature who know how to concoct medicinal potions and to create magical salves.

tive of his training as a sorcerer. Magical elements emerge from time to time sprinkled throughout the narrative, so when we learn that the incredibly fast messenger Spiet was born by a sorceress (8155). But the focus has drastically shifted, as *Malagis* turns into a rather traditional, at times certainly fantastic romance, which easily facilitates the inclusion of necromancy particularly in the early part where Malagis establishes himself as the absolute master of all magicians and then fights with his necromantic skills against Charlemagne.

The poet includes many other military adventures, didactic reflections, and courtly conflicts, but magic itself no longer matters centrally here. Altogether, as we can observe, necromancy proved to be a fascinating topic for the poet in the early part, but the further along he moves with his narrative, the less interest he demonstrates. Neither magic nor necromancy emerge as particularly extraordinary phenomena and are identified like any other learned arts, at least in the present context.

If we accept the notion that magic represents a unique form of episteme, then we would have to search more widely in *Malagis* for confirmation of such a thesis. Certainly, the further we move down to the late Middle Ages and the early modern age, the more the split between both epistemes seems to surface. But our analysis of this major tome with its massive epic narrative indicates that at least here the difference between those epistemes was rather limited. This observation makes this anonymous translation into Low German (or rather adaptation) for the Heidelberg court to a fascinating literary example of the complexity of the public discourse on knowledge and world exploration.³⁷

This does not mean that we could identify *Malagis* as a major and significant contribution to fifteenth-century literature. It attracts our interest, however, because it is a translation from the Middle Dutch, because it idealizes magic in a most unusual manner, because it ridicules Charlemagne so excessively, and because of the various strands of narratives, moving from one topic to another, which often makes it difficult to keep track of the narrative flow – rather a negative characteristic of this epic poem. There might be a lack of cohesion, but the strong focus on positively evaluated necromancy, which is often explicitly asso-

37 Gervinus, *Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung* (see note 5), 66, argues: “Jener Gedanke, daß Weisheit die Gewalt überwinde und geistige Kraft der physischen vorstehe, ein Gedanke, der dem aufkommenden Bürgerthum schmeicheln mußte, . . . durchdringt den *Malagis*” (That thought that wisdom overcomes violence and spiritual strength supersedes the physical strength, which must have pleased the upcoming urban class, permeates the *Malagis*). However, neither wisdom as such nor spiritual strength make up the theme in this epic poem. I question, however, whether this poem truly appealed particularly the new urban class of readers, since the Low German version was copied for the court and the text itself reflects mostly courtly interests.

ciated with Christian prayers and appeals to Christ and the saints, makes this massive epic poem to a fascinating literary work, after all.

We can call Charlemagne only recalcitrant in his never changing hatred of Malagis. When Oriande inquires about the reasons for his tireless hatred, the emperor can only say that no one on earth had ever acted worse than Malagis (22380), but she alerts him to the obvious problem that the necromancer would rather be able to expel his lord from France than Charles ever being able to avenge himself (22383–94). Malagis's "Behendikeit" (22395; skills) would always trump the emperor's efforts to punish or even to kill his opponent.

In fact, Oriande even pronounces that she commands even more magical arts than her nephew (22401–02), and Spiet urges the emperor to let his anger go and to enjoy simply the company of women. The magicians make fun of each other and have a good time, but Charlemagne remains deeply morose and angry. Malagis then shifts his shape and appears as a poor pilgrim who has just returned from Santiago de Compostela (22768). He begs the emperor to forgive him all of his sins, which Charlemagne does happily, until he realizes that the pilgrim is Malagis. Although he tries to take back his own oath and seems to allow his old wrath to return, the other members of the court force him to establish peace with the necromancer (22829). We are not fully informed how the situation then changes, but somehow harmony seems to have returned and Malagis and the emperor appear to be friends again. Malagis's necromantic skills prove to be dominant, and there is nothing the emperor can do against him, as the others also point out regularly. There seem to be many narrative inconsistencies and breaks in the flow of telling the story, but Malagis always demonstrates his superiority as a sorcerer, which everyone at court acknowledges and respects, whereas Charlemagne emerges overall as a weak, unimpressive, violent character who cannot be trusted. Necromancy, hence, rules over every other arts, political, and also military power. As a sorcerer, Malagis is in complete control of his life and knows as well that he enjoys great authority in public. His only opponent is the emperor, who proves to be a fool, a highly emotional, and unstable character who cannot accept that necromancy might defy him in his political maneuvers.

Certainly, many voices at that time had raised severe criticism against all kinds of necromancy and magic, such as Michel Beheim in his song against heretics and superstition from 1459 ("disen geticht sag von mancherlai keczere und zaber," no. 235) and Johannes Hartlieb in his treatise *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst* from 1456, but *Malagis* does not reflect this negative view and projects the magi-

cian as a central authority figure in this romance, especially since he is fully based on the biblical teachings.³⁸

Simply put, Malagis operates with learned, or white, magic, which does not draw its power from demons or devils, even though some of those also appear in this romance. Instead, Malagis belongs to the highest class of educated and academic magicians who understand how to manipulate the inner forces of nature and thereby achieve much better success than their scientific and medical colleagues. There is little wonder that Charlemagne just hates Malagis, but not only because the latter had so deeply embarrassed him with his magical powers, but ultimately, though the narrator does not explicitly comment on it, because he is profoundly afraid of the magician's much more superior skills and abilities, transcending the ordinary limits of nature, not to speak of the emperor's personal source of authority.

38 Philipowski, "Zauberei, Magie, Teufelsbeschwörung" (see note 25), 311–15, et passim. *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim: Nach der Heidelberger Hs. cpg 334 unter Heranziehung der Heidelberger Hs. cpg 312 und der Münchener Hs. cgm 291 sowie sämtlicher Teilhandschriften*, ed. Hans Gille and Ingeborg Spriewald. Vol. 2. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, LXIV (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970), 326–30.

Dalicia K. Raymond

Motives, Means, and a Malevolent Mantel: The Case of Morgan le Fay's Transgressions in Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*

Morgan le Fay is represented in many roles in Arthurian legend, often even within the same text – she is a healer, a sorceress, Arthur's sister, the Queen of Avalon, a goddess figure, the queen of King Uriens, a wife, a mother, an adulteress, a seductress, and a lover. While early Arthurian texts portray Morgan as a healer, her character quickly becomes more sinister, and the Arthurian canon is fraught with negative portrayals of Morgan le Fay (who at times is a conflated Morgan and Morgause figure). In this article, I propose that a new role for Morgan be recognized and added to her repertoire – that of a knight. Morgan le Fay's literary roots as a healer survive in later medieval texts, but this role is not mutually exclusive from the authors' negative portrayals of her. Morgan le Fay, arguably one of the strongest female characters in Arthurian legend, often is vilified in late medieval Arthurian texts for her female acquisition and adaptation of male power sources and structures to accomplish tasks traditionally only acceptable for men to perform.

One of the most poignant negative portrayals of Morgan comes in Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*¹ in which Morgan's lover is killed and she takes revenge on King Arthur for it. Speaking specifically of Morgan's representation by Malory, Fries writes that Morgan's learning of "nygromany" through "scole in a nunnery" shows that "male authors for centuries before and after, as well as during Malory's own, maintained ... the danger of educating women beyond their appropriate sphere (which is to further male interests rather than their own)."² It is in a similar vein that I position my argument about the gendered condition of Morgan's motives and means in her revenge attempts in *Le Morte Darthur*. While Fries focuses her argument on examining the gender dy-

1 Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur: The Winchester Manuscript*, ed. Helen Cooper. Oxford World's Classics. (Oxford, New York, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2008).

2 Maureen Fries, "From the Lady to The Tramp: The Decline of Morgan le Fay in Medieval Romance," *Arthuriana* 4.1 (1994): 1–18; here 10.

Dalicia K. Raymond, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-018>

namics represented by Morgan in connection to male Arthurian authors, I look internally at the piece itself to explore Morgan's same dynamics in connection to the contrasting version of gender in broader medieval society presented by Malory in *Le Morte Darthur*. The transgressive power that Morgan le Fay demonstrates casts her as a threat to Arthur, Arthur's court, and the traditional power structures of courtly society. This results in her being portrayed in a negative light in texts despite and because of her motivations being comparable to those of male chivalric characters while she feminizes the means by which she strives to accomplish her goals.

In discussing magical texts, Richard Kieckhefer describes the function of a book of magic, writing that "it serves as a mirror of the surrounding culture, but often the mirror is a distorting one, a deliberately transgressive adaptation of what the society takes to be holy."³ While he is discussing magical books, this description fits just as well for magical practitioners such as Morgan le Fay. Magic, and more importantly, those who practice magic have a type of power that supersedes the power that is possessed within the natural order of the medieval society. Because this power puts them in a unique position within society, the magicians are seen as transgressive characters who occupy a particularly distinctive space within society – they are members of the courtly society yet they are simultaneously outsiders to that society. This peculiar insider-and-outsider position of magicians allows them both to reflect the society while exposing the restrictive aspects of society by violating them through their practice of magic. In the context of this article, the term 'magic' is used to refer to actions taken by an individual (the magical practitioner) through which she or he effects change in the world or provides otherwise hidden or unknown knowledge through means that are not widely accessible or provided by one's courtly station but which are either inherent in the person from birth or have been gained through study and practice. Three characters in particular are discussed as magical practitioners – Morgan le Fay, Nenive, and Merlin.

The courtly setting of this narrative is important to the transgressive nature of Morgan's magic. Kieckhefer, summarizing a point from Edward Peters's foundational Magical Studies work *The Magician, the Witch and the Law*, emphasizes, "in short, the context for use of such magic is precisely the sort that Edward Peters envisages: a courtly world rife with ambitions and ensuing tensions because of the possibilities for upward mobility and the threat of precipitous downward

3 Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. Magic in History (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 4.

mobility.”⁴ Morgan’s own position in the royal family places her firmly among these courtly tensions, lending a threatening nature to her magical practice because of her relationship to King Arthur. She clearly exhibits ambitions to ascend socially and politically – she not only plans to get Arthur killed, but also then to take the throne with Accolon at her side – and it is this initial desire to gain power beyond her allotted rank and status in the court that fuels her actions and begins the series of her magical performances as she first attempts to gain “upward mobility” and then after her initial failure and loss of Accolon, attempts to prevent her “precipitous downward mobility.”

It is the particular episode of *Le Morte Darthur* in which Morgan takes revenge on Arthur, titled “Of Nenive and Morgan le Fay,”⁵ that this essay takes as its primary source. After Morgan attempts to allow her lover, Sir Accolon, to best Arthur on the battlefield by providing him Arthur’s sword Excalibur and the accompanying scabbard, Arthur realizes the deceit and through the help of the enchantment of a Damsel of the Lake regains his sword and scabbard before dealing a blow to Sir Accolon that ultimately leads to his death. Although Arthur does not kill Sir Accolon on the battlefield once he realizes the knight’s identity, the damage had already been done, and for this, Morgan holds Arthur responsible for the death of her beloved, with her anger spurred on by Arthur’s “present” to her of Sir Accolon’s dead body. In revenge, she plans to steal Excalibur from him, but being unable to do so, instead takes the scabbard, which has protective healing properties, and throws it into a lake. Afterwards, Morgan sends a cursed mantel to Arthur in the disguise of a peace offering in a second attempt to kill him. Despite Malory’s characterization of Morgan and her actions, the negativity surrounding her character is not simply a result of her actions, but a result of her being a woman taking those actions.

Reviewing the scholarship written on Morgan le Fay, one finds a varied landscape that is as equally wide in its array of topics as the body of Arthurian literature is in its portrayals of Morgan le Fay. Many scholars have focused their work on the mythological and cultural origins of the Morgan le Fay character. While it is widely agreed that aspects of her character develop out of the triple goddess belief of Celtic lore, the way in which her character represents any particular

4 Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites* (see note 3), 76. Kieckhefer, while discussing the role of the psychological magic experiments in a necromancer’s handbook, cites the work of Edward Peters to discuss the social context in which these experiments might have been employed. Edward Peters, “The Sorcerer’s Apprentice,” *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 110–37.

5 Malory, *Le Morte Darthur* (see note 1), 58–81.

goddess figure is greatly disputed.⁶ In addition to linking Morgan to goddess figures, many scholars are interested in her development from a positive healer into a negative sorceress figure.⁷ Other scholarship takes a special interest in Morgan le Fay's absent-but-active role in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Mikee Delony explores "the gendered performance of male and female character in the architectural spaces" of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as a result of Morgan le Fay's

6 Roger Loomis argues that Morgan (he refers to her as Morgain) being "manifestly a creature of tradition rather than invention, she [Morgan] must have had a long and complicated history." Rather than examining Morgan's first literary appearance, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*, Loomis instead turns his attentions to her second mentioning, in Benoit de Ste-Maure's *Roman de Troie*. He outlines some of the major themes associated with Morgan and how they may have influenced the development of other characters playing out similar themes, specifically that of holding a knight (often Lancelot) prisoner, allowing him conditionally to go free, and providing him with a horse. Loomis traces threads of this theme throughout numerous texts and comes to the conclusion that not only does this motif get used to portray a Morgan-like character, but it can also "be traced back to Ireland" and the Irish goddesses. Loomis, like many other scholars, also points out the likely connection to the specific goddesses Modron and Morrigan, giving her a complex mythological heritage of Irish and Gaul and British goddesses as predecessors (197). Roger Loomis, "Morgain La Fee and the Celtic Goddesses," *Speculum* 20.2 (1945): 183–203; here 183, 186, 191.

7 Jill M. Herbert, *Morgan le Fay, Shapeshifter*. Arthurian and Courtly Cultures (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) examines the way in which Morgan's changing characterizations reflect the cultural concerns of the various authors' time periods. Whereas Loomis' work examines Morgan le Fay as a medieval character, Herbert looks at representations of Morgan over a much longer chronological period, including contemporary fantasy literature. Carolyne Larrington, *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), provides a comprehensive overview of Morgan's literary development since her first appearance in *Vita Merlini* and places her within the larger context of enchantresses and her royal family, particularly her sisters. Kristina Pérez, *The Myth of Morgan la Fay*. Arthurian and Courtly Cultures (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) also examines the chronological development of Morgan le Fay from her medieval to the modern manifestation. She gives special attention to the ways in which Morgan resists socially constructed dichotomies while maintaining a "dualistic, ambivalent [nature]" (59). Unlike other scholars who focus on examining the specific iteration of Morgan's character in a given text or in the context of a particular century, Pérez approaches each discussion of Morgan as adding a new layer on top of the already created Morgan le Fay character, providing a more contextualized, continuous interpretation of Morgan that acknowledges the role of past representations in shaping current ones. Maureen Fries has also worked on tracing Morgan le Fay's development as a character, specifically examining how representations of Morgan shift from a healer/goddess figure into the sorceress figure in *Le Morte Darthur*. Fries argues that this "decline" is a result and representation of male authors' need to weaken strong female characters meaning that "even sorcery is eventually reduced to more mundane means such as drugged wine or magic potion or powder instead of irresistible spell." Fries, "From the Lady to The Tramp" (see note 2), 4.

magical control over them.⁸ Using feminist theories to consider gendered spaces, Delony is interested in “the potential magic space offers for transgressing traditional modes of gender construction,”⁹ a concept which I examine below in application to Morgan’s use of enchantment as part of her means. Scholars’ arguments about Morgan le Fay, particularly prominent in interpretations of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, often reveal an interesting polarization between attempts to read Morgan’s power in the text as overarching and controlling the full narrative or eliminating her plot-importance by reducing her to a structural remedy of the narrative.¹⁰

While many of these arguments are made in reference to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, a far briefer work than *Le Morte Darthur*, the mentions of Morgan le Fay in the first and last few pages of Malory’s text as well as the long-lasting effects of her actions against Arthur suggest that subscribing to an interpretation of Morgan’s power as overarching is more appropriate. My own argument develops from many of these scholars’ methodologies, theoretical approaches, and arguments. This paper, although examining Morgan le Fay within the specific realm of Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur*, draws on an awareness of Morgan’s goddess origins as well as the shifting constructions of her character from a healer into a sorceress. I, like many Morgan scholars, take interest in the gendered aspects of Morgan, her actions, and her methods, particularly how her use of magic fits into the gender dynamics constructed by Malory and the dichotomies she works within or chooses to break.

Examining the first literary appearance of Morgan, occurring in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Latin *Vita Merlini*, provides helpful insight into the original conception of Morgan’s character – one who possessed healing abilities but already was shaped as a powerful character with connections to Avalon. This connection is one that is retained even in Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur*, composed over two centuries later. In the *Vita Merlini*, Morgan appears in Arthur’s death scene as he is sent to Avalon supposedly to recover from his wounds under the care of the heal-

8 Mikee Delony, “Gendering Morgan le Fay’s Magical Spaces in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,” *Medieval Perspectives* 20 (2005): 20–56; here 20.

9 Delony, “Gendering Morgan le Fay,” (see note 4), 21.

10 Albert B. Friedman, in examining *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, is more interested in the narrative and thematic function of Morgan, and he disputes Denver E. Baughan’s claim that “Morgan’s plan to humiliate the Round Table and frighten Guinevere does in fact succeed” and in turn proposes that Morgan’s presence in the poem is a solution to the poet’s “structural problem, the combination of the two stories [the beheading and the temptation] into a single plot.” Albert B. Friedman, “Morgan le Fay in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,” *Speculum* 35.3 (1960): 260–74; here 260, 270; Mikee Delony, “Gendering Morgan le Fay’s Magical Spaces in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,” *Medieval Perspectives* 20 (2005): 20–56.

er Morgan. Despite the bitter exchange of actions between Morgan le Fay and Arthur in *Le Morte Darthur* and the unhappy note on which their relationship is left at the end of the “Of Nenive and Morgan le Fay” section, the narrative still concludes with Morgan fulfilling the role of healer in Arthur’s death scene. After describing the fertility of the “insula pomorum”¹¹ (908; island of apples), referencing Avalon, Geoffrey of Monmouth describes the islands residents:

Illic iura nouem geniali lege sorores,
dant his qui ueniunt nostris ex partibus ad se.
Quarum que prior est fit doctor arte medendi,
Excedit que suas forma praestante sorores.
Morgan ei nomen didicit que quid utilitatis
gramina cuncta ferant ut languida corpora curet. (916–21)

[In that place nine sisters, through genial law, render to those people who come to them from our areas. She who is first of them becomes aware in the art of healing, and she surpasses her sisters with superior form. Morgan is the name for her and she learned of what use each plant might have so that she might cure languid bodies.]

Here, Morgan is named for the first time, and great healing abilities are attributed to her. Although she is not alone as caretaker of Avalon, she is singled out among the nine sisters for her particular crafts, which Geoffrey of Monmouth further expands on, and in doing so, firmly establishes her as a figure connected to magic. In addition to her knowledge of natural healing, the poem also claims: “Ars quoque nota sibi, qua scit mutare figuram / et resecare novis quasi Dedalus aera pennis” (922–23; Also the art is known by her, by which she understands how to change form and to cut the air with strange wings just like Dedalus). This particular skill of changing form also is employed by Malory’s Morgan le Fay as she is fleeing Arthur and wishes to disguise herself and her men and horses as stones. A third and final art is also attributed to Morgan: “Hanc que mathematicam dicunt didicisse sorores” (926; And they say she taught the sisters astrology). While the rest of this section establishes Morgan as a noble woman, both in status and behavior, not much is revealed about her as a person beyond these initial skillsets and that she is evidently powerful enough in them to have the confidence that with time, she could heal Arthur of his mortal wound.

The brief glimpse of Morgan in the *Vita Merlini* is nothing more than a line sketch when compared to the richly contoured character of Morgan le Fay pre-

¹¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vita Merlini*. London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian E IV, fols. 128 and 128b; *Life of Merlin. Vita Merlini*. ed. Basil Fulford Lowther Clarke (Cardiff: University of Wales Press for the Language and Literature Committee of the Board of Celtic Studies, 1973). Translation mine.

sented by Malory, yet by keeping this first, original construction of Morgan in mind while considering Malory's Morgan le Fay, the reader gains the opportunity to come away with a better understanding of Morgan and the literary tradition out of which some of Malory's treatment of her has developed.

Since actions grow out of motives and emotions, it is only logical for our purposes to begin by examining the motivations behind the actions of Morgan le Fay in *Le Morte Darthur*. Morgan, like many noble women in Arthurian legends, is married off to a king as a way of establishing powerful connections to benefit the kingdom. Morgan apparently gets no say in this arrangement despite her deep commitment to her affair with Sir Accolon, which he describes saying, "she loveth me out of measure as paramour, and I her again" (68). Morgan's love for Accolon in this sense parallels that of Guinevere for Lancelot, yet rather than suffering silently with only stolen moments in secret rendezvous like Arthur's queen does, Queen Morgan uses her love of Accolon and her hatred of Arthur as motivation to spur herself to action, with the result that she develops a complex plan in which the two men she despises – her brother Arthur and her husband King Uriens – would be killed, and she and Accolon would take the throne. The specific combination of motives behind her actions – revenge, hatred, and love – is common for knights, and while women may desire revenge, the feminine method of attaining it involves convincing a knight to take physical actions on the woman's behalf, which leads to revenge, whereas the masculine method of attaining revenge involves taking direct action oneself (even when other parties are also called to action).

It is important to distinguish emotion from motivation here, as an emotion is simply something felt¹² and a motivation is the cause for action, yet the two can-

12 Peter King provides a comprehensive look at the history of medieval understandings of emotions. In discussing the middle ages, he points to Anselm and Abelard's work as evidence of how emotions were conceptualized. He details Abelard's explanation of emotions, provided in his work *Ethics*, that "an agent is equipped with a variety of emotions, each of which, by definition, has motivational force." King goes on to explain that in Abelard's view, emotions were value-neutral, and it was an individual's intentions rather than emotions or even actions, which held moral significance. Following this period, Aquinas altered medieval ideas about emotions, through his classification of emotions and writings about the complex nature of various emotions. Early fourteenth-century thinkers, however, largely rejected Aquinas's classification structure, preferring instead to build upon the earlier ideas of Anselm and Abelard. Peter King, "Emotions in Medieval Thought," *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, ed. Peter Goldie. Oxford Handbooks (Oxford, New York, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2010), 167–87; here 173, 178, 181.

not fully be separated as emotion can become motivation.¹³ Jane Gilbert responds to Jean-Paul Sartre's 1930's work on emotion theory and the connection between emotions and magical thinking, written first in French as *Esquisse d'une théorie des émotions* and later translated in to English as *Sketch for a Theory of the Emotions*, explaining "Sartre implies a distinction between a fantasy way of being-in-the-world, in which I incorrectly project my own emotions onto unresponsive things, and a realistic one, in which the world will continue coldly on its path unless I intervene in it in an instrumental manner to change the course of events." Although Gilbert rejects the first concept of emotions, instead pointing to various instances in medieval literature in which the demonstration of an emotion is in fact instrumental, she also discusses examples in which an emotion later serves as motivation for instrumental action and argues that the second explanation of emotions "is much more innovative."¹⁴

Sartre's second version of emotion can be easily observed in the case of Morgan le Fay whose emotions, hatred for example, lead her to take actions to affect change in an otherwise continuing status quo. It is out of her hatred for Arthur and her love for Accolon that she provides Accolon with the weaponry and the opportunity to kill Arthur on the battlefield and attempts to slay her husband while he sleeps, and it is through the combination of these motivations with the motive of revenge that Morgan chooses to steal Arthur's weapons and later to attempt murder-by-mantel. Her motivations are not unique within Arthur's court though. A later episode in which Sir Gaheris beheads his mother, the Queen of Orkney, and desires to kill Sir Lamorak for sleeping with her, reveals a set of similar motives. Gaheris believes Lamorak's father, King Pellinore, to have killed his father, the King of Orkney, and thus Gaheris's actions are born out of love for his slain father, revenge for his father's death, and hatred of Lamorak because of his family (241).

Many other instances of this also appear, such as Gawain's grief at losing his brothers resulting in a fierce pursuance of revenge against Lancelot because of his great love of his slain brothers, his desire for revenge, and his hatred of Lancelot for having slain Sir Gareth and Sir Gaheris, even though it was unknowingly (480; 483). Although the narrative looks unfavorably upon Gawain's obsession

¹³ Jane Gilbert, "Being-In-The-Arthurian-World: Emotion, Affect, and Magic in the Prose Lancelot, Sartre and Jay," *Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature: Body, Mind, Voice*, ed. Frank Brandsma, Carolyne Larrington, and Corrine Saunders. *Arthurian Studies*, 83 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015): 13–30; here 15. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Esquisse d'une théorie des émotions* (Paris: Hermann, 1948). This text was later translated by Philip Mairet into the English version, titled *Sketch for a Theory of Emotions* (London: Methuen, 1962).

¹⁴ Gilbert, "Being-In-The-Arthurian-World" (see note 13), 16.

with revenge, Arthur accepts it as reasonable considering Gawain's love for his brothers and the cause of their death. When this is compared to Morgan's obsession with revenge, a lack of understanding or acceptance of her motivation is revealed despite Arthur's slaying of Sir Accolon being similar to Lancelot's of the brothers – both slayers were unaware of whom they were fighting, and both would not have wanted to slay the knight(s) had they known. Morgan's pursuit of revenge upon Arthur is treated completely negatively (although we must admit the reaction of Arthur might have been biased because he himself is the target for revenge), but Gawain's insistence on revenge upon Lancelot, while considered an unfortunate turn of events, is recognized as valid by Arthur despite Arthur's deep love for Lancelot.

Arthur is so aware of the strength of Gawain's emotional response to his brothers' deaths that Arthur goes so far as to command that no one inform Gawain of it since “when he heareth tell that Sir Gareth is dead, he will go nigh out of his mind,” and he predicts the immense war that will result from Gawain's desire for revenge in response to his brothers' deaths, despite their accidental nature (481). When Gawain does discover their deaths, Arthur readily offers to work with Gawain to “shape a remedy for to revenge their deaths” (483). Arthur not only recognizes Gawain's need for revenge, born out of grief, as legitimate, but goes so far as to aid in its pursuit, yet Morgan's revenge, sought for the death of her beloved, is not even acknowledged by Arthur, but is harshly punished.

Morgan's motives are masculine in the sense that they are a blend of love, hatred, and desire for self-enacted revenge, a particular combination of motives characteristic in the reasoning provided for knights' revenge-taking actions as seen in the aforementioned episodes with Sir Gaheris and Sir Gawain. In contrast, her means can, at first, be distinctly categorized as either feminine or masculine, but later she acts through a feminized version of masculine means, blurring the line between the two categories. In the context of *Le Morte Darthur*, feminine means involve a woman convincing a knight to take action on her behalf and masculine means were more direct in that men take direct action themselves. To discuss the means by which Morgan acts, her actions must be divided into pre- and post-death of Accolon. While her lover was alive, Morgan is mainly seen as acting through feminine and masculine means; while she employs both types, the line between them remains fairly clear. Her initial attack on Arthur is perpetuated through feminine means – by convincing Accolon, a knight, to do her bidding and fight for her interests. This type of behavior is characteristically feminine, evidenced by the number of other women who use this means to act; for example, Guinevere orders Lancelot around on various battlefields, such as in *Knight of the Cart*, and often relies on his knightly prowess to defend her in-

terests.¹⁵ In this sense, Morgan is acting through feminine means – through the use of a knight’s action on behalf of the lady’s motives; yet looking at the means Morgan employs to try and kill her husband, there is a clear sense of self-sufficiency in her actions. Not only does she choose the time and place of the attempted murder, she chooses not a feminine method of murder such as poison,¹⁶ but rather a sword, the weapon of a knight, and more specifically, the sword of her husband.

While a modern reader might characterize this detail as “adding insult to injury,” there is a more symbolic meaning behind this choice of sword. Swords are phallic symbols, and Morgan, having been given to King Uriens in matrimony, would have been subject to his phallic desires, so the use of his own sword, a symbol for his marital and martial prowess, against him shows her confiscation of his masculinity and her use of masculine means against him. A sword is also the weapon of a knight, not a lady, so the fact that Morgan wields it herself shows not only that she claims King Uriens’s masculine power, but that she transgresses into masculine power sources more broadly. The language of her specific use of the sword – “she heaved up the sword to smite” (71) – echoes the language used to describe knights in battle and emphasizes her active role in this attempted murder.

The setting of the attempt foreshadows the later beheading of Morgan’s sister, Queen Morgause, by her son Sir Gaheris while she is in bed with her lover Lamorak. Just as Morgan attempts to behead King Uriens while he is sleeping in bed, Gaheris also approaches the bedside with his sword unsheathed with murderous intent. The parallel between the methods of Morgan and Gaheris further demonstrate the masculine nature of Morgan’s actions. Unlike Gaheris, who is successful in the killing of his mother, the intercession of her son prevents Morgan from killing her husband.

After learning of Accolon’s death, Morgan is incensed over Arthur’s killing of her lover and she chooses to take more direct action against him. Riding to the “abbey of nuns where lay King Arthur” she intends not to kill him, but “to steal away Excalibur his sword” (71). There are a few interesting aspects to this scene. First, Morgan’s intention is to dishonor Arthur, but not to cause him any bodily harm even though she was previously prepared to have him killed by her lover

¹⁵ It is Sir Lancelot who repeatedly stands and fights for Guinevere when to do so would be a conflict of interest for Arthur. It is also Lancelot who rescues Guinevere from being burnt for her adultery with him. Malory, *Le Morte Darthur* (see note 1), 478, 480–81.

¹⁶ Here I refer to the method of murder with which Guinevere is charged upon the death of a knight at a dinner party she hosts; she is later proved innocent. Malory, *Le Morte Darthur* (see note 1), 406.

and to kill her husband herself with a sword. The theft of Arthur's sword also has symbolic significance as his sword, a phallic symbol, represents his sexual and martial abilities, without which he fails in his two main roles as a king. In battle, disarming one's opponent is a useful strategy, and is one that Morgan employs here outside of a battle context. One might argue that she also took King Uriens's sword, yet because it was not on his person at the time, nor even in the same room, the implication of disarmament is not present in the same way as it is with Arthur. However, Morgan's attempt to disarm Arthur, although a masculine means of fighting, is not enacted through traditional means – on the battlefield – but through a more feminine action of deception in which she intimidates and tricks the women in the abbey to allow her to visit Arthur while he sleeps. She employs secrecy and stealth to accomplish her goal, yet is still unable to take the sword due to Arthur's physical possession of it “in his right hand naked” (72).

Because of this, she instead takes the scabbard, which is symbolically yonic and has special connection to the origins of Morgan le Fay's character as a healer. The scabbard has particular protective abilities, which Merlin tells Arthur, “for while ye have the scabbard upon you, ye shall lose no blod be ye never so sore wounded” (30.) Here we see a connection to early versions of Morgan le Fay that cast her as a powerful healer, giving an aspect of metanarrative circularity¹⁷ to the moment when she steals Arthur's scabbard and leaves the sword. In a way, this theft is not only an action of taking from Arthur, but an action of Morgan le Fay reclaiming her magical identity. Morgan, originally a healing figure, ends up obtaining the scabbard, an item which is tied to healing through its ability to prevent wounds. Additionally, through this act, Morgan reclaims the yonic symbol, demonstrating a parallel reclamation of her own feminine identity which, if we recall the phallic connotations of King Uriens's sword, had previously been under the control of the Pendragon family and men in general.

This seems to restore a certain balance in which Morgan, the sister, possesses the healing, yonic item (the scabbard), and Arthur, the brother possesses the harming, phallic item (the sword). This yonic imagery goes further as Morgan throws the scabbard into the lake, making a symbolic and literal statement about Arthur's future inability to possess it/her. In her moment of desperation, thinking she could not escape, she makes the choice that Arthur will never re-

¹⁷ This same circularity to Morgan's metanarrative can be seen on a larger scale in both Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* and in *The Vulgate Cycle*. In both texts, Morgan, despite her enmity toward Arthur, at the end appears as one of the ladies to carry him to Avalon where he is to be healed. “The Death of Arthur.” Trans. Norris J. Lacy, *The Lancelot-Grail Reader*, ed. Norris J. Lacy (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 2000), 396; Malory, *Le Morte Darthur* (see note 1), 515.

gain the scabbard: “And when she saw she might not escape, she rode unto a lake thereby, and said, ‘Whatsoever come of me, my brother shall not have this scabbard.’ And then she let throw the scabbard in the deepest of the water” (72). She declares her unwillingness to let the power of protection return to Arthur’s possession, showing a literal aspect of her revenge, but also symbolically representing her refusal to return to being under Arthur’s power as she prevents him from recapturing the scabbard, a yonic symbol which is standing in for her control over her own sexuality. This struggle for sexual control ties back into Morgan’s original motives for all of these events: a desire for ownership over herself.

Although Morgan escapes from this chase through her enchantments,¹⁸ she is not yet satisfied and makes one last attempt on Arthur’s life, through a cursed gift of a mantel that she has delivered to court for Arthur. Here Morgan returns to the feminine power of deception by presenting her death weapon disguised as a gift. This final means is possibly most interesting because there is so little said about it. The intended result of the action is clearly revealed – the mantel is designed to kill the one who puts it on as it does the damsel who is sent bearing it to Arthur: “And so the King made to put it upon her, and forthwith she fell down dead, and never spoke word after, and burnt to coals” (73). The specific manner of death appears to be instantaneous and deal with spontaneous combustion, yet it is not clear whether the mantel itself was an inherently magical item, a regular item imbued with magical properties by Morgan, or a regular item with regular poison; although the last option seems unlikely considering after her death the damsel “burnt to coals.” Because Morgan is not physically present, her power is regulated to that of a feminine means, just as a knight’s physical presence is needed for his use of his masculine power.

The mantel, upon being brought to court by a damsel sent by Morgan, is described in detail as a monetarily valuable garment: “the richest mantel that ever was seen in the court, for it was set all full of precious stones as one might stand by another, and therein were the richest stones that ever the King saw” (73). This provides an interesting contrast of means for escaping Arthur’s anger, particularly when compared to Morgan’s earlier opinion, after her first attempt at having Arthur killed, that “there should no gold go for her life” (71). Whereas the first murder attempt has Morgan le Fay believing there is no possible monetary re-

18 Morgan’s enchantments allow her to disguise herself, her men, and their horses as stones, thus hiding them from Arthur as he searches for her in furious anger over her theft of the scabbard. The type of magic demonstrated in this part of the narrative directly echoes the ability of Morgan in the *Vita Merlini* to change forms. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vita Merlini* (see note 9), lines 922–23.

course for Arthur's mollification, she stakes her later plan on Arthur's willingness to accept her monetarily precious gift without question. This difference may lie in the specific intent of each reference to monetary value. In the first, the gold would be given in exchange for Morgan's life and as a type of payment for forgiveness of her transgression. In the later gift, the mantel is offered purely as a gift from Morgan to Arthur and is accompanied by an offer to "amend" "what thing she hath offended" (73). Two important points of contrast exist between the situations; whereas the gold would be payment, the mantel is provided as a gift, and the gold was considered by Morgan as a solitary offer to Arthur, but the mantel is accompanied with an offer of further reparations. These distinctions create a unique context for each situation, which is the reason that a payment of gold to Arthur would have been rejected, but a valuable mantle is accepted and "please him much" (73).

The means for this last murder plot also hinge on her skill as an enchantress, which is a common thread in her means for all three actions she wages against Arthur (the battle, the theft, and the mantel). In her first attempt on his life, her magic is used to create the battlefield; in her theft of the scabbard, her enchantments allow her to escape capture by Arthur; and in the final attempt on Arthur's life, the mantel given as a gift to Arthur is cursed to burn up its wearer. Magical means are not necessarily feminine or masculine as they are so selectively available to particular individuals that there is not enough of a basis for them to be established as one or the other. Merlin employs magical means to accomplish many tasks, but these are always positive or neutral for Arthur. Nénive also uses magical means, but she employs them to trap Merlin, yet even this seems more an act of defending her maidenhood from him than an act motivated by any hatred or revenge. Morgan le Fay's enchantments play a prominent and vital role in her actions against Arthur though.

The first mention Malory ever makes of Morgan le Fay is explaining what is done with her after Uther Pendragon's marriage to her mother: "And the third sister Morgan le Fay was put to school in a nunnery, and there she learned so much that she was a great clerk of necromancy; and after she was wedded to King Uriens of the land of Gore" (6). This initial description establishes her identity as connected to magic prior even to her identity as the wife of King Uriens, creating a characterization for Morgan le Fay in which magic is a central tenant.

This is the only mention made of Morgan le Fay – her training and her marriage – until the scene in which Arthur entrusts Excalibur's scabbard to Morgan, and she immediately "let make another scabbard for Excalibur like it by enchantment, and gave the scabbard Excalibur to her love" (41). This passage shows both the strength of her magical ability and establishes the love between her and Accolon. In the first murder plot, she is said to have set the battle up

using enchantments, a fact confirmed by the dwarf who brings Excalibur and the scabbard to Accolon, and to have provided Arthur with a “counterfeit” version of Excalibur and the scabbard (65), one of which has already been confirmed as replicated by enchantment. Later, she escapes from Arthur after throwing his scabbard into the lake “by enchantment” that “shaped herself, horse and man...unto great marble stones” (72). Finally, Morgan seems to have placed some type of magical power into the mantel or used an already magical mantel to attempt, once again, to bring about Arthur’s demise.

The strong connection of Morgan le Fay with magic, particularly since it appears in all of the instances of her actions against Arthur,¹⁹ adds a layer of complexity to the argument of feminine, masculine, and feminized-masculine means she employs. If magic is neither a masculine nor feminine means, then how does it fit into the framework of Morgan’s violation of the feminine-masculine boundary? In some versions, Morgan le Fay learns her magic from Merlin, which might suggest that magic is inherently a masculine means but can be implemented by female characters once they gain their knowledge from a male source; however, this is not the set-up that Malory elects for Morgan. Malory connects Morgan’s learning of “necromancy” to her time in the nunnery as a child, yet the phrasing of this section leaves it unclear whether she actually learned her magic at the nunnery, suggesting a non-Christian aspect of the nunnery which would have been quite problematic, or simply that she was such a good student while at the nunnery that she was able to then educate herself further and learn magic. The latter option seems more plausible considering the tension between magic and religion working as a background for the reader’s understanding of her presence in the nunnery as well as the particular phrasing of Malory in which he claims that “there she learned so much that she was a great clerk of necromancy” (6). Malory is careful not to say that she learned there *to be* a necromancer, but rather sets up a looser causal relationship between her learning and her magical skills. If we accept that the nuns were not directly responsible for Morgan’s learning of magic, then that eliminates a direct link to magic being classified as a feminine means in Malory’s work.

Yet to release the nunnery completely from suspicion as a possible source would be folly considering the prevalence of instances in which books of necromancy were owned by monks, as is discussed by Kieckhefer in the introduction to *Forbidden Rites* which examines a specific book of necromancy and places it

19 It also appears in other texts when she attempts to cause harm or trouble for Arthur and the kingdom, such as in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* when she is said to have tried to frighten Guinevere to death with the Green Knight, for whom she is responsible because she provided the enchantments for him and sent him to Camelot.

within the larger historical and literary context of medieval necromantic texts.²⁰ He discusses the “clerical underworld” as the center for necromantic practice, yet acknowledges that some laymen and some women were also accused of practicing necromancy. Since Malory writes that Morgan le Fay learned her magical knowledge while in a nunnery, it is reasonable to think that it was because of this location that she had the opportunity to learn necromancy. It is important to consider that necromancy can refer to the use of body parts in magic, but can also be used in a more general sense to refer to demonic magic which can affect a variety of effects, such as the illusions Morgan performs.

The illusions of Morgan echo similar illusions for which instructions are provided by various necromantic texts and through which elaborate scenes, such as castles, feasts, and battles, can be made to appear. Michael Bailey has also pointed out the “fluid[ity]” between Christian rites and medieval magic, which supports the possibility that Morgan’s magic could have been learned at a nunnery.²¹ It is also informative to consider the blurry distinction between elite, or learned, magic and popular magic, a concept both Kieckhefer and Bailey have addressed. While this dichotomy has been challenged and complicated, both in Kieckhefer’s more recent works and in Bailey’s essay “The Meanings of Magic,”²² it remains a productive framework for considering some aspects, such as the gender elements of magic. Regardless of whether we interpret Morgan’s magical abilities as having been taught in the nunnery or having been self-taught using her superior education, it is clear that the type of magic she could and does perform, leans toward being considered more as elite magic than popular magic.

But what does this distinction and conclusion mean for the gendered element of her magical means? Kieckhefer’s *Magic in the Middle Ages* informs us that elite magic was largely connected to men,²³ yet here Morgan’s ability comes not from male clerics or a monastery, but from a nunnery. This leaves us with a commonly masculine-controlled type of magic originating from a strictly feminine source and being performed by a woman who fluidly moves between

20 Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites* (see note 3), 12. See also Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*. Magic in History (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

21 Michael D. Bailey, “The Age of Magicians: Periodization in the History of European Magic,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 3.1 (2008): 1–28; here 5.

22 Michael D. Bailey, “The Meanings of Magic,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* (see note 21), 1–23.

23 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks. 2nd ed. (1989; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 151–56, 198.

feminine and masculine means to accomplish her purposes. The source of Morgan's magical knowledge is itself transgressive because the acquisition of this knowledge occurs within a female space (the nunnery) rather than a masculine space (a monastery). This altered dynamic of the gendered spaces for elite magic in the origin of Morgan's knowledge represents the larger dynamic of Morgan's own gender-transgressive tendencies in how she uses her abilities.²⁴

What then is left? Perhaps magic is a gender-neutral means, yet the specific manner in which Morgan employs her magic – a fake scabbard, disguising herself as a stone, and death hidden as a rich gift – parallel the deception and manipulation that seem more characteristic of feminine than masculine means.

Unlike a sword, which is easily classifiable as masculine means and functions generally in one way – causing bodily harm – and unlike deception, which tends to be feminine,²⁵ magic can work in either way. The mantel's curse kills viciously and quickly, yet the other enchantments that Morgan works tend to be more deceptive. Magic, unlike other means which can generally be classified clearly as masculine or feminine, can function as either depending on the manner in which the practitioner uses it, regardless of the practitioner's own gender. Morgan is able to use her magic as both feminine and masculine means, and in Malory's narrative, Nenive and Merlin, employ magic in ways representative of both feminine means – Nenive uses magic to trick and trap Merlin (59) and Merlin uses enchantment to help Uther deceive Igraine (5) – and masculine means – Merlin uses his divination and supernatural knowledge to bring Excalibur into Arthur's possession (29). Therefore on its own, without context of a practitioner's specific use of it, magic is an androgynous means in the sense that it holds the potential to be either masculine or feminine.

As society reexamines gender boundaries in more public ways than perhaps ever before, and as they are challenged and redefined, both in societal consciousness and legal codes, it is more important than ever to consider what we can learn from the figures in history and literature who have occupied the space on the outskirts or outside of society because of their defiance against conforming to established gender norms. Morgan le Fay is one of these characters who takes ahold of the weapons and mannerisms of knights and makes them

²⁴ For more on gendered spaces in connection to Morgan le Fay, see Delony, "Gendering Morgan le Fay's Magical Spaces in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*" (see note 8).

²⁵ While this means can be used by knights, such as Mordred when he fakes the letters claiming Arthur has been slain, or Sir Pinel when he tries to poison Sir Gawain and set Guinevere up for the crime (see note 16), it results in a dishonorable perspective of the knight and implies a lack of masculinity since they do not act in a chivalric manner or accomplish their goals through open, martial prowess. Malory, *Le Morte Darthur* (see note 1), 406, 505.

her own, and in doing so, breaks down the masculine/feminine dichotomy as represented in the text. Morgan le Fay, because of her refusal to adhere to the feminine means allowed to her instead becomes a more powerful and threatening figure as she employs masculine means, not within the context of a gender shift, but by feminizing them to function for her benefit. This feminization of masculine means is perhaps more transgressive even than her employment of masculine means because it shows the potential flexibility and weakness in the dichotomous structure established between females and males in Arthurian society.

The portrayals of Morgan le Fay have fallen a long way, from a positive healer figure to a vindictive and murderous enchantress, yet her transgressive nature provides a spot of hope in *Le Morte Darthur* that female characters can take on masculine agency for accomplishing their own goals in any way they deem best, not just through the means considered acceptable for ladies. Morgan le Fay holds many roles in *Le Morte Darthur*; she is a woman, a queen, a sister, a lover, and a magician. Through her use of androgynous means as a magician, she transgresses the simple categorization of masculine and feminine behaviors, and in doing so, challenges the very system from which these categories are established. She combines non-magical methods of revenge traditionally acceptable for women with those reserved for men, seeks revenge for wrongs done against those she loves, fights because of romantic love, and is innovative and bold in the same way many of the best knights are.

As a result of her willingness to accomplish her own ends using the skills and means reserved for knights, she also forges for herself the role of a female knight through her direct enactments of revenge. Although Morgan by gender is a woman, her behavior defies this, and the role of female knight embodies both the femininity and masculinity of her behaviors, as well as providing a sense of their blending and fluidity that is further demonstrated in her use of magic.

Amiri Ayanna

Witchcraft, Heinrich Kramer's *Nuremburg Handbook*, and *Ecclesiasticus*: The Construction of the Fifteenth-Century Civic Sorceress

This paper investigates the motivations behind the infamous inquisitor Heinrich Kramer's theories regarding *maleficia* (witchcraft, or the harboring of evil intent). Kramer's theories are best known from his Latin treatise *Malleus Maleficarum* (*Hammer of Witches*, 1486),¹ a text instrumental in justifying the systematic murder of women during the witch-hunts that occurred primarily during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. The linkage between the *Malleus*, inquisitors' methods and records, and the European witch-hunts has been explored in many studies, including those in the context of gender.² However, few have questioned what informed Kramer's conclusion that *maleficia* was a material reality in the world, and moreover that women were nearly exclusively susceptible to harboring it.³ This study argues that Kramer's *Nuremburg Handbook*, a brief condensation of certain key points of the *Malleus* that Kramer presented to civil mag-

1 Heinrich Institoris. *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum*, trans., with intro. and commentary by Christopher Mackay (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also Mackay's earlier two-volume edition including the Latin text, *Malleus Maleficarum*, trans., with intro. and commentary, by Christopher Mackay (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For an original edition, see Heinrich Institoris, *Malleus Maleficarum* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1494).

2 See, e.g., Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1997); Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-hunt*. Columbus Centre Series, Studies in the Dynamics of Persecution and Extermination (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Christina Larner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002).

3 With the exception of the work of Dieter Harmening (see, e.g., Dieter Harmening, *Zauberei im Abendland: vom Anteil der Gelehrten am Wahn der Leute: Skizzen zur Geschichte des Aberglaubens*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Europäischen Ethnologie, 10 [Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1991]), issues regarding Kramer's theology, programs for education of the laity, and views on people's (particularly women's) roles in an apocalyptic world have been largely neglected in scholarship on European witchcraft.

Amiri Ayanna, Brown University

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-019>

istrates, nobles, and judges (as opposed to religious authorities) in Nuremberg in 1491, yields a compelling possible answer to this question. The locally oriented, vernacular *Handbook*, of which Kramer is the sole author, can be read as a *Malleus* in miniature, in many ways representative of the *Malleus* but also providing unique access to Kramer's thought-world, including insight into his potential justifications for the inquisitorial purgation of women.

This paper's reading of the *Handbook* locates strikingly strong parallels in form, content, and mode of argumentation between the *Handbook* and the book of *Ecclesiasticus* in the Hebrew Bible, also known as the *Wisdom of Ben-Sirach*. *Ecclesiasticus*, a text that dates to approximately 200 B.C.E., addresses a group of Jews in Egyptian diaspora under Ptolemaic Hellenistic rule. This obscure biblical text is often cited in the *Malleus*, a surprising point that has yet to be examined in depth. The *Handbook* does more than simply cite *Ecclesiasticus*, however; it patterns itself upon it. Under close reading, *Ecclesiasticus* proves to be an excellent proof text for reforming a religious community considered by its author to be in violation of the laws of God. Seen as such, it is understandable that Kramer, an Observant reformer, utilized it heavily in the *Handbook*. Although not an organized, concerted movement to reform all Christendom, the Observant Reform concerned itself with the revival of a stricter program of piety, as it was generally held that the fifteenth-century monastic and mendicant ways of life had fallen short of Dominican religious ideals.⁴

Female bodies and bodily enactments of piety were viewed with particular suspicion. Under reform-minded male leadership, women in convents were to observe stricter enclosure, to diminish excessive displays of physical piety such as fasting, to end bodily mortification, and to depersonalize modes of piety generally.⁵ Similarly to the Observant Reform, and particularly to Kramer's

⁴ For an overview of the goals of the Observant Reform, see Kaspar Elm, *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*. Berliner Historische Studien, 14 / Ordensstudien, 6 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1979). See also James Mixson, *Poverty's Proprietors: Ownership and Mortal Sin at the Origins of the Observant Movement*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 143 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009) for a study of the religious ideal of poverty and its role in the Observant Reform.

⁵ Given the focus, particularly in upper Rhenish communities, on reforming monasteries and women's houses, most evidence from Kramer's direct environs regarding how the Reform impacted women comes from convent chronicles and the writings of male confessors. For a general introduction to the genre of convent chronicles, see Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004). For a particularly thorough example, see Ruth Meyer's critical edition of the St. Katharinental Sister Book. *Das "St. Katharinentaler Schwesternbuch": Untersuchung, Edition, Kommentar*, with intro. and commentary by Ruth Meyer. Münchener Texte

beliefs, *Ecclesiasticus* calls for more sagacious and judicious male leadership and also outlines possible roles for women within an ideal moral city.

In *Ecclesiasticus*, women's actions are depicted as the primary means by which lineages of good believers falter; women's acts of disobedience taint their bodies and those of their heirs, and women are weaker than men both physically and mentally. Thus, while women are biologically necessary for creating a community of faithful and wise men, they are also a formidable liability requiring social discipline. Kramer strongly echoes *Ecclesiasticus*'s social and civic positioning of the ideal roles of men and women in the *Handbook*. The main thrust of his argument is that the civic authorities of Nuremburg must have been vested with deeper spiritual authority in order to prevent the downfall of their city and, eventually, the world, through the material influx of sin as propagated by women.

In this paper, I do not seek to explore the phenomenology or cultural meanings borne by the term witchcraft in late fifteenth-century German-speaking lands. Rather, I seek to understand one man's explanation of how witchcraft worked in a world where the presence of demons and the real presence of God was already a fact of daily life. I do not attempt here to understand the wider reasons for the "witch craze" of the late medieval and early modern period in Europe (ground well-covered by others⁶), even the parts of Europe where Heinrich Kramer himself worked and formulated his beliefs. To be sure, that Kramer himself needed to fight so hard for the promulgation of his treatise on what he considered best practices for discerning and punishing witchcraft, and that his mode of inquisitorial logic never gained a foothold in local judiciary procedure, certainly reveals something of the larger culture around him. However, the examination at hand is that of the worldview of one canon lawyer who

und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 104 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1995). See also John Coakley's series of case studies of female saints' male confessors. John Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006). Other seminal works in this field include Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women, for Women, about Women: The Sister-Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany*. Studies and Texts, 125 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996) and Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).

6 Important texts in this field include: Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976); Brian Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. (1987; Harlow, England, and New York: Pearson Longman, 2006); Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2004).

wished to cordon off witchcraft as a female activity, and whose legal and spiritual claims required a great deal of ideological foregrounding and justification.

Kramer's contention that magic could and would wreak tangible and measurable negative effects upon all levels of social exchange and cultural institutions, from neighbor-to-neighbor relations in small villages to the moral poisoning of civic leaders in imperial free cities, is jarring to modern readers. It is indicative, however, of the credibility of the idea that bodies and material objects could contain, physically manifest, and transmit evil. To Kramer, the creation of material divinity in the Eucharist via divine invocation and gesture of a sanctioned person meets its inverse in the influx of evil into the female body via unsanctioned, improper, and, importantly, all-too well-known and accepted verbal formulas, rites, and gestures of the female who perversely desires them. Kramer argues that magic is everywhere, readily available to any who choose to access it. After all, God permitted *maleficia* and made it accessible to humankind. Discerning the presence of bad magic that could weigh down the world in sin was to Kramer similar to what we today might liken to a scientific act of learned deductive reasoning.⁷

In Kramer's view, the need for proper identification of evil was paramount. The descriptive norms of Dominican theologians and demonologists were also in agreement with the methodologies of identification known well to "natural scientists," or the reasoning expounded by Aristotelian natural philosophy. This Aristotelian reasoning, in its fifteenth-century iteration, held that qualities of a being or object could should be identified in order to categorize that being or object. Pinning down and locating essential qualities of men, women, animals, plants, and minerals were foundational elements of understanding the universe for scholastically trained canonists as well as for practitioners of nascent field of natural science. Kramer was not only invested in locating the demonic and the divine, but also, as we see in the *Nuremberg Handbook*, in providing a quick reference guide to identifying and eliminating the presence of the demonic. Kramer sought to make the taxonomy of *maleficia* immediately accessible to those who ruled but who knew little of the science of discerning evil. For the uninitiated civic leader or magistrate, clear indicators were needed to help a judge locate a likely inductor of evil. Here, Kramer tags biological sex, specifically the repro-

⁷ Michael Bailey discusses the transition from Kramer's Dominican predecessors' argument that demons operated largely through deception to Kramer's assertion that the demonic was accessed and summoned by the personal agency of humans in error. See also his discussion of prophylactic use of the sacramentals and to prevent the influx of evil. See Michael D. Bailey, *Fearful Spirits, Reasoned Follies: The Boundaries of Superstition in Late Medieval Europe*, 205–22 (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2013).

ductive capacity of women, as one of the clearest and simplest identifiers of those who engage in commerce with Satan.⁸

This volume presents, in its diversity of perspectives, the implicit argument that magic is an unstable concept and the roles and meanings magic might have in a given cultural or historical context are deeply unstable. The redefinability of magic across time and space is underlined in Kramer's uphill battle to convince his readership of the gendered nature of witchcraft and (in his view) the misunderstood, inherently diabolical nature of magic, whether as seemingly innocuous as a love-charm or as malevolent as the devouring of newborns. Kramer sought to collapse the agency of practitioners of *maleficia*, since their actions were derived from the power of their pact with Satan.

The real presence of Satan has been ushered onto earth through women and perpetuates itself through women's bodies as a physical bearer of that satanic contagion. Women's role in human regeneration has transmuted into a process whereby the diabolical compounds itself over generations. Magic is cast as a material reality, tainting generally healthy souls which would otherwise have remained unstained by that original exchange with Satan. In Kramer's view, magic is flattened from a wide spectrum of actions, rites, and concepts into a narrow pipeline for sin to enter and accumulate on earth. The wider, simpler, and more menacing definition of magic Kramer puts forth creates the need for wise judges to discern the diabolical pact and expurgate it. Kramer was not alone in trying to convince non-clerics of the pervasive presence of demonic evil, and bringing the notion of women's demonic pacts with Satan to the level of common discourse was clearly one of Kramer's goals. Michael Bailey writes: "Most laypeople surely understood at least the basic nature of demonic menace as the church depicted it. They did not, however, seem to connect familiar practices with this menace, or they viewed possible involvement with demons far less seriously than did clerics."⁹ Kramer felt his mission was falling upon deaf ears, and so he took rhetorical steps to normalize his new interpretation of *maleficia* by adopting biblical language and the textual precedent of biblical prophecy.

After briefly engaging with Kramer's biography and the history of the *Maleus* and the *Handbook*, this paper explores a number of the most potent similar-

⁸ For further discussion of Kramer's materialist logic and his move toward defining *maleficia* as an act of women, see generally Tamar Herzig, "Witches, Saints, and Heretics: Heinrich Kramer's Ties with Italian Women Mystics," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 1.1 (2006): 24–55.

⁹ Michael Bailey, "The Disenchantment of Magic: Spells, Charms, and Superstition in Early European Witchcraft Literature," *The American Historical Review* 111.2 (April 2006): 383–404; here 390–91.

ities between the *Handbook* and *Ecclesiasticus*. First, I will investigate similarities in form and framing, particularly with respect to the texts' prologues. Next, I will examine parallel themes of wisdom and authority, which are accentuated in the texts' by their focus on the judiciary. With this background, the chapter then will discuss the treatment of women in each text. The chapter ultimately posits that, whether Kramer's reading of *Ecclesiasticus* was the cause of or justification for his conclusions about malefic women, his ideas surrounding heritable, material sin within the body of the newly conceived civic sorceress may at least explain his use of this obscure text.

Heinrich Kramer, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, and the *Nuremburg Handbook*

Heinrich Kramer, or Henricus Institoris,¹⁰ was born in 1430 in what is now southeastern Germany. He entered a Dominican monastery at an early age and by 28 was already an active participant in the Observant Reform's attempts to return practices of worship closer to the doctrinal ideals of his Order.¹¹ Kramer, along with many other Dominicans, viewed the rooting out of heretics as fundamental to their program of rebuilding a purer church. He persecuted the Waldensians, serving as confessor to the Waldensian Bishop Friedrich Reiser before he was burned for heresy.¹² After a brief period of study in Rome, Kramer went to Bohemia to try the Hussites for heresy between 1467 and 1470.¹³ Within the next few years, Kramer also presented evidence against Jews accused of ritual murder in Ravensburg and Trent and began inquisitions against witches in Southern Germany.¹⁴ He became a Master of Theology in 1479.¹⁵ The following year, Kramer, moved by the arguments of Nicholas Eymeric, accused and tried sisters in Augsburg of heresy because he deemed their practice of Eucharistic piety excessive.¹⁶

10 Kramer adopted the Latinate name Henricus Institoris for his Latin-language religious tracts.

11 For an excellent biographical overview (in English), see Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum* (see note 1), 83–103.

12 Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum* (see note 1), 84.

13 Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum* (see note 1), 84.

14 Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum* (see note 1), 86.

15 Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum* (see note 1), 85.

16 When this attempt failed, Kramer turned his attention immediately to persecuting papal conciliarists in Poland. See, for instance, Werner Tschacher, "Kramer, Heinrich (Henricus Institoris)," *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung*, ed. Gudrun Gersmann, Katrin Moeller and Jür-

Like many other Observant reformers who attended to female spirituality, Kramer was troubled by the seeming impropriety and insatiability of women's ecstatic reception of the Eucharist. Like his peers, Kramer preferred that women express their piety within the confines of adherence to church doctrine and not as a personally given bodily experience – an understandable preference given his belief that women's bodies were vessels of sin.

When Kramer became vicar of the Dominican convent in his birthplace of Schlettstadt, he attempted to alter the way women prayed by architecturally re-configuring the convent to provide for greater enclosure.¹⁷ Between 1481 and 1486, Kramer led a series of inquisitions in five dioceses in Southern Germany, where serious opposition from skilled jurists resulted in the release of many of the accused.¹⁸ Kramer, incensed, obtained a papal bull granting him even greater authority as an inquisitor. However, his first attempt as a papal inquisitor in Innsbruck was a failure. Bishop Georg Golsner, who found Kramer's "attempt to link feminine sexual deviance with witchcraft . . . especially offensive,"¹⁹ became his fiercest opponent. With Golsner leading the opposition, not only was the inquisition eventually rejected, but Kramer was expelled from the city, with the local bishops expressing more exasperation and annoyance – Kramer had repeatedly refused to leave – than outright approbation.²⁰

Perhaps in part as a response to this negative reception, Kramer penned the *Malleus maleficarum*, in which he sought explicitly to establish witchcraft as a female activity and to substantiate his position that women were prone to evil. With supporter Jakob Sprenger listed as co-author, whose good name Kramer possibly thought might lend more credibility to his work,²¹ the text was completed about a year and a half after the failed Innsbruck inquisition.

gen-Michael Schmidt (June 24, 2008). Available at https://www.historicum.net/en/themen/hexenforschung/lexikon/personen/artikel/Kramer_Heinrich_Henricus_Institoris/ (last accessed on October 1, 2016).

17 Tschacher, "Kramer, Heinrich (Henricus Institoris)" (see note 17).

18 Tschacher, "Kramer, Heinrich (Henricus Institoris)" (see note 17).

19 Hans Broedel, "To Preserve the Manly Form from so Vile a Crime: Ecclesiastical Anti-Sodomitic Rhetoric and the Gendering of Witchcraft in the *Malleus Maleficarum*," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19.1 (2002): 136–48; here 135.

20 See Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum* (see note 1), 96–102, for an informative documentary overview.

21 According to Werner Tschacher, the friendship between Sprenger and Kramer was short-lived. Introduction to *Der Hexenhammer: Malleus Maleficarum*, ed. and trans., with commentary, by Wolfgang Behringer, Günter Jerouschek, and Werner Tschacher (Munich: Deutscher Verlag, 2000), 37. Hansen suggests that Sprenger was accusing Kramer of impropriety by 1490 at the latest. See Joseph Hansen, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hex-*

To date, scholars have often been content to provide brief biographical portraits which relate a basic sketch of Kramer's activities and circumstances to the atrocities his ideas enabled, rather than exploring his worldview in any sustained fashion.²²

The *Malleus* is a vast and puzzling text, composed in the traditional scholastic method. It lays forth the problems of *maleficia* in the world and proposes ways to eliminate it by outlining the "right" ways of identifying and subsequently punishing those women who bear it. In the *Malleus*, *maleficia* is Satan's work, permitted by God, and enacted by female agents. It is part of a "bipolar struggle between good and evil."²³ Kramer believed the Apocalypse and Final Judgment were at hand. In the Prologue (*Bulle*) to the *Nuremberg Handbook* addressed to the magistrates and nobles of Nuremberg, *maleficia* is rather simply defined as the heretical infliction of harm on people or things by way of sorcery. That Kramer identifies *maleficia* as heretical necessarily implies that he views any sorceress to be breaking the community of faith by introducing the physical presence of evil. Damages (*Schaden*) incurred by witches include heresy, first and foremost, which Kramer depicts as a real, physical contagion to be expunged, and which may overtake faithfulness in the zero-sum game of eschatological judgment.²⁴

enverfolgungen im Mittelalter (Bonn: Carl Georgi, 1901), 372. This is a speculative reason given by several of the dual author proponents. Given the documentary evidence, as well as the arguments put forth by Behringer et al. (*Der Hexenhammer*, 31–37) demonstrating convincingly that Sprenger had fallen out with Kramer already by 1484 over issues of ecclesiastical doctrine, this notion is unconvincing but at least plausible, especially given Kramer's eagerness to have his ideas become accepted by any means possible. Although the *Malleus* was ostensibly, in its print form, co-authored with Jakob Sprenger, scholars generally attribute the writing solely or primarily to Kramer. Michael Bailey argues that the main if not sole author was indeed Kramer, and provides a summary of other scholars' positions on Sprenger's level of involvement in the creation of the *Malleus*. See Bailey, *Fearful Spirits, Reasoned Follies* (see note 7), 199–201.

²² Though he treats all documentary evidence seriously, even Mackay does not entertain in any great depth that possibility that the texts that Kramer read and heavily cited most heavily may have been as foundational in framing his views on women and sin as his ecclesiastical conflicts and fraught relationships with clerics. Such a project is certainly beyond the scope of his comprehensive critical edition; nonetheless, his work has enabled others to see more clearly exactly what texts Kramer relied upon.

²³ Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum* (see note 1), 22.

²⁴ For example, the Prologue states: "So offenbar ist die grosse not der cristenhait angelegen, der vnholden halben von grosses schadens zugefüegt fruchten, vich und menschen. vnd das on zal ist" ("Christianity has reached a state of calamity, such that the witches have publicly inflicted great damages upon fruits, animals, and people. And the damage is beyond reckoning") *Nürnberg Hexenhammer 1491 von Heinrich Kramer (Institutoris): Faksimile der Handschrift von 1491 aus dem Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Nr. D 251*, ed. and trans. by Günter Jerouschek (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1992).

The term “damages” also refers to the results of *maleficia* generally, such as crop failure and the death of infants. Kramer’s conflation of heresy and physical damage done to the world is not as baldly expressed in the *Malleus* as it is in the *Handbook*. Whether he fashions this view purposefully for the perhaps more materially minded magistrates of Nuremberg is an open question, but Kramer’s deep materialism in matters of theology remains consistent throughout the *Handbook*.

The lack of careful, English-language textual-critical readings of the *Malleus* and its various offshoots or extended consideration of Kramer’s religious and cultural worlds may be linked to the fact that until Christopher Mackay’s excellent critical edition published in 2006, no full-length English translation of the text existed. It was Mackay who observed that one of the most frequently cited biblical sources in the text is *Ecclesiasticus*, which appears in the Greek Codex *Sinaiticus* and is included unedited by Jerome in his Latin Vulgate.²⁵ Mackay’s simple observation was striking; why Kramer, a learned doctor of the church, relied upon this now-apocryphal Hebrew Bible text so heavily is a question begging a response. While *Ecclesiasticus* certainly did circulate in medieval manuscripts, it was nearly always bound with the Hebrew Bible texts of *Ecclesiastes* and *Proverbs*.²⁶ Occasionally, the codex also included the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Song of Songs*, and commentaries. However, it was rare for a medieval theologian to cite such an obscure text.²⁷

The *Nuremburg Handbook* may help a modern reader understand Kramer’s citations to *Ecclesiasticus* in the *Malleus*, as well as answer the larger question of why Kramer singles out women as sorceresses and bearers of *maleficia*. Kramer penned this thirty-two-page missive to a specific audience of nobles and magistrates of Nuremberg for a specific purpose: to convince those in power that the judiciary is broken because it is not punishing witches for the downfall of Christianity and the coming eschaton. While the *Handbook* was intended to vest civil authorities with the power and responsibility to oversee religious law, the *Malleus* was intended for an ecclesiastic audience, immediately following the failure

25 See Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum* (see note 1), 156.

26 Kearns provides a brief overview of the transmission history of *Ecclesiasticus* in medieval Europe. Conleth Kearns, *The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus: Its Teaching on the Future Life as a Clue to Its Origin*. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies, 11 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 54–57.

27 Citations to *Ecclesiasticus* and *Tobit* were fairly common as part of the canon law tradition, but Kramer demonstrates very little intellectual overlap with legal traditions centered mainly in Bologna in the fourteenth century. The only discernible similarity between the writings of Kramer and a canonist is his use of the scholastic method in framing arguments in the *Malleus*.

of his inquisition in Innsbruck. There, as we have seen, the local bishops themselves, allied with the local jurists, worked to expel a persistent Kramer from their diocese.

In the *Handbook*, Kramer takes a very different approach: rather than addressing the leaders of Christendom universally, he shifts his focus to one Reichstadt. Having most likely realized that local jurists did not agree with his inquisitorial agenda and found his methods incomprehensible, he decides to appeal to them directly.

Why Kramer dropped the scholastic method and deigned to write in the vernacular in the *Handbook* perhaps reflects the low opinion of the education he thought these jurists and nobles held. Perhaps it reflects the urgency with which he wrote: *quaestio* and *disputatio* perhaps seemed too time-consuming, as Kramer seems to have believed that the Apocalypse was coming, and soon. The script, excepting the careful *initialis* of the Prologue, is written in an inelegant late-Gothic, cursive, book-hand; the existence of at least three scribal hands also seems to suggest that Kramer felt that this message needed to be received very quickly.

By focusing on the *Handbook*, a text that is still untranslated from the late medieval German vernacular but which preserves Kramer's sense of urgency, I hope to uncover clues that may help explain why Kramer sought to delimit sorcery as a female act. Despite its urgency, Kramer's *Handbook* to the officials in Nuremberg did not achieve his desired effect.²⁸ The magistrates and nobles refused to take any actions against witches as Kramer defined them, and continued using their own city statutes, which only imposed fines or banishment on men and women found guilty of witchcraft, not death by fire or life imprisonment as Kramer had so hoped.

The *Handbook* and *Ecclesiasticus*

Ecclesiasticus is little known to anyone today save scholars of the Hebrew Bible. It was conceived of as a text to realign modes for righteous living under God for a group of Jews living in diaspora under the oppressive thumb of Alexander the Great's successors in Ptolemaic Egypt. Jews there had adopted Greek language and customs and sought integration into the newly adopted polis-structure as a means of social and economic advancement. The text's structure is rather hap-

²⁸ Mackay notes this overall with respect to the views Kramer advocates in the *Malleus*. Mackay, *The Hammer of Witches* (see note 1), 36.

hazard; it is more akin to a book of proverbs, or to be more precise, a book of wise chastisements. Like the *Handbook*, the main rhetorical goal of *Ecclesiasticus*²⁹ is exhortation. Ben-Sira, the author of the text, urges his fellow Jews toward improved piety under seemingly forgotten Mosaic law. Prominent among his themes are the necessary communal reliance upon the wisdom and discernment of judges and the urgency to produce fruitful lineages worthy of remembrance and honor. In the latter theme, women arise as a particular, recurring concern, as women themselves may bring the downfall of a patriarchal society by not conforming to its standards. The ideal woman is personified wisdom. She is reachable, at least metaphorically, only after intense study of the law and conscious, correct comportment under the law. Mosaic law governing women's comportment merge with social mores in *Ecclesiasticus*.

In other words, no real, physical woman may aid in the perpetuation of a just society under the laws of God: the best she can do is not hinder it. Everyday women present direct obstacles to men's attainment of wisdom, the idealized unattainable woman, who, unlike regular women, does not cause men to break the law by way of their bodies and general propensity toward wrong behavior. A bad wife may taint generations in her offspring and a bad daughter may prevent the same by comporting herself in sinful ways; the offspring of such women will not "take root," thus preventing the production of a just society before God and potentially bringing the downfall of an entire community.³⁰

The Prologues of *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Nuremburg Handbook*

Ecclesiasticus proves to be both structurally and thematically suited to Kramer's goals in writing to the civil magistrates in Nuremberg. This is perhaps even more the case in the *Handbook* than in the *Malleus*, given the nature of the prefatory material in Kramer's and Ben-Sira's texts.³¹ The framing device used in *Ecclesi-*

29 *Ecclesiasticus* or the Christian Testament's name for the *Wisdom of Ben-Sira* is traditionally abbreviated for purposes of citation as "Ecclus." I employ the same standard here.

30 See Ecclus. 42:9–14.

31 A close reading of how the *Malleus* uses *Ecclesiasticus* as background material may possibly yield richer, slightly different results than the work I do here since Kramer, like Ben-Sira, is addressing a specific community to effect immediate change in the way late fifteenth-century citizens of Nuremberg perceived good and evil, the ways evil enters a community, and how judges should most effectively judge and address these issues.

asticus is reflected in the structure of Kramer's own prefatory letter introducing his German text to the magistrates and nobles in Nuremberg. The Prologue of *Ecclesiasticus* is written by Ben-Sira's grandson, who explains that he wishes to pass down wisdom he has inherited by both by blood relationship to the author and his own dedicated study. He has translated his grandfather's book "on the themes of discipline and wisdom, so that, with this further help, scholars might make further progress by living as the law directs."³²

The work is a translation from the Hebrew into Greek, as Ben-Sira's particular Jewish community was exiled from Jerusalem to southern Egypt, where the existing Jews had been speaking Greek for centuries, having lost their mother tongue (as did many Jews living in diaspora). Ben-Sira's grandson both demonstrates his incredible learnedness (and thus his authority) in producing this translation and urges a community that had lost its sacred language of worship, and presumably some of its practices as well, to return to the ways of traditional Hebrew law and language. He writes a charmingly euphemistic critique of the mode of "living under the law" that the Hellenized Jews in Egypt had embraced:

. . . I thought it very necessary to spend some energy and labor on the translation of this book. Ever since then, I have been applying my skill to complete it, and to publish it for the use of those who have made their home in a foreign land, and who wish to be scholars in training according to the law.³³

He also goes to some length to emphasize the importance of reading the "original Hebrew." He further stresses that the non-use of Hebrew demonstrates a failing on the part of the Jewish learning in Egypt.³⁴

Kramer's own letter of introduction to the nobles of Nuremberg follows a strikingly similar formula, yet with important differences that rely upon the prologue of *Ecclesiasticus* to lend himself greater intellectual stature and authority. Clearly, Kramer believes the teachings and actions of magistrates and judges in Nuremberg are quite inadequate, and thus he has deigned to produce a translation of his major theological points into the local tongue. For an Observant reformer such as Kramer, the sacred language of scripture, law, and liturgy was Latin. He did not believe the powers that be in Nuremberg possess adequate

³² *Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach*, commentary by John G. Snaith. The Cambridge Bible Commentary: New English Bible (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 6.

³³ *Ecclesiasticus* (see note 32), 6.

³⁴ *Ecclesiasticus* (see note 32), 6.

skill in Latin to read his *Malleus* in the original,³⁵ and he cites the *Malleus* repeatedly throughout the *Handbook* as an independently authoritative source in which the themes he mentions are treated in greater depth.³⁶

Though only four years had passed since the printing of the *Malleus*, Kramer already constructed his work as an authority in his vernacular *Handbook* aimed at just one community. This speaks both to Kramer's personal sense of intellectual grandeur and his concern that proper faith must expunge the earth of its vessels of sin within a very short timeframe. Kramer, unlike the grandson of Ben-Sira, works within a theological ideology that accepts the coming eschaton. *Ecclesiasticus*, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of living life well, as there is no afterlife other than a weakly depicted Sheol, where souls dwell as shadows until the day of resurrection comes.³⁷

While Ben-Sira's admonishments toward wisdom and obedience to the law were promulgated by his grandson, Kramer produced a lineage of legal and religious authority using himself (or his Latin self, Henricus Institoris) as his own intellectual progenitor. He begins his letter of address to the highborn civil authorities of Nuremberg by invoking and locating the source of all proper Christian faith as rooted in Christ himself; "In christo dem vrsprungk vnd beloner cristenlichs glaubens" ("In Christ lies the font and reward of the Christian faith.") (Prologue). He also states his credentials as a doctor of the Holy Scriptures vested with ambassadorial authority of the pope and the powers of an inquisitor. This statement aids in the creation of a lineage of authority, with Christ at the top and the Pope as the Vicar of Christ on Earth, who in turn has granted Kramer inquisitorial jurisdiction over any local trends he deems unfit.³⁸ Whereas the Pro-

35 „... auch schick ich ewer weißheit daß pûch zw theutsch vnd latein, daß alle gelernten mûgen mercken den grundt p b stlicher und kaiserlicher recht, au  den aller diser gericht handel flie en ist" ("and thus I send to [increase] your wisdom this book in German and Latin [note that he only uses Latin in citations to the titles of the *Malleus* and papal bulls], so that all learned may take note of the basics of papal and imperial law, from which all aspects of this judicial practice emerge") (Prologue).

36 The imperial city (*Reichstadt*) Nuremberg had compilations of statutes in the vernacular being printed at the same time Kramer was penning his *Handbook*. The Nuremberg printing shop of Anton Koberger produced many of Kramer's own theological tractates on the Eucharist.

37 Messianism is quite suppressed in the *Ecclesiasticus*. The sense of urgency comes from the idea that one will come to the Day of Judgment in the same moral state in which one has died, making paramount the importance of living well.

38 The papal bull authorizing Kramer to be an inquisitor was essentially rubber-stamped by Pope Innocent VIII in December 1484. This is evidenced by the fact that neither the pope nor his agents altered Kramer's petition at all: instead of issuing a decretal letter which would have necessitated that the pope justify his approval of the petition, Kramer's language was itself used word-for-word in the bull, *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, which reflects the same anxiet-

logue of the *Ecclesiasticus* uses imagery of lineages of wisdom that grow as part and parcel of the power of the nations of Israel and laments the distance between current practice and the Hebrew scriptural ideal of Ben-Sira era three generations ago, Kramer does more than lament.

He writes, immediately following his statement that Christ is the source of all faith, that the state of Christianity is utterly fallen and that practitioners of *maleficia* have taken root and even borne fruit in the imperial city Nuremberg.³⁹ Here, an earthly lineage is implicated that parallels Kramer's own spiritual one. The high-born persons (*Erben*⁴⁰) who comprise the civil lineage of judicial power need to be alerted to the insidious disruption they engender as they ignore the true law and order of God, to whose greater lineage they themselves must return. Such is Kramer's goal.

In calling attention to the entrance of *maleficia* that has despoiled the realm of the lineage and capacity of salvation of the people of Nuremberg, Kramer, as a doctor of the church, aligns himself as a figure of wisdom himself. However, he must present his cases to civil judges and nobles, who of course might well have disagreed with him. For the expurgation of sinful persons by legal mechanism, Kramer requires alliance with the local ruling class; they hold the power of shielding their people from the effect of sin. Kramer writes that it is a great miscarriage of the law (*misshandel des rechts*) that allows evil to enter Earth. Kramer uses the language of the law, just as Ben-Sira does, knowing that the law is tantamount to rising in God's obedience and wisdom.

From that point, God's lineage may bear fruit and increase. Kramer then asks that the nobles of Nuremberg, whom he addresses as "wise, dear lords" (*weisen*

ies found in the text of *Ecclesiasticus*, which may also imply that this and other Hebrew Bible texts, such as the *Book of Tobit*, may have been more in the forefront of the Late Observant reformers' thought than previously considered:

... they have slain infants yet in the mother's womb, as also the offspring of cattle, have blasted the produce of the earth, the grapes of the vine, the fruits of the trees, nay, men and women, beasts of burden, herd-beasts, as well as animals of other kinds, vineyards, orchards, meadows, pasture-land, corn, wheat, and all other grains; these wretches furthermore afflict and torment men and women, beasts of burden, herd-beasts, as well as animals of other kinds, with terrible and piteous pains and sore diseases, both internal and external; they hinder men from performing the sexual act and women from conceiving, whence husbands cannot know their wives nor wives receive their husbands; over and above this, they blasphemously renounce the faith which is theirs by the sacrament of baptism, and at the instigation of Satan they do not shrink from committing and perpetrating the foulest abominations and filthiest excesses to the deadly peril of their own souls.

³⁹ See note 24.

⁴⁰ The German term for high-born here is a gerund of the verb to inherit, *erben*.

lieben herren), use his little book, his meager translation of a much larger corpus of wise writing, the *Malleus*, as a guidebook to stop the influx of sin. Kramer seems to believe that the citizens of Nuremberg are themselves in a fallen state by way of their dereliction in executing the law of God.

Civic leaders have lost their way as leaders just as the *Sirach*'s ancient Judean community strayed from Mosaic law living in diaspora in Egypt, having lost the sacred language and laws. Kramer wants his translation to help the Nuremberg leaders to become righteous in the law, so much so that this now allegedly depraved city can be a "löbliche statt ein spigel ist ym gerichtz handell allen anderen stätten in teutschen landen [praiseworthy mirror to all other city-states in the German realm]" (Prologue). This clearly parallels Ben-Sira's grandson's wishes to use his grandfather's translated message to bring the Hellenized Jews of Egypt back to what he perceives to be the original laws, even though Israel and the Temple are not accessible. Kramer fears not only that the city of Nuremberg has been infiltrated by sin, but that Christianity itself will falter unless the civil authorities take his advice.

There are three general themes shared by *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Handbook*, all of which play vital roles in the ideological programs put forth by Ben-Sira and Kramer, respectively. These three themes are: (i) the perversion of the law (again, a term which both authors use to describe a correct religious program as well as the communally sanctioned execution of justice for crimes)⁴¹; (ii) the problem of no longer being able to be wise, or able to learn the ways of wisdom and discernment, whether judicial or personal, and (iii) the proper punishment for one who perverts the law.⁴² Kramer has structured his *Handbook* in this order, while Ben-

⁴¹ It is helpful to keep in mind that ancient Judean religious practices were both law and habits of daily life – there is no paradigm within ancient Judaism to separate right behavior from correct actions of faithfulness to God, as many modern Christian confessions do. The main goal of the Observant Reform was to bring faith (as expressed by belief) closer to daily lived existence, without any embellishments or interpretations by parishioners that could deviate from what was conceived of as a purer church, closer to ideal doctrine in liturgy and in a comportment of constraint as opposed to ecstatic bodily/visual/spiritual experience.

⁴² Women as breakers of social and moral order are discussed in the *Ecclesiasticus* as lamentable facts of life that can drive apart even the most tightly woven groups of people. They are presented as natural forces that need to be curbed due to their inborn biological natures. Kramer is the one who thinks women should be "rooted out" by death. *Ecclesiasticus* does not suggest such women's extermination, rather it presents women as the ones that prevent rootedness, good lineage, and perhaps an explanation why Mosaic law in diaspora is so very hard to keep: women can no longer be kept in isolation in a solely Jewish community, and thus bring external cultural influence and sin inside their settlement. Indeed, women who cannot be kept home in *Ecclesiasticus* are portrayed as burdens whose offspring will falter.

Sira weaves the themes throughout the text. Women figure most prominently in the second and third issues; they are presented in the *Ecclesiasticus* as incapable of spiritual progress: they remain wholly on the physical and social plane. As one might imagine, the nature of the physicality of women also delimits their social roles. This is true in both the *Handbook* and *Ecclesiasticus*, and the specific images of the *Ecclesiasticus* resonate clearly in the *Handbook*.

Judges in *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Handbook*

In *Ecclesiasticus*, judges are saviors to be revered. They have the direct insight of God, and the knowledge of how one lives righteously. The Lord himself is a judge. This means that his is the apex of wisdom. It is the Lord's own reckoning that provides the pattern for all earthly sages to follow; earthly sages and everyday people must fear him, and know that he sees all sin in their hearts, even if it is hidden: "Those who fear the Lord try to do his will; and all who love him steep themselves in the law" (2:16). There is a clear paternal relationship in *Ecclesiasticus* between the Lord and the true judges who may guide people on earth. People who cannot discern the correct ways to keep to the law are to "not busy [them]selves with matters beyond [them] . . . as many have been led astray by their speculations, and false conjectures have impaired their judgment." (2:23–24).

If a man "masters the law, wisdom will come out to meet him like a mother; she will receive him like a young bride" (15:1–3). A true family is one formed in wisdom of the law. If one does not have the capacity for sage-like wisdom, simply obeying the basic decrees laid out by the wise should allow him to prosper and create a lineage that does not fall fallow. However, "it is better to die childless than to have godless children" (16:3–4). The cities of lawless people become deserts – they are laid to waste by the fires of sin. The wise judge is "always on his guard, and where sin is rife, he will be wary of negligence" (16:18–27). Like the Lord himself, the wise sage/judge functions as "a shield and support" against the harsh desert, and protects those he loves. (34:16).

As the prologue to the *Handbook* has already shown, judges are lacking, yet they require the same traits put forth in *Ecclesiasticus*. They must be able to discern good from evil in order to protect the city they serve. In terms of mastering the law, Kramer argues that the judiciary has missed the true purpose of the law. In the *Handbook*, like in *Ecclesiasticus*, the law is a protection from evil and sin. Judges should first and foremost recognize that they must protect people from both spiritual and worldly ills. Evil has been allowed to grow and proliferate,

and it has thus grown and become stronger.⁴³ Kramer believes that he is following the Observant Reform doctrine of purification (*raynung*) by ensuring that judges and those in power believe in the real presence of evil in the world. It is their failure to discern such a basic fact that has allowed them to not pursue *Unholden* (the vernacular term used for *malefica*, or female witch.). Kramer presents it as a given in the *Handbook* that the Nuremberg civil authorities are derelict in their duties to protecting citizens from spiritual harm. The sagacious judge, wise in the law of God, is what Kramer believes is needed to halt the proliferation of women infected or tainted by *maleficia*. This is an interesting presumption, and one that Kramer had tried to as Kramer had faced fierce opposition to his attempt to prosecute witches in Innsbruck in 1485, despite the fact that he was authorized to do so by a papal bull, a point which he repeats in his *Handbook*, as though hoping perhaps this time that it will have the desired effect. His attempt to vest the civil legal authorities with spiritual authority, specifically the authority to determine and punish crimes of *maleficia*, had failed dramatically. Of course, Kramer was not deterred, and his *Malleus*, which also argues for the spiritual (in effect, inquisitorial) authority of local judges and magistrates, was in print only two years later.

What we can be certain of is that Kramer believed, prior to writing either the *Malleus* or the *Handbook*, that judges should view the expurgation of evil from the world as part of their job description, and that he acted on this belief. Judges, shields that protect people from evil (Prologue; 4v:17), should follow procedures interviewing and examining the accused woman, and they should also have a notary write down every aspect of the trial. Kramer notes that if a judge cannot decide based on oral evidence whether an accused woman inflicted harm using magic or whether harm had arisen naturally, he should refer to the evidence taken down by the notary and use his discernment. The example he uses in the first section of the *Handbook*, in which he explains the correct way to judge witches, has a woman accused of causing bodily illness in another. The person affected must be examined closely, by a doctor if one is available, and,

43 “Des ist zemercken die groben müshandel des rechtens weltlichs oder gaistliches vor den sich alle richter stet vnd land hütten sollen. wo sy begeren als sy schuldig vor got sein widerstand zethuon den vnholden. Vnd ist der erst müshandel lange zeit gewert do durch auch die boshait gewachsen ist daß die oberkait am rechten der stett oder land nit glaubt hat daß vnholden sein mügen” (“It must be noted that all judges of all states and countries should guard against crass abuse of the law, whether spiritual or worldly, [in any place] where people want assistance fighting the witches’ guilt before God. And this fundamental abuse has been permitted for so long a time that evil has grown so great that judicial leaders of states or countries don’t believe that witches may exist”) (2v:5–10).

if no natural cause is to be found for the pain, then the judge must use his discernment to determine whether the woman is indeed a witch. He must use all tools available to him, including torture, testimony, or reliable witnesses, (6v:26–7r:41).

The main (or most common) problems the judge must determine as natural or unnatural (i.e., caused by a woman's devilry) are issues arising when one accuses another of interfering with human reproduction and the successful growth of crops or fruit. As in *Ecclesiasticus*, the goal of the wise one or judge in the *Handbook* is to perpetuate human lineages that benefit the faithful and to stop forces that pervert such positive communal growth. Kramer writes that “die sunden der vnholden die alle sünd der welt vbertreffen” (“the sins of witches surpass all the sin of the world”) (6r:44–45). The amount of sin in the world is going soon to exceed the world's capacity for it. Kramer situates himself alongside the judges as those who can, or at least, who should, restore the world to the righteousness of God's law before it is too late. Kramer gives the Nuremberg judiciary a kind of shorthand in the *Handbook* that outlines the broad natural qualities and characteristics of the types of sin most likely to be performed by persons channeling Satanic powers. These sins deal explicitly with human and plant reproduction, crop growth, and a gendered notion of sexual incontinence and love magic. By the sin one may know the sinner, and that sinner is, in her materially porous essence, appearance, and socially ascribed and determined typical behaviors, a female.

The Idealized “Woman”

Wisdom in *Ecclesiasticus* is depicted as a goddess-like, elusive, and awe-inspiring woman. Paralleling the paternalism of the Lord, she is also rendered as a mother and a bride. He who excels as judge or leader is, in so doing, seeking to attain her (4:11–14) or “possess her” (4:16). Yet the path is not easy, and if he strays from her path, she will torment him with her discipline (4:17). If he does not stray, her plentiful harvest of virtue may be passed onto his descendants. The characteristics of the imagined wise woman are both material and heritable. While we are not talking about an actual physical woman, that the figure of wisdom can leave traces of herself in the lineage of men who study and learn the law is suggestive. She provides the basic, raw material of a good patrilineal Jewish family.

Likewise, wisdom may even help men defeat decrepitude and infertility in old age, “for when your hair is white you will find her still, come to her like a farmer ploughing and sowing, then wait for the plentiful harvest” (6:18–19). In-

verse actions of evil and injustice, however, produce the curse of a “sevenfold crop.” Wisdom’s plenitude, when taken on by a foolish one or one with evil intent can only sow and reap more of the same, and, what is worse, results in greater amounts than a wise man is able to sow in wisdom (7:1–3). Kramer’s plea to protect the fruits of the fields from malefic actions of women, above and beyond humankind in general or precious and life-sustaining animals allegedly often cursed by witches, resonates here: images of lineage in both texts stem primarily from agricultural images or depictions of the “natural world” where all should reproduce as part of a divine scheme.

Everyday women, excluded from the ways of discernment and wisdom granted to men, fare poorly in *Ecclesiasticus*. Women tend toward adultery and daughters creep out of their father’s house before they are promised to be wed. In short, they are generally a headache; at best, they are silent and obedient to their fathers or husbands.⁴⁴ If she ever strays from her husband, “she shall be disgraced before the assembly, and the consequences shall fall on her children. Her children will not take root, nor will fruit grow on her branches. A curse will rest on her memory”⁴⁵ (23:24–26). The everyday real woman is depicted as a failed version of the ideal woman of wisdom.

While idealized wisdom can transmit longevity to her brood through the man who successfully seeks her, women contribute to their family by not screwing things up, which then allows the wisdom of their husbands to create good children through them. The idea of women as mere bearers of the male seed resonates well with the well-established scholastic and Aristotelian conceptions of human reproduction, of which Kramer certainly would have been familiar. In this scheme, a bad womb could spoil the child, as the matter comes from the mother, but the essence of spirit and the “blueprints” of a child are solely derived through the semen. In other words, a woman’s nature and body could ruin an otherwise perfectly good fetus, and she could be held accountable.⁴⁶ “Wine and women rob men of their wits” (19:2) and deprive men of the wisdom they need to keep lineages of wisdom alive (9:1–10), as they cause passions which would not otherwise arise due to the attractiveness of their bodies.

⁴⁴ See Ecclus. 25:7 for the “sensible wife,” and 26:1–4 for the importance of a smiling wife who obeys. Ecclus. 26: 13–16 for the importance of silence (again), modesty, and chastity.

⁴⁵ Idealized female wisdom is also envisioned in *Ecclesiasticus* as a tree, yet she, of course, is perfect, fragrant, and ever-blooming and -productive, in contrast to real women. Ecclus. 24:13–22.

⁴⁶ See generally, Helen R. Lemay, *Women’s Secrets: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus’s De Secretis Mulierum with Commentaries*. SUNY Series in Medieval Studies (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992).

The materiality of Ben-Sira's arguments about the sinfulness of women is demonstrated in his descriptions of their natures and bodies, which are inextricably linked to one another. The curse of a mother uproots her children's houses and families (3:9). But it is not until 25:13–26, when Ben-Sira lays out the whole litany against wives and the ways they fail men, cause all sin, and thwart generations, that the entire picture becomes fairly clear. The susceptible flesh of women is contrasted most starkly to the ideal body of wisdom, yet the entirety of God's creation is praised in Ben-Sira: all of it is worthy of reverence. Only for those who lack discernment or are full of sin are the good creations of the earth spoiled. "Flour, honey and milk" are things of inherent good, but in the hands of a woman (or a man who turns away from the law under the influence of a woman) they turn to evil unless there is a man filled with wisdom to lead her.⁴⁷

In perhaps the most memorable depiction of women's material sordidness, Ben-Sira writes, "For out of the clothes comes the moth, and out of woman comes woman's wickedness. Better a man's wickedness than a woman's goodness; it is woman who brings shame and disgrace" (42:13–14). *Ecclesiasticus* is a rare biblical text in its utter rejection of any and all conceptions of everyday women as having bodies and selves that could independently bring forth anything worth having, much less children of good lineage, into the world independent of a man who is learned in the right ways of the laws of God.

In the *Handbook*, Kramer has no real place for an idealized woman of superlative wisdom. In her place, Kramer creates an inverse female figure: the woman who is deeply familiar with the wisdom and rites of the Christian faith – in this case, holy words, material (such as sacraments), and actions (such as the disruption of baptism or misuse of blessed salts) – but who uses her knowledge to undermine the continuation of generations of men faithful to the Church. While Kramer does allow for the presence of everyday women (who may also be victims, witnesses, or accusers of *maleficia*), the textual trope of a hyperbolic wise woman of *Ecclesiasticus* is reconfigured into its very opposite. In Kramer's *Handbook* the "wise women" are certainly not out of reach – they are everywhere, they are cunning, plotting with Satan, and must be expunged. However, the cunningly evil wise woman is also out of reach only insofar as the wise judge does *not* perceive that such a woman is evil and hold her accountable for her crimes against humanity and its flourishing.

The first charge Kramer formulates against the magistrates of Nuremberg is that they violate the law of the church by not believing in witchcraft. Thus, the

47 See also the so-called "Doctrinal Hymn of Creation" (Ecclus. 39:12–35).

judge must determine whether a woman displays in inversion or perversion of God's wisdom, and in so doing, can demonstrate and increase his powers on earth as a protector of the truly faithful. The line between everyday woman and the utterly debased cunning woman, in contrast to the clear-cut delineation between ideal wisdom and everyday women in *Ecclesiasticus*, is frighteningly blurred.⁴⁸ The *Handbook* contains no safeguard for women's destructive manipulation of matter and divine generation aside from the judicial purification of the world achieved through their extermination.

Like *Ecclesiasticus*, the "moth" of woman's sin in the *Handbook* is located in her very nature, her body's permeability, and her mental and moral deficiencies, as we will see below. Nonetheless, these very weaknesses render her susceptible to bringing the powerful work of the devil to the world. Much of Kramer's explanations of the bodily and mental weaknesses of women may be found in the *Malleus*; in the case of the *Handbook*, Kramer assumes his readership's familiarity with the *Malleus*, and does little to explain why it is solely women who being evil in the world. Instead, he describes common scenarios in which women bear *maleficia*, in order to instruct the Nuremberg judiciary how to best recognize witchcraft, if not by discernment (which the text implies the judiciary lacks), but by general patterns of bad female behavior.

Not only are women permeable to the devil and more prone to make pacts with him, their very bodies keep any sinfulness inside them, and any offspring they have may also be tainted. "auch ir leib vnd sel den bösen mit der frucht irs leibs er geben sein" ("Her body and soul as well as the fruit of her womb will be given over to evil") (3v:13–14). Thus it makes little sense, in light of Kramer's very materialist view of evil and belief that Nuremberg is about to become a conflagration of hellfire, to keep such a woman alive. Any children she has will be tainted by her pact with the devil, and will perpetuate influx of sin on earth. Killing such a woman would save future generations.

Malefic women are characterized as capable of altering the weather to damage crops, which, Kramer argues is a type of sorcery that was once only thought to be accomplished by men, but women, in pact with the devil, are the real culprits (9v; 11r:27–35), summon the devil to make a man fall in love with them and have control over them (11r:5–10), murder unbaptized children to ensure their

⁴⁸ That cunning women were often first accused of witchcraft is a topic that has been well explored. See Heinsohn and Steiger for accounts of how women with knowledge of midwifery, abortion, and birth control were systematically eliminated, as they were viewed disrupting the "natural" order of human life. Gunnar Heinsohn and Otto Steiger, *Die Vernichtung der weisen Frauen: Beiträge zur Theorie und Geschichte von Bevölkerung und Kindheit*. Heyne Bücher, 19 / Sachbuch, 18 (Munich: Heyne, 1989).

damnation, especially if they are midwives (3v:14–15; 9v:14–16), steal the transubstantiated host to reroute its divine power for sorcery (9v:10–14). Notably, Kramer lumps infant-murdering Christian midwives into the same category as the host desecrators, those (typically Jews) accused of sacrifice and ritual murder of Christian children and the desecration of hosts for their blood.⁴⁹ The fact that Christian women are participating in this schema of salvation via intercourse with God's adversary from within is what makes it so insidious, harmful, and of utmost importance to recognize and exterminate them. In the same passage, Kramer instructs judges to ask such accused women whether they have daughters, since he presumed that such a woman would pass on her sinful flesh as well as her inverted wisdom and teachings to her female children, who would then continue unadulterated their mother's works of evil. Kramer sees women as forces that, *because* they, with unruly bodies and wishes, are capable of bringing life into the world, must be managed by men who know better than they how to stay on the Christian course. Kramer emphasizes in the same passage that women often teach their daughters, but not their sons, the ways of sorcery, particularly in reference to infanticide prior to baptism.

Conclusion

In light of a close reading of *Ecclesiastes*, it is perhaps easier to see why Kramer relied so heavily in the *Malleus* on this particular text and why he relies again upon it in his *Handbook* as a model of form and content; theologians and inquisitors prior to Kramer had not seen *maleficia*, or the capacity to bear evil and ill-will in one's very self like a moth in one's cloak, as an exclusively female phenomenon. Kramer's attribution of *maleficia* to women may have been the reason he gravitated toward *Ecclesiasticus*, which other medieval Christian theologians had largely ignored. Whether this text fanned the flames of a preexisting hot-headed conviction that all sin comes from Eve and her lot, or whether his reading of *Ecclesiasticus* perhaps tipped the scales in his mind is hard to say, however, it is fairly clear that Kramer relied upon *Ecclesiasticus* because he found that the idea of locating the sin of satanism in women to be in accordance with his view of how sin had entered the world of late fifteenth-century Germany.

⁴⁹ For an enlightening exploration of the mythologizing of ritual murder to reinforce the communal value and theological centrality of Eucharistic piety, see R. Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1988); Helen R. Lemay, *Women's Secrets: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's De Secretis Mulierum* (see note 46).

That Kramer's notion that harboring *maleficia* was a single-sex occurrence gained quick currency among other Dominicans is without question. Whether Kramer also helped to shape the Early Modern and Modern category of witches as a deeply gendered one is another worthwhile question that is worth considering, though beyond the scope of this paper. Understanding the key interpretive role Kramer placed on *Ecclesiasticus* helps one make sense of the *Handbook*, given its terse nature and assumption that women are the ones to be rooted out if sin is to be expurgated in Nuremberg.⁵⁰

In reflecting on how a Dominican inquisitor came to his extreme misogyny, finding logical reasons to explain this fact are certainly difficult, if not impossible. It is just as relevant today to wonder why and how it is still acceptable in many circles to judge women by their material selves and physicality. Kramer, from his early days as the spiritual leader of a convent in Schlettstadt, showed an eagerness to hide even the most pious Christian women of his own order under even heavier layers of enclosure than fourteenth century sisters had known; perhaps he did not think women fit for the religious life at all. Conjectures, aside, Kramer's issues with women's materiality are clear – they taint the spirit and welcome sin into the world so much that they must burn – so clear, in fact, that they seem almost a material element of Kramer himself and his program of faith. That Kramer reached so deeply into scripture to find justification for the murder of women shows the depths of his hatred for women, as much as it shows his deep belief that the end of the world was at hand.

One aspect of *Ecclesiasticus* that Kramer did not borrow was its construction of epic time, based on generations of great biblical leaders, beginning with Abraham. Kramer felt no need to situate his own Order of Reformed Dominicans into a heritage of great leaders of the Church. For Kramer, there was Christ, the papal vicar of Christ on Earth, and men like himself, who were appointed to expunge the world of sin to enable the second coming of Christ. Aside from deeply dividing sorcery along gendered lines and providing “doctrinal” rationales for murdering women in Early Modern Europe, Kramer's extreme apocalypticism is perhaps his most salient feature. For without women, and we know that Kramer understood that clearly, no new human life could come into the world.

His wholesale disparagement of women, in all its urgency, reveals that he most likely did not think the world was going to exist much longer. The coming eschaton made purgation of women necessary, or else no souls would be saved

⁵⁰ Lyndal Roper, for one, has discussed the idea of rooting out women to expurgate sin in the context of the psychology inherent in the gendering of witchcraft. See Roper, *Witch Craze* (see note 6), e.g., 10; 32–43; 134–59.

on the Day of Judgment. Whether he thought women's imperfect souls were actually worth saving seems to be a secondary question, and one we already know the answer to. Whether the scales of sin had been tipped and the souls of just *men*, as Kramer most likely imagined himself to be, would not be saved in the coming Apocalypse due to women's willful dealings in sin is probably the concern that cut him to the quick. Perhaps more likely: Kramer, in burning as many as women as he could, was hoping to secure his own salvation in God's name, and in his never-flagging self-aggrandizement, presumed that his own desires for sacrifices of blood and fire were meeting God's expectations.

Kramer's eagerness to label women as the sole channelers of malefic magic points to a broader tendency in the history of magic and its identification during the late Middle Ages. The taxonomy of magic was debated and redefined within the parameters of ways of knowing that fall under the broader purview of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' humanistic mode of understanding the world through the assignment of essential characteristics. Kramer believed that malefic magic was instanced by a material perversion of the divine. If the divine could be "objectively" and correctly identified and labeled using the methods of Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, then *maleficia* could also be qualitatively defined by its essential traits. This was a blessing for Kramer; not all judges and municipal leaders could be expected to possess the skills in deducing those trained in distilling the essential characteristics and functions of individual elements of the natural world and the specificity of their role in the larger scheme of salvation.

Thus, if true capacity for discerning malefic magic was lacking, Kramer could communicate in base terms and plain language the general characteristics of those who commonly performed *maleficia*, including particularly women who dealt with matters of human and agricultural reproduction, and who professed enough knowledge of Christian rites and sacraments to pervert them for private rather than ecclesiastically sanctioned ends.

Kramer's worldview and stylized position therein as prophet of a universal church assailed by unchecked sin evidence Kramer's belief in a deeper problem of a generalized lack of wisdom in the ways of God. Kramer argues strenuously for male secular leaders to exterminate women who simply met the basic physiological criteria (biologically female) and who demonstrated solid conceptual awareness of what R. Scribner has called the sacramentals – the popularly deployed, often embodied gestural and verbal rites shared by both laypeople and clerics and considered capable of effecting change supernaturally within

the material world.⁵¹ It is rather ironic that the men Kramer asked to discern the presence of malefic evil were, even in his own reckoning, in no way more knowledgeable or insightful than the women Kramer asked judiciaries to exterminate.

51 See Robert W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 56–58.

David Tomíček

Magic and Ritual in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Popular Medicine

The present paper discusses popular medical practices as documented in the testimonies provided by manuscript anthologies and printed materials in the Czech language dating mainly to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the case of the manuscripts, this essay explores therapeutically-oriented medical compendia, while the scale of genres found in the old prints is far more varied and includes herbals, moralistic works, and historiographical writings. I will also try to follow the contemporary apotropaic, as well as healing, methods and will analyze their specific rationality.¹ I will seek to answer questions such as which ideas were linked with the nature of diseases or other dangers to health in the given cultural milieu and which consequences this had for the potential register of protective and therapeutic procedures.

Another aim is to examine the significance of ritual and ritualization in those procedures and the character of this ritualization. Attention will also be paid to the role of amulets and talismans² and their possible sources of inspiration. Finally, the paper will try to find out to what extent it is possible to talk about magic in the context of popular medicine, and what its nature was. Prior to the analysis itself, however, it is necessary to focus on a significant work from the period of late classical antiquity.

Aurelius Augustinus, Bishop of Hippo (354–430), in his treatise *On Christian Doctrine* (*De doctrina christiana*) distinguishes between two ways of using a healing herb. The first one is to make a beverage from it for a sick person to drink, and the second way is to hang the herb around the neck of the sick person. Although he did not find the first method problematic, he expressed certain doubts about the second one, or, more precisely, about the character of the power in effect. He admitted that such herbs may possess some unknown power of natural origin, but opines that this unknown power can equally be the result of some act of magic – and that it can be so even if hanging of the herb around the person's

1 Richard Kieckhefer, "The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic," *The American Historical Review* 99.3 (1994): 813–36.

2 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 77.

David Tomíček, John Evangelista Purkyne University, Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-020>

neck is not accompanied by an incantation or invoking of spirits.³ At another place in the treatise, he speaks about “amulets and other miraculous healing methods,” which, as he writes, lie in certain things being hung on or attached to the body. It is, however, not done in order to make the mentioned things influence the body directly, and thus more effective, but because they play the role of signs proving the validity of the covenant between man and the devil.⁴

I Personified Disease

According to the late sixteenth-century Czech translation of Mattioli's herbal, some people believed that parsley root worked against toothache if hung on the naked body. The author notes on this method of application that it is possible to try such medicines or amulets if there is no superstition linked to it. Like St. Augustine more than a millennium ago, however, he does not trust herbal amulets much, and holds a reserved standpoint as to their use.⁵ In the case of mugwort, he writes that people tie it to their bodies on St. John's day in order to stay protected against sicknesses, magic, and phantoms throughout the following year.⁶ As far as oak mistletoe is concerned, he notes that people make small crosses out of it, hanging them around their children's necks as protection against the so-called falling sickness and other ailments caused by magic. Similarly, old women reportedly used to hang not only rosaries but also peony root around children's necks, which should safeguard them from various sicknesses, such as falling sickness and an enigmatic disease called 'Božec'.⁷

'Božec', i.e., infantile febrile convulsions, known from the old Bohemian sources from the late Middle Ages and early modern times, cannot be fully identified with the nervous system disorder today known as *eclampsia infantum*. Up to the nineteenth century, the latter term most probably served to describe all convulsive conditions of small children, which directly resulted in their death. It could therefore not be accidental that old women – according to statements in Mattioli's book about herbs – used peony as an amulet protecting against

³ Aurelius Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana–Křesťanská vzdělanost* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2004), 115–16.

⁴ Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana* (see note 3), 105.

⁵ Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *Herbář aneb bylinář* (Prague: Daniel Adam z Veleslavína, 1596), 273 A.

⁶ Mattioli, *Herbář* (see note 5), 302 A.

⁷ Mattioli, *Herbář* (see note 5), 284D.

the sickness called 'Božec' and specifically falling sickness, which earned its name because of its characteristic symptoms.⁸

Regarding 'Božec', Bohemian medical manuscripts dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries contain a narrative charm telling the story about Jesus Christ encountering the disease. In it, Jesus asks the disease where it is going, and the disease replies that it is going to visit a child (a note in the text of the charm advises adding a particular name), that it is going to get into its head, hands, legs, and belly, that it is literally going to crush its bones, suck out its flesh, drink up its blood, and tear its veins. Jesus, however, forestalls the sickness in its intention by ordering it to go to a crossroad, where horses' hooves subsequently tear it into shreds and carry it off in all four directions.⁹

It can be justifiably assumed that the given text was to be written on a strip of paper and hung round the neck or attached to any part of a child's body as a protective talisman. The charm is, nevertheless, extremely interesting because the disease in this brief narration acts in a vividly personified way, having been given the form of a metaphysical creature and/or a ghost or a demon, with which Jesus talks and which He chases away. The illness is chased away in a similar manner in an anonymous treatise written in Czech, *Dialogue between Death and a Human* (*Rozmlouvání smrti s člověkem*) of 1507. It probably describes the plague, although the only symptoms mentioned are fever and swollen lymph nodes, buboes. In the story, a sick man is being healed by an old woman who claims to know "holy words." The recorded charm turns directly to the disease or, respectively, its symptoms. The woman orders them to leave and trouble the patient no more, sending the buboes explicitly to places where nothing is alive or, more specifically, to the deepest abysses where they should stay cursed for good.¹⁰

The disease described as a nightmare was perceived in a similarly personified way during the given period. Here, too, it is rather difficult to arrive at any retrospective diagnosis, although perhaps it can at least be expected that the disease went hand in hand with strong nausea and suffocation, or eventually, that the afflicted persons died in their sleep. The way in which contemporary imagination processed the character of this disease can be found in the medieval comments to Rhasis's treatise *Liber Almansoris*, which in several sentences summarizes the triple possible nature of a sickness called incubus. The name of the

8 Owsei Temkin, *The Falling Sickness: A History of Epilepsy from the Greeks to the Beginnings of Modern Neurology* (Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 85–101.

9 Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic (hereinafter, NK ČR), sign. XVII D 4, 80.

10 *Rozmlouvání smrti s člověkem a člověka se smrtí* (Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, 1507), D1r. See also the contribution to this volume by Chiara Benati.

sickness was drawn from the fact that some authors thought it to be caused by a demon who sucked the life out of its sleeping victims. The physicians nevertheless opined that the real cause was night suffocation resulting from a natural blockage of physical passageways. The traditional folk interpretation, then, viewed the disease as caused by old women who, after having abandoned their physical body, suffocated their sleeping victims in the very form of nightmares.¹¹

The idea of sickness as an aggressive metaphysical creature – a demon, or a witch metamorphosed into a nightmare – perfectly corresponds with the register of the protective means offered by old Bohemian medical manuscripts. One instruction advises the person in danger to smear their chest with sulfur and hang an apotropaic amulet in the form of a billy-goat beard around their neck.¹² Another method speaks about putting on one's nightshirt upside down – sleeves on legs – and lying in bed with the lower extremities on the place of head and covering them with a pillow. It is also recommended to draw a pentagram in an unspecified place, but make sure it is near the bed. The given sign, with one of its points directed perpendicularly down, is – perhaps as a model to follow – sketched along the right edge of the text of the manuscript.¹³ Needless to say, the five-pointed star as a means of protection against the arriving nightmare was used up to the first half of the twentieth century in the folk environment.¹⁴

The last sequence of the ritual instructs the person in question to leave the house and to press the first stone found against their chest.¹⁵ The two protective rituals display identical features: the amulet made of a billy-goat beard, i.e., of an animal traditionally associated with the devil,¹⁶ and the pentagram, both serving to protect against a demonic visitor. Sulfur and stone pressed against the chest play the role of not only a symbolic but also a real obstacle in reaching the endangered organ. The inverse procedures (the nightshirt worn upside down and the reversed position of the person lying in bed) certainly possess symbolic meaning, but are also most probably of a purely practical purpose: to perplex the aggressor who therefore, despite its expectation, cannot attack either the chest or

11 NK ČR, sign. XVII E 25, *Kniha vejkladův na traktát devátý slavného lékaře Rasisa k Almansorovi*, 376v.

12 Prague, National Museum Library (hereinafter, KNM), sign. III H 4, 241v.

13 KNM, sign. III H 4, 241v.

14 Josef Čižmář, *Lidové lékařství v Československu I* (Brno: Jar. Čižmář, 1946), 113, 116.

15 KNM, sign. III F 53, 121v.

16 Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1972), 105, 113, 183–85.

the mouth. After all, a devil, too, can be deceived. A single ritual thus encompasses multi-layered protection: a pentagram, a stone, and a kind of disguise. The character of the rituals suggests that the night visitor was viewed as a demon, or a supernatural creature of infernal origin.

The recorded methods protecting against beings called fays, however, prove that a nightmare was not the only widely dreaded night visitor. A relevant fay-related ritual combines several elements that can jointly turn a person's bed into a space safe from supernatural forces. It is, first and foremost, fumigating the room with incense composed of nine aromatic woods, sulfur, and goat feces, then drawing four signs of the cross with the above-mentioned excrement, the eulogium in the name of the Holy Trinity and, finally, hanging an amulet containing the same ingredients as the incense, around the neck.¹⁷

In order to understand more thoroughly the ritual, it may be helpful to consider the arsenal of the means on offer, which fuses two positively antithetical spheres of origin. It does draw on the Church practice: fumigating with incense, drawing the four signs of the cross in the cardinal directions, and the Holy Trinity eulogium. But the two means employed – sulfur and the excrement of an animal pertaining to a diabolical morphology – represent attributes traditionally associated with the devil. This cultural contamination has its considerable value of evidence, because it helps unveil the character of the very formidable fay which popular thinking probably viewed as Satan's maid or, worse, his outright vehicle. The given interpretation is supported by the fact that both sulfur and fractions of a buck can also be found among the protective means for fighting nightmares.

Another fay-repelling formula also testifies that the creatures were dreaded as vehicles of magic activities conducted by malefic individuals. The person in danger is recommended to have a seven-year old girl weave wicks to nine candles, and then hang and burn three of them on Tuesday evening in a way to make the wax drop onto a single spot. He or she should subsequently bless the resulting heap in the name of the Holy Trinity and then split it by three blows of an axe after pronouncing the name of the "person in question" out loud. Unfortunately, the record of the protective procedure does not go into more detail; it is only known that it is desirable to repeat the entire ritual on Thursday and Saturday.¹⁸

In spite of its partially Christian features (the Holy Trinity blessing, the burning candle chasing off a demon), the ritual is clearly of a magical character (see

¹⁷ KNM, sign. III F 53, 36r.

¹⁸ KNM, sign. III F 53, 36r.

the taboos linked with the age of the girl producing the wicks and the principles of the sympathetic magic¹⁹), and it cannot be excluded that, apart from the protective role as such, it was also meant to attack another person. Naming a mound of dripped wax basically equals creating a substitution figure of someone who is to be harmed by repeated axe blows. This basic principle of sympathetic magic is also referred to in a postscript relating to the “behavior” of the wax: “And the wax shall scream like a kitten.”²⁰

Since the interpretations of Rhasis’s treatise provided an analogy in the form of a nightmare that passes as a transformed witch in the popular imagination, a fay, too, can be seen as a metamorphosed woman who comes at night to cause harm. Wax would then “scream” in the voice of this woman crumpling under the blows of the invisible axe. It can also be that both the nightmare and the fay known from medical manuscripts represent a single phantasmal entity, called, for example, ‘Trude’ in the German environment. There are descriptions of ‘Trude,’ who arrives at night to trouble a sleeper. After leaning its body against the wall outside a house, its soul leaves it and enters the house, weighing on the chest of the sleeping person so heavily that he or she almost suffocates to death. The folk imagination also held that enouncing the name of the creature, i.e., ‘Trude,’ its body, left in front of the door sleeping, dies and its soul is forfeited to the devil.²¹

Nightmare or, eventually, its resemblance, the fay, can therefore be viewed as examples of a sickness perceived, in the ontological sense of the word, as a certain creature, or being. The historian Giorgio Cosmacini opines that the history of perceiving sicknesses traces two basic etiological conceptions – phenomenological and specific ontological ones. The phenomenological concept approaches sickness as a lack of health and does not discuss its bearer. It is characteristic of Hippocratic medicine, according to which sickness is the result of a disharmony of bodily juices.

The ontological concept, on the contrary, deals with the idea of a particular entity causing sickness, and is characteristic of the modern medicine of viruses and bacteria. Cosmacini nevertheless highlights that even modern medicine is incapable of defining all diseases ontologically, and exemplifies this with the case of obesity. At the same time, he points out that ontological perception is not solely inherent to modern medicine – because a disease understood as a

19 James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (1890; London: Oxford University Press, 1994), 26.

20 KNM, sign. III F 53, 36r.

21 Claude Lecouteux, *Fées, Sorcières et Loups-garous au Moyen Age: Histoire du Double* (Paris: Éditions Imago, 1992), 115–17.

metaphysical being (for example, a demon) is also a typical part of traditional religious systems, including Christianity.²²

The medical manuscripts researched for this paper contain many other proofs of viewing sickness as an entity, which is easy to eliminate from the body. In the case of falling sickness, these sources state that it is desirable to remove the clothing from a patient as soon as his or her attack subsides, and to bury it in the ground at the very spot where the convulsion had hit. They also recommend banging a sharpened wooden stake into this imaginary grave.²³

Yet another text instructs to prepare a sharpened wooden stick, bleed a patient from a finger, and cut a strip of fabric from the person's clothing and a tress of hair from the vertex. Both the hair and the strip of fabric should then be dipped into the patient's blood and, again, buried on the spot of the preceding convulsion. Equally as in the first case, here, too, the substitute grave of the sickness should be pierced with a wooden stick. The author of the record finds the entire process immensely efficient and, moreover, well-trying on a sick person that had reportedly been "purged" from the sickness right after the ritual.²⁴

The above-mentioned ways of using a wooden stick resemble the methods employed to forestall the deceased from returning to the world of the living. The *Czech Chronicle* (*Kronika česká*), written by the Bohemian chronicler, Wencelas Hájek of Libočany (ca late fifteenth century to 1553), rather vividly tells a spine-chilling story about a woman named Brodka from the village of Levín, who was slayed by demons during a failed invocation. Instead of burying this "witch" in a cemetery, the villagers buried her at a crossroad in the midst of fields. However, it took only a few days before the woman began leaving her grave, adopting an animal form and attacking herds of pastured animals. Later, she would also go to the village where she attacked and strangled several people. The horrified villagers exhumed her corpse, pierced her chest through with an oak stick and then buried her again. That nevertheless did not help either, because the undead managed to remove the stick. The definitive solution and the villagers' peace only came after burning the corpse.²⁵

22 Giorgio Cosmacini, *Le Spade di Damocle: Paure e malattie nella storia* (Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza, 2006), 4.

23 KNM, sign. IV H 60, 194r.

24 KNM, sign. I F 33, 108r.

25 Václav Hájek z Libočan, *Kronika česká: Výbor historického čtení*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár. *Živá díla minulosti*, 91 (Prague: Odeon, 1981), 448–49.

II Sympathetic Laws

Another ritual of healing falling sickness required the cutting of the patient's hair, nails and, eventually, eyebrows, and to hammer them with a stick into a hole drilled into the trunk of a healthy tree. The end of the instruction claims that an unnamed sick person had recovered after the ritual, while the tree completely withered within three years.²⁶ The therapeutic method recommended when a child cries all night is probably based on a similar principle. The entire body of the troubled child should be washed with bread previously soaked in water. The instruction then commands giving the bread to a dog to eat, with the promised result that while the child gets well, the dog dies after consuming the bread.²⁷

All the cases described above are undoubtedly rituals of transmitting a disease via a substitution object, which corresponds with the sympathetic law of contact. The method of healing purulent ulcers can be perceived as an example of this. A sick person should knead seven rounded poultices of wax, inscribing them with the words 'Jesus Christ' and 'Ave Maria' and bandaging each of them onto the festering wound each day of the week. On the eighth day, he should make a candle of the used poultices and bring it to the church where it should be burnt at a holy service.²⁸

Other rituals are more complex and are based on the two laws of sympathetic magic. A person suffering from severe pains in his sides should approach a sculpture of Christ on the Cross and spill three spoonful of water over the wound depicted in His side. The spilled water should be caught in a vessel and drunk during the next Easter while reciting prescribed prayers. The law of contact can be observed in the fact that the water should be spilled explicitly over the wound represented in Christ's side, and the law of similarity in the choice of this very place. The pain should be killed by drinking the water that was in contact with the pierced side of the sculpture of Jesus.²⁹

The combination of the two principles of sympathetic magic is also present in the following ritual of a disease transmission that should help a patient suffering from falling sickness. The instructions are to cut off a piece of his clothing and bury it at an intersection of roads. The executor of the ritual should then recite the formula "Let the disease leave this person, as dressed people ride over

²⁶ KNM, sign. I F 33, 106r.

²⁷ KNM, sign. V E 74, 367.

²⁸ NK ČR, sign. XVII H 23, 126r.

²⁹ KNM, sign. IV H 60, 65v.

this piece of clothing and as the sun and the moon travel to their places, and finally bless the spot with the sign of the Cross.”³⁰

Another ritual, one for treating infantile hernia, recommends parents to notch a young oak lengthways so that the two halves can be pulled apart, thus making a wedge reminiscent of a lap. The mother and father should then pass the newborn to each other three times between the two parts of the trunk. Then they are advised to press the halves back and tie them together, invoking: “Shall my child’s lap heal up as does this young oak. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.”³¹ This curative ritual is of an apparently imitative character and is based on the law of similarity. If the tree recovers, the lap of the affected child recovers as well. The ritual moreover uses a Czech word ‘klín’ for the inborn impairment, which in old Czech described the part of the body where it appears and the impairment itself.³² The same word in Czech is used for a wedge-shaped object, it is also the space made in the cut trunk that should close up by re-connecting the two parts.

A method designed to help a woman in difficult labor is of imitative character, too. If the fetus is in the wrong position (it literally gets stuck in the womb), the medical manuscript recommends begirding the woman’s belly with a stole which a priest had used that day at a service, and putting the father’s tunic under her body, with its stock situated under the genitals.³³ The latter can again be explained with consideration to the law of similarity. Putting his tunic on every day, the father shoves his head through the stock, and the head thus safely comes out from the space delimited by the fabric of the tunic – which is exactly how the complicated delivery should work out.

The reference to the stole begirding the woman’s belly is interesting here. Priests usually did not attend childbirths, although this possibility can be admitted in cases of expected complications. If there was a risk of the woman in labor dying, the conclusions of the Church synods and councils tended to take the radical step of abdominal extraction of the fetus, known as *sectio caesarea*. Although the woman in question had basically no chance of surviving such a procedure, the child was at least given the minimum time on Earth necessary for its christening.³⁴ The rite could, *in extremo*, be carried out by a midwife, but, if pres-

30 KNM, sign. IV G 9, 429.

31 KNM, sign. IV G 9, 397.

32 Alena M. Černá, *Staročeské názvy chorob*. Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philologica. Monographia, 155 (Prague: Karolinum, 2009), s. 98.

33 KNM, sign. V B 12, 84–85.

34 Antonín Pařízek, Václav Drška, and Milada Říhová, *Praha, místo, kde byl proveden první císařský řez, kdy přežila současně matka i dítě?*. Česká gynekologie 81.4, (Praha: Česká gyneko-

ent, it would be the priest, most probably equipped with the appropriate liturgical paraphernalia.

Old Bohemian medical manuscripts testify that some ritual procedures positively required the cooperation of an administrator of the local church or, respectively, a priest. It was an ordinary practice that pastors would consecrate various objects used by parishioners in rituals on the verge of superstition and, eventually, even beyond.³⁵ The Bohemian reformer Tomáš Štítný of Štítné (1333–1409), in his treatise *On different consecrated substances* (*O rozličné svěcenině*), enumerates an array of commodities commonly sanctified during various religious holidays. He also points out that people often misapply them in what he describes as magic – for example, reportedly using bones from a consecrated Easter lamb to conjure against frogs. Štítný ironically comments that it would definitely be better to throw them to dogs to devour.³⁶ His brief notice leaves unclear which frogs he specifically had in mind. It can only be added that the old Czech expression ‘žába’ understood as an equivalent of the Latin ‘bufo,’ was used to name a tumor.³⁷

Research into the late sixteenth-century inquisitorial sources for the region of the Italian Modena documented that twenty per cent of all inquisitions were conducted involving the representatives of clergy as possible culprits. Many of them, mainly lower clergymen, were suspected simply because they provided various suspicious services of a predominantly leechcraft nature.³⁸

The Bohemian milieu of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries probably did not differ much from that in Italy. It, too, was inhabited by priests who served as healers or, eventually, co-participated in making various remedies.³⁹ Some medical manuscripts require a battercake made of dough containing ground mistletoe and breast milk from a woman who is breastfeeding for the first time to be brought to “a decent and virtuous priest who would celebrate nine masses over

logická a porodnická společnost, 2016), 307. See also Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

³⁵ Martin Nodl, “Farář,” *Člověk českého středověku*, ed. Martin Nodl, and František Šmahel. *Každodenní život*, 14 (Prague: Argo, 2002), 211.

³⁶ Tomáš Štítný ze Štítného, *Knižky šestery o obecných věcech křesťanských*, ed. Karel Jaromír Erben (Prague: Pražská univerzita, 1852), 307–09.

³⁷ Černá, *Staročeské názvy chorob* (see note 32), 39.

³⁸ Mary O’Neil, “Sacerdote ovvero strione: Ecclesiastical and Superstitious Remedies in 16th Century Italy,” *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan. New Babylon, 40 (Berlin: Mouton, 1984), 56.

³⁹ Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku*. *Každodenní život*, 9 (Prague: Argo, 2001), 22–23.

it” so as to make it an efficient remedy against kidney or urinary stones.⁴⁰ The same nine masses should be celebrated over a peony, thus transforming it into a potent amulet against falling sickness.⁴¹ Another manuscript claims that yew wood shavings heal hydrophobia if blessed three times prior to giving it to the sick.⁴²

Yet another piece of advice suggests that even plain bread can possess healing power if soaked in water blessed on Holy Saturday and a patient chanted the following words while consuming three mouthfuls: “Dear Lord, be pleased to help me. In nomine patri et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.”⁴³ The therapeutic method based on eating three bites of bread soaked in holy water was undoubtedly inspired by the rite of the Eucharist. A reputed means for fighting a chill was salt consecrated on the Epiphany holiday, mixed with nine pieces of parsley root. Moreover, the patient was recommended to sip his own urine after every bite.⁴⁴ Even lilies, once situated on an altarpiece during the worship, found their place in popular medicine, allegedly being an effective ingredient in a menstruation-stimulating potion.⁴⁵

The surviving manuscript therapies aimed at falling sickness prove that even the actual church building could be a place for performing curative rituals. One of the records instructs making a candle as tall as the patient, who should then bring it to the church and lie on the floor during Saturday vespers with his arms spread wide, as a reminder of the Cross. Probably a priest – although the description does not go into more detail in this respect – was then supposed to light the candle and ritually throw its light to the four cardinal directions, while the sick person would stay awake and pray until the candle had burned away. As soon as that happened, an amulet inscribed ‘+ a + g + l + a +’ was to be hung around his neck.⁴⁶

The AGLA legend certainly was not accidental, being an acronym of the Hebrew invocation of God, ‘Atah Gebri Leilan Adonai,’ which can be translated as ‘You, O Lord, are mighty forever.’⁴⁷

⁴⁰ KNM, sign. IV G 9, 373.

⁴¹ KNM, sign. III H 4, 233r.

⁴² KNM, sign. I G 8, 168.

⁴³ KNM, sign. IV H 9, 328.

⁴⁴ KNM, sign. IV H 60, 78v.

⁴⁵ KNM, sign. IV H 60, 106r.

⁴⁶ KNM, sign. IV G 9, 437.

⁴⁷ E. S. Taylor, “AGLA,” *the Meaning of, Notes and Queries: A Medium of Inter-Communication for Literary Men, Artists, Antiquaries, Genealogist, etc.*, 106.4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1851), 370. See also Jacqueline Simpson, “Amulet and Talisman,” *Medieval Folklore: A Guide*

Another method required the sick person to bring a personally-made candle equal to his own height to a church, light it and place it next to the sanctuary. He was asked to observe Wednesday and Friday fasts, being supported by his parents. Throughout the process, all the participants were to pray Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Credo fifteen times a day.⁴⁸ The essential role in both methods played by the burning candle can be viewed as a symbol of ‘Lumen Christi,’ which drives darkness away and, mainly, fights off demons.⁴⁹

Demons were assumingly also driven out by bundles of verbena, fastened either to the bed of a woman in labor or directly onto her body. One of the manuscripts claims that the herb can repel various phantoms.⁵⁰ The Czech translation of Mattioli’s herbal vaguely mentions that “the elders would do much magic with this herb”, and people often made garlands of it to put on their heads.⁵¹ Verbena played an apotropaic role during delivery and apparently kept women safe from maleficia.

Proof that verbena was used as ritual treatment can be found in yet another manuscript. One of its records reads that if the herb is dug out early on a Sunday morning with a silver or golden tool while five Pater Nosters and Ave Marias are being recited, it can serve its bearer as a protective amulet at court proceedings or even during fighting.⁵² The fact that verbena can safeguard its owner while fighting is also part of the earliest Bohemian printed herbal record published by Jan Černý.⁵³ The risks related to childbirth are referred to in the printed *Spiritual Book on the Great Acts of Our Lord the Omnipotent (Kniha duchovní o velikých skutcích Pána Boha všemohúcího)* by the Ultraquist preacher Jan Štelcar Želetavský (ca. 1530 – 1600), who warns his readers that the tricks of the magicians alias, the devil’s instruments, can make women deliver “dogs, cats, mice, stones or pieces of wood” instead of children.⁵⁴ Elsewhere in the book he writes that a group of witches’ conjuring in 1580 around the German city of Osnabrück killed

to *Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, ed. Carl Lindahl, John McNamara and John Lindow (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 9–13; here 10.

48 KNM, sign. IV G 9, 437.

49 Norman Cohn, *Europe’s Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom* (London: Pimlico, 1993), 32.

50 KNM, sign. I F 33, 74r.

51 Mattioli, *Herbář* (see note 5), 381 A.

52 KNM, sign. I F 10, 384–85.

53 Jan Černý, *Knieha lékařská* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Hölzel, 1517), 120v.

54 Jan Štelcar Želetavský, *Kniha duchovní o velikých skutcích Pána Boha všemohúcího* (Prague: Jan Mladší Jičínský, 1588), Q8r.

twelve pregnant women including their fetuses and suffocated the newborns of other women during their delivery.⁵⁵

The Catholic priest Johann of Bakov (he lived in the sixteenth century), in his *Dialogue about the Plague* (*Rozmlouvání o moru*) of 1582, recorded valuable evidence on the specific rationality of popular medicine in pre-modern society. An unnamed villager, mentioned by one of the figures of a fictitious dialogue in the book, is asked why he had buried a horse head under the door of his ill neighbor's house. The villager replies that it was meant to heal him from fever. Verbatim, he supposedly said: "Fever is called carrion, and a horse head is carrion too. Evil is solved through evil and carrion through carrion."⁵⁶ In relation to both the disease and the horse head, the author uses the Czech word 'mrcha', derived from the German 'Mähre' or, respectively, 'Marha', which explicitly describes a sick horse.⁵⁷ His 'evil through evil' and 'carrion through carrion' then aptly designates the principle today known as one of the laws of sympathetic magic.

The given testimony can be helpful in interpreting other peculiar methods documented in medical manuscripts. They can generally be called "distasteful medicines" ('Drecksapotheke' in German), since they are based on substances eliciting disgust, such as excrements and parts of animal or even human bodies.⁵⁸ The instructions how to prepare them therefore often go hand in hand with the advice to better conceal their actual ingredients from the sick person. A recommended remedy against fever is to drink ashes from the burnt bones of a hanged man, dissolved in warm wine. An alternative to this curative beverage is ashes from the burnt bones of unbaptized children.⁵⁹

55 Štelcar Želetavský, *Kniha duchovní* (see note 54), P1r.

56 Jan z Bakova, *Sedlák povycvičený rozmlouvání s doktorem lékařským o moru maje, že od morních bolestí žádného nakažení není, dovozuje* (Prague: Jiří Černý z Černého Mostu, 1582) 50v.

57 Jan Gebauer, *Slovník staročeský II* (Prague: Academia, 1970), 407.

58 Albrecht Classen, "Die Figur des Arztes in der deutschen und europäischen Literatur," *Religion und Gesundheit: Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 3 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), 244–73; here 247. See also Francis Brévar, "Between Medicine, Magic, and Religion: Wonder Drugs in German Medico-Pharmaceutical Treatises of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries," *Speculum* 83.1 (2008): 1–57. Editor's note: one of the most important authorities on the "Drecksapotheke" was Kristian Franz Paulini with his *Heilsame Dreck-Apotheke: Wie nemlich mit Koth und Urin Fast alle/ ja auch die schwerste/ giftige Kranckheiten/ und bezauberte Schaden/ vom Haupt biß zun Füßen inn- und äusserlich glücklich curirt worden*, bei Friedrich Knoche, (Frankfurt a. M.: Friedrich Knoche, 1696); for an online version, see <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-3174/start.htm> (last accessed on March 21, 2017). A second edition appeared in 1697, the fifteenth edition, now in two volumes, appeared in 1714. This one was expanded and published again in 1748.

59 KNM, sign. III H 4, 143v.

Another instruction recommends that a person suffering from either kidney or gall stones drink dried menstruation blood dissolved in warm wine, adding that the most effective blood of this kind is that of a virgin. It moreover explicitly states that it is undesirable for the sick person to know the content of the drink, because it is repulsive indeed.⁶⁰ There is also a prescription for fighting fevers based on consuming dried human excrement; however, it is stressed again that the patient should not be told about the main ingredient, even though the excrement should be mixed with honey and sugar.⁶¹ It can be assumed that the intended effect of all the above-mentioned methods is conditioned by the patient's trust in the validity of the laws of sympathetic magic, exactly in the spirit of the quoted claim of the villager, given in the dialogue by Johann of Bakov.

III Verbal Formulas

The practice of protecting against diseases via verbal formulas that refer to various deeds from the lives of Jesus Christ, the apostles, and the saints was also rather widespread. It was mainly stories which the users found analogical to the patient's situation and the plot and/or its result equaled the archetypal model of a positive solution.⁶² The individual narrative blessings, the so-called 'historiolae,' were probably first circulated in Latin and usually received their vernacular form finally during the high or late Middle Ages. In fact, however, these brief narratives represent pan-European types of blessings proliferating in various language circles.

A popular means working against fever was, for example, the narrative blessing *Ante Portam*, which tells about St Peter encountering Jesus Christ in front of the gates of Jerusalem. Christ begins the short dialogue by asking about the essence of Peter's suffering. As soon as he learns that the apostle has been struck by fever, he applies his healing touch and cures him. Peter then asks Christ to let also other people thrive from the mercy of God through an apostle who would transform the narrative blessing into a textual amulet in order to allow other people, too, to carry such 'verba scripta' to their benefit.

⁶⁰ KNM, sign. III H 4, 173r.

⁶¹ KNM, sign. IV H 60, 81v.

⁶² Don C. Skemmer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 105.

Christ replies approvingly.⁶³ An old Bohemian variant of the blessing only differs in that the “gates of Jerusalem” are replaced by “the gates of Italy.”⁶⁴

The plot of another verbal formula believed to safeguard people from fever is based on a discussion between Jesus Christ and Pontius Pilate. The short story is about Pilate having Christ crucified and noticing that He, nailed to the Cross, trembles in front of his eyes. Pontius thus inquires whether He is not suffering from a fever. Jesus denies it, adding that fever would never make anyone shiver who devoutly repeats the given words or, alternatively, carries them in written form.⁶⁵ The motif of Christ crucified can also be found in a verbal formula against intestinal troubles, this time summarized as “red disease.” Its main symptoms were undoubtedly bloody and watery feces, since both blood and water play crucial role in the narrative. It tells of a blind knight named Longinus who pierced Christ’s side with a spear. Blood and water then gushed out from the wound, but soon stopped running. A sick person, with blood and water coming out of his body, should get analogically well.⁶⁶

Another verbal formula aimed at bleeding tells a story of God having miraculously halted water from flowing at the instant when John was baptizing Jesus Christ. The addressee of the ensuing command is the blood running out of a suffering person, which should stop as did the water in the river Jordan.⁶⁷ The latter verbal formula, too, was well-known in many diverse language versions throughout Europe.⁶⁸

Czech-written medical manuscripts dating to the late Middle Ages and early modern times show that people would rely on the power of verbal formulas in many crucial situations. As demonstrated above, childbirth ranked among the troublesome moments when it is highly advisable to promote progress through ritual-magical practices.⁶⁹ The verbal examples include invoking the “Leo de

63 “Ante portam Iherusalem iacebat Petrus et supervenit dominus et ait illi. Quid iaces hic Petre. Et respondens Petrus dixit. Domine, de mala febre passus sum. Ait illi surge parce dimittet te febris et continuo surrexit et secutus est eum. Et ait illi nunc oro domine ut quicumque et quodcumque haec scripta super se portaverit febris ei nocere non possit. Ait illi dominus. Fiat tibi sicut petisti. Amen.” Quoted from Skemmer, *Binding Words* (see note 61), 107.

64 Kraków, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, sign. 1497, 131.

65 KNM, sign. IV H 60, 80v–81r.

66 NK ČR, sign. XVII H 22, 194r.

67 KNM, sign. III F 53, 45r.

68 Jonathan Roper, *Toward a Poetics, Rhetorics and Proxemics of Verbal Charms*. Folklore, 24 (London: The Folklore Society, 2003), 32.

69 Peter Murray Jones and Lea T. Olsan, *Performative Rituals for Conception and Childbirth in England, 900–1500*. Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 89.3 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 406–33.

tribu Iuda" ('Lion from the tribe of Juda'), i.e., one of the traditional names of God, and as a reminder that Maria had given birth to Jesus Christ as had the infertile Elisabeth to John the Evangelist. The text/communication is then directly addressed to the yet unborn child, no matter its sex, asking it to come out from its mother's womb. The verbal formula closes in a similar spirit, using a quote from the Latin version of Psalm 137: "exinanite, exinanite" or, literally, "vacate, vacate."⁷⁰

Expressions of foreign origin rather proliferate in old Bohemian verbal formulas. It should come as no surprise, since the most fundamental vector in disseminating the charms in question was the Church itself. Authors from its ranks nevertheless held an apparently reserved standpoint as to their use by laymen, pondering in their debates over who is the real essence of the 'power of the spoken word.' Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) along with many theologians after him held that the entity to be addressed by a verbal formula was the recipient, and concluded that it was therefore necessary to turn exclusively to God and/or his divine surroundings.⁷¹ In no case one should address the devil or any of his servants, not even unintentionally. And yet, the sources describing popular practice literally abound in foreign words. On the one hand, it is a list of exotically-tinged "the seventy-two names of God."⁷² On the other, it is Johann Butzbach's memory of the dreadful late fifteenth-century Bohemia where, apart from many other wrongs he had encountered in the land, his throat ulcer was treated by a repulsive crone murmuring strange words.⁷³

Czech-written moralist literature is rather consonant in viewing invocations, or, respectively, healing through verbal formulas, as a bunch of old women's superstitions. The real conditions, however, must definitely have been much more checkered, and it was not solely old women who would use verbal formulas in their healing practice. The available sources testify that even academically trained physicians were very often ready to prescribe invocations as remedies regardless of their conviction as to their actual effect. They nonetheless must have been well aware that people simply do believe in the power of the holy word and that their trust may bring positive results, working beyond any medical theory.

⁷⁰ KNM, sign. II H 4, 443.

⁷¹ Krzysztof Bracha, *Magia słowa*. Kwartalnik Historyczny, 98.3 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 1991), 17–32. See also Michael D. Bailey, *The Disenchantment of Magic: Spells, Charms, and Superstition in Early European Witchcraft Literature*. The American Historical Review, 111.2 (New York: Macmillan Co., 2006), 383–404.

⁷² NK ČR, sign. VII D 10, 204v.

⁷³ Karel Dvořák, *Humanistická etnografie Čech* (Prague: Acta Universitatis Carolinae philosophica et historica monographia, 1975), 31.

The most important things, however, was the character of the words used and their potential addressee.

This was, for example, documented by the Utraquist preacher Havel Žalanský (1567–1621) in his treatise *Two Books about the Angels* (*Knižky dvoje o andělich*). The author's warning *exemplum* here is a story about a woman suffering from an eye disorder and seeking help from a university student. The youngster had no idea how to cure her, but since she offered him money, he took a sheet of paper and inscribed it with a Latin sentence, "Diabolus erruat tibi oculos et foramina stercoribus repleat" ('May devil poke your eyes out and replenish the hollows with ordure'), also adding some unclear signs. As soon as the woman had hung the "talisman" over her neck and had begun wearing it, her troubles vanished. She was cured. But later, overwhelmed by curiosity, she broke the talisman to read what it said, and threw it away in rage. The preacher concludes the story claiming that not only her sickness returned to her eyes, but that also her soul fell to perdition after her death.⁷⁴

IV Conclusions

One may ask why the story was so cruel to the unfortunate woman. She was unaware of the contents of the ironically meant words and, having learned about them, she threw the talisman away. Her disease then reappeared, and her soul was, moreover, cursed forever after her death. This can only be understood within the context of the modern-time mind-set.

The given narrative vindicates the more than a millennium-year old thesis forged by St Augustine, claiming that certain protective or therapeutic means, especially amulets and talismans, do not work as such, but solely as signs of a contract made with the dark forces. The story is at the same time based on the medieval theologians' conviction that the power of every single word can never work alone but instead, only through their addressee – and the words carried by the woman around her neck, no matter how ironically meant, were addressing the devil.

The crucial aspect in the entire case is nevertheless the accented warning appeal against the ritual use of any unknown or incomprehensible word. The moralizing preacher warns his readers and listeners that everyone can be deprived of eternal redemption by any, albeit unconscious, relying on the power

⁷⁴ Havel Žalanský, *Knižky dvoje o andělich* (Prague: Daniel Karolides z Karlsberka, 1618), 131–32.

of such words. The brief story testifies to the increasing fear of the power of the devil, and at the same time suggests that rituals and magical practices were considerably widespread and popular in contemporary society.

No wonder. As the examined sources testify, the contemporary efforts at conceptualizing diseases in the popular environment very often resulted in the conviction that the nature of an illness was of some kind of entity – which is evil, not to say devilish, in its own innate right. Fighting it had naturally become ritualized in the same way as it was necessary to ritualize the everyday struggle for the sake of rescuing human souls by the Church representatives. The Church, then, would inspire people as to the particular methods, and the folk would in turn transfigure the inspiration, often spontaneously via misapprehension. The Latin consecrational formula “hoc est corpus meum” was thus transformed into the widespread “hokuspokus,” the latter being totally void of meaning but nonetheless imitating the activity of a priest.⁷⁵ Likewise, folks had adopted many other Church operations, simplifying them to methods that may have been effective provided there was due observance of various ritual taboos. Their efficiency seems to be further conditioned by practices by which a modern scholar may well trace the laws of sympathetic magic.

Magical practices are also characteristic of the conviction that a particular method can be effective by itself, provided it is practiced properly. A characteristic feature of medieval and early-modern time faith healing is that the magic of this cultural layer is syncretic through and through and, in a way, naive. There are motifs apparently inspired by religion and religious practice and, simultaneously, by motifs both denied and pursued by the Church. It was as if the effectiveness of the sign of the Cross was conditioned by an amulet made of a billy-goat beard, and vice versa. Anthropologists tend to say that this traditional syncretism, oftentimes accompanied by the conviction, that it is utterly sound if following a good aim, was immensely vital and its residues linger on even in modern society.

⁷⁵ Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* (see note 39), 23.

Elizabeth Chesney Zegura

Attempted Murder by Magic: The Sorcerer and His Apprentice in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* 1

Despite the spirit of rational inquiry that permeates much Renaissance thought, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also witnessed an explosion of interest in prognostication, alchemy, sorcery, and natural magic. This occurred not just among uneducated peasants whose deep-seated belief in the power of necromancy, magic rituals, spells, and charms dated back to the Middle Ages and antiquity, but also among the era's humanist intellectuals, nobility, and bourgeoisie. For confirmation, we need only look at the Italian philosophers Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), whose humanistic scholarship includes writings on the occult and ancient theology; at the Dutch physician Henricus Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486–1535), well-known in the French Renaissance, whose *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (1531–1533) purports to reconcile natural and demonic magic with Christian epistemology; and at the French physician Rabelais (1494–1553), who in his *Gargantua and Pantagruel* constructs his narrator as an alchemist, stages an encounter between his protagonists and a sorceress (book 3, chapters 16–18), and portrays a magician named Herr Trippa (book 3, chapter 25) – loosely modeled on Agrippa himself.¹

1 See Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life (De vita libri tres, 1489)*, trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clarke. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 57. Renaissance Text Series, 11 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies and the Renaissance Society of America, 1989); Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486). The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems*, with text, translation, and commentary by S. A. Farmer. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 167 (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998); Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*, ed. and trans. Perroni Compagni, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 48 (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1992); and the contribution to this volume by Thomas Willard. For the references to Rabelais, see *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jacques Boulenger. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 15 (Paris: Gallimard, 1955), 384–94, 416–22; and *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth, UK, and New York: Penguin Books, 1955), 331–38, 356–60. Any discussion of Renaissance magic and the occult should also mention the humanists' fascination with the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a collection of gnostic writings attributed to the legendary Hermes Trismegistus, linked etymologically to the Greek deity Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth. In his "De

Elizabeth Chesney Zegura, University of Arizona, Tucson

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-021>

Notwithstanding their popularity, however, and the fascination they held for literati and physicians such as Rabelais and Agrippa, both sorcerers and the study and practice of magic were also mocked and condemned during the era – oftentimes violently. Witch hunts, spearheaded by theologians and lawmakers, continued unchecked in France throughout the sixteenth century; and far from embracing magic unequivocally, many humanists (including Ficino and Pico, both ambivalent in their attitudes toward astrology) denounced divination, astrology, and other occult practices, in part due to pressure from the Church.²

Even in Rabelais's saga, with its numerous references to alchemy, demonology, and sorcery, the Utopian patriarch Gargantua singles out astrology for censure: "Laisse-moy l'astrologie divinatrice et l'art de Lullius, comme abuz et vanitéz" (*Pantagruel*, chapter 8; "But leave divinatory astrology and Lully's art alone, I beg of you, for they are frauds and vanities"), he exhorts his son, implying that celestial magic is a false path to knowledge that contravenes both divine law and humanistic rationalism.³ In an intriguing gesture of rebellion against his conservative father, however, the protagonist Pantagruel ultimately integrates magic into his epistemological toolbox, urging his companion Panurge to consult a sibyl as well as the doctor, lawyer, and theologian he has already visited – in case her paranormal insights, arcane knowledge, and self-proclaimed gift as a "seer" should prove superior to their learned, but unenlightened, teachings: "Que nuist sçavoir tousjours et tousjours apprendre, feust-ce d'un sot, d'un pot, d'une gedoufle, d'une moufle, d'une pantoufle?" (*Third Book*, chapter 16; "What harm is there in gaining knowledge every single day, even from a sot, a pot, a fool, a stool or an old slipper?"), he argues.⁴ Far from condemning

rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis" (1614), Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) disputed the historical existence of Hermes Trismegistus and dated the compilation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* to the second or third century C.E., but this finding, generally accepted by subsequent scholars, was disputed by Martin Bernal in his controversial *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987–2006), 3 vols. Ficino translated a portion of the *Corpus Hermeticum* ("Pimander," 14 books) into Latin in the 1460s, and this text, together with three additional tracts translated by Lodovico Lazzarelli, was used by John Everard in his English translation of the work (*The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus: in XVII books* [London: T. Brewster and G. Moule, 1650]). See also G. R. S. Mead's translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* in *Thrice Great Hermes: Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis* (London and Benares, India: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1906), vol. 2; and online at <http://gnosis.org/library/hermet.htm> (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016).

2 See also the contribution to this volume by Amiri Ayanna.

3 *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Boulenger, 205; *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. Cohen (see note 1), 195.

4 *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Boulenger, 384; *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. Cohen 331 (see note 1).

magic, Rabelais's hero suggests that any and all sources and types of knowledge, even those frowned upon by the Church, merit our attention and can empower us.

Given this backdrop, one might expect Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549)⁵ to focus more frequently on magic in her *Heptaméron*, a putatively realistic portrait of contemporary life that was composed in the 1540s and published posthumously in 1558 and 1559.⁶ Not only did she patronize Rabelais, after all, but occult pursuits and beliefs, ranging from superstitions and prognostications to amulets, charms, and magic spells, were integral components of French Renaissance culture that even her own mother, Louise de Savoie (Louise of Savoy, 1476–1531), embraced. Still barren as an adolescent in 1490, Louise apparently

5 Within *nouvelle* 1 and in my discussion of her intratextual role in the story, Marguerite de Navarre is referred to as “Marguerite d’Alençon” or “la duchesse d’Alençon” (the Duchess of Alençon), a title she acquired upon her marriage to Charles IV, Duke of Alençon in 1509. In 1527, following Charles’s death in 1525, Marguerite married Henri II, King of Navarre, becoming the queen of Navarre. As the daughter of Charles, Count of Angoulême, she is also known as Marguerite d’Angoulême; and in her own lifetime, she was also called “Marguerite de Valois” (referring to the royal dynasty of which she was a member, as the sister of King François I of France) and “Marguerite de France,” practices that have been largely abandoned in modern times due to the possible confusion with her great-niece (King Henri II of France’s daughter) Marguerite de Valois (1553–1615). This second Marguerite – often called “Queen Margot” – was also known as “Marguerite de France,” and as “Marguerite de Navarre” (upon her marriage in 1572 to the earlier Marguerite’s grandson, King Henri III of Navarre) prior to her estranged husband’s accession to the throne of France (officially in 1589, but in fact in 1593 when he renounced Protestantism) as King Henri IV. The couple were divorced in 1599, with Margot retaining the title of “queen.” This overlap of names has even caused confusion among scholars and bibliographers. See, for example, Lucien Febvre, *Autour de l’Heptaméron: Amour sacré, amour profane* (Paris: Gallimard, 1944), 175; “Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549): Critical and Biographical Introduction,” <http://www.bartleby.com/library/prose/3424.html> (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016); G. Yvonne Kendall, *The Music of Arbeau’s “Orchésographie,”* The Wendy Hilton Dance and Music Series, 17 (New York: Pendragon Press, 2013), 22, 33, 70, 73 (as noted by Margaret McGowan, “G. Yvonne Kendall, The Music of Arbeau’s ‘Orchésographie,’” *Dance Research* 32.1 [2014]: 84–85).

6 An incomplete edition consisting of 67 randomly ordered *nouvelles*, edited by Pierre Boistau, dit Launay, was published anonymously under the title *Histoires des amans fortunez* (Stories of the Fortunate Lovers) in 1558 (Paris: G. Gilles). This was followed in 1559 by the more complete *L’Heptaméron des nouvelles de très illustre et très excellente princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre*, ed. Claude Gruget (Paris: J. Cavellier). In this chapter, unless otherwise noted, all quotations from the *Heptaméron* in Middle French are from the Michel François edition (Paris: Garnier, 1960), English translations of the work are by Paul Chilton (*The Heptameron* [Harmondsworth, UK, and New York: Penguin Books, 1984]), and translations of other texts are my own. The page numbers accompanying French and English quotations from the *Heptaméron* throughout this paper will refer to the François and Chilton editions, respectively.

consulted a soothsayer, the Italian monk Francesco da Paola or François de Paule, who accurately prophesied both the birth of her son (François d'Angoulême, b. 1594) and his accession to the French throne.⁷ With her confidence in astrology and the occult thus confirmed, Louise would engage Cornelius Agrippa himself, reputedly a magus as well as a healer, as her physician in 1524 during her stay in Lyon, instructing him to supplement his medical duties by constructing astrological and political horoscopes.

One such prognostication, which predicted military success for the king's enemy, the Duke of Bourbon, apparently contributed to a break between the queen mother and Agrippa in 1525, when Louise left Lyon but ordered her physician to remain there – without a salary.⁸ The next year, Agrippa would dedicate his *De sacramento matrimonii declamatio* (Declamation on the Sacrament of Marriage) to the widowed Duchess of Alençon, or Marguerite herself, perhaps in hopes of ingratiating himself once more with the French royal family.⁹

Court theologians condemned the physician's treatise, exacerbating the rift between Agrippa and Louise; but more importantly for the purposes of this study, these insights into the queen mother's predilection for prognostications and horoscopes provide us a glimpse of the superstitions and astrological beliefs that flourished in Marguerite's family and at court. Far from being insulated from the discourses and practices of magic that permeated her culture, she clearly was acquainted with or knew of Agrippa of Nettesheim; was familiar with the prognosticators who preached from street corners and with peddlers hawking charms, amulets, and marvelous cures; and would have heard talk of ghosts and necromancy in conversations with friends, family members, and servants. Notwithstanding the "slice of life" they purport to offer us, however, and their focus on the darker realities of Renaissance culture, Marguerite's "true stories" ("veritable[s] histoire[s]," prologue, 9) make surprisingly few references to the esoterica, sorcery, and occult beliefs and activities that were so prevalent in her era.

7 Patricia F. and Rouben C. Cholakian, *Marguerite de Navarre: Mother of the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 8.

8 That Agrippa did not wish to construct the political horoscope, confiding in the seneschal of France that he put little stock in astrology, may help explain his stormy and short-lived relationship with the queen mother. Apparently his prediction that the king's enemy, the Duke of Bourbon, would be victorious in 1526 also displeased Louise. See Ioan P. Couliano (Culianu), *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 199; Christopher I. Lehigh, *The Language of Demons and Angels: Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 28; and Marc Van Der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa: The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill, 1997), 38–39.

9 Van Der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa* (see note 8), 38–39.

In view of the confessional conflicts and internecine violence that swirled around her in Reformation-era France, one might speculate that Marguerite's reticence on the topic is a function of the occult's controversial nature in humanistic, Catholic, and Protestant circles. The queen of Navarre was, after all, a suspected heretic for her evangelical activities, and any hint of non-conforming theology or esoteric rituals in her writing would have risked garnering the Sorbonne's opprobrium – once again.¹⁰ Yet her willingness to discuss magic cures, amulets, and witchcraft in her comedy *Le malade* (1535–1536) weakens this hypothesis, suggesting that caution was not the only reason for Marguerite's virtual exclusion of discourses on the occult from her magnum opus.¹¹ Instead,

10 The second edition of Marguerite's *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* (Mirror of the Sinful Soul; officially titled *Le miroir de treschrestienne princesse Marguerite de France* [Paris: Antoine Augereau, 1533]) was censored by the Sorbonne, in part for its nonconforming theology and in part due to the queen's penchant for protecting reformers and patronizing evangelical writers and theologians. In particular, conservative theologians were incensed by the queen of Navarre's choice of the Protestant-leaning Gérard Roussel as her chaplain, and by the sermon he preached to a crowd of thousands at the Louvre in 1533. That same year, conservatives at the College of Navarre staged an allegorical farce that portrayed Marguerite as a witch-like virago, who gives up the feminine distaff in favor of reading, writing, and perusing the Bible in French, a Reformation-era topos that targeted evangelical "heresies." In 1534 a Sorbonne representative even accused Marguerite, in an interview with the king, of "being the official spokesperson of the reformists" (Cholakian and Cholakian, *Marguerite de Navarre* [see note 7], 172–73); and Jonathan A. Reid contends that Marguerite, far from being a minor figure in early French Protestantism, was actually the leader of what he calls the "Navarrian network," which worked toward ecclesiastical reform in France, lobbied the king for his support, cooperated with Protestants throughout Europe, and dissimulated its methods and strategies. See Reid, *King's Sister – Queen of Dissent: Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549) and Her Evangelical Network*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 139 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009) 1: 13; and Elizabeth Chesney Zegura, *Marguerite de Navarre's Shifting Gaze: Perspectives on Gender, Class, and Politics in the Heptaméron*. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 65.

11 To be sure, Marguerite mocks superstitions and marvelous remedies in this play, where a lowly servant, so often a vehicle of revelation in her writings, points out that faith in God – in contrast to bleeding, purges, and magic potions – is the best cure for what ails sinful humans. See "Le malade," *Recueil de poésies de la reine Marguerite de Navarre*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 12485, fol. 84r–104v (accessible online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9061570n/f84.item.r=%2212485%22> [last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016]); "Le malade," in Marguerite de Navarre, *Théâtre profane*, ed. Verdun L. Saulnier. Textes littéraires français (1946; Geneva and Paris: Librairie Droz and Librairie Minard, 1978), 3–34; Thomas L. Zamparelli, "Duality in the 'Comédies Profanes' of Marguerite de Navarre," *The South Central Bulletin* 38.4 (1978): 166–69; and Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, "Le merveilleux dans l'œuvre de Marguerite de Navarre," *"Ecrire et conter": Mélanges de rhétorique et d'histoire littéraire du XVI^e siècle offerts à Jean-Claude Moisan*, ed. Jean-Claude Moisan, Marie-Claude Malenfant, and Sabrina Vervacke. Les

the dearth of references to magic in the *Heptaméron* is likely driven in part by the *nouvelle* genre's characteristic realism.¹² One might argue, to be sure, that references to the supernatural, religious superstitions, and folk magic appear with some regularity in Boccaccio's fourteenth-century *Decameron* (ca. 1351), the ostensible model for the *Heptaméron*; yet far from giving credence to the marvelous, the Italian author typically "ridicules those who show a naïve belief in magic" from either a common-sense or satiric perspective.¹³ This tendency persists in subsequent *nouvelle* collections, including the *Heptaméron*. In addition to conforming to the genre's realistic conventions and traditions, the near-absence and implicit denigration of magic in Marguerite's short stories are consonant with rationalistic tendencies in Renaissance humanism and Protestantism, with Marguerite's own dialogic symposia, and with her pledge in the prologue to tell the truth.¹⁴

Collections de la République de Lettres: Symposiums (Quebec City, Canada: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003), 161–77; here 171–72. That Marguerite chooses a female servant rather than a male to denounce magic in *Le malade* is also significant; for together with her focus on a sorcerer rather than a sorceress in *nouvelle* 1, and her subversion of the occult throughout the *Heptaméron* from a feminine perspective, this gendered demystification of superstitions effectively repositions women – far more vulnerable than men to charges of witchcraft in the Renaissance – as critics, rather than practitioners, of black magic. For more on the gendering of witchcraft and magic in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, particularly within the context of Heinrich Kramer's *Nuremburg Handbook*, see the contribution to this volume by Amiri Ayan-na.

12 For a short and useful summary of early and mid-twentieth-century scholarship on realism in the French *nouvelle*, as well as a discussion of traits not typically associated with realism in the stories, and of elements of the "real" that rarely figure in conventional definitions of realism, see Lionello Sozzi, "La nouvelle française au XVe siècle," *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises* 23 (1971): 67–84; here 74–75. For more about the genre as a whole, see *Narrative Worlds: Essays on the French Nouvelle in 15th and 16th Century France*, ed. David LaGuardia and Gary Ferguson. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 285 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005); and *La nouvelle française à la Renaissance*, ed. Lionello Sozzi and Verdun L. Saulnier. Bibliothèque Franco Simone, 2 (Paris: Slatkine, 1981), 397–424.

13 See "Magic in the Decameron," *Decameron Web*, Italian Studies Department's Virtual Humanities Lab, Brown University, updated February 22, 2010. Available online at https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/society/magic/ (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016).

14 This is not intended to imply that reason and magic were always diametrically opposed, or that reason had a greater foothold with Protestants than Catholics during the early modern era. In the first instance, the spirit of rational inquiry that informed the humanists' pursuit of knowledge also gave rise to extensive experimentation and erudition on magic and demonology within the context of natural philosophy and science, as evidenced by Pico's, Ficino's, and Agrippa's

On the rare occasions when she does touch on the magical beliefs, discourses, and practices that were prevalent in her culture, Marguerite rids them of their enchantment. This realistic, demystifying approach to the occult is evident in the *devisant* (storyteller) Géburon's characterization of sorcerers (no. 29, 228) as thieving ne'er-do-wells, rhetorically stripped of the magical powers they purport to wield; in the *Heptaméron's* single "ghost story" (no. 39), which demystifies the reputed "haunting" of a house by exposing its natural causes; in a preacher's alarmist claim (no. 43) that a mystery woman is likely the "devil in disguise," which discussants disparage with laughing references to the clergyman's stupidity; and in her portrayal of the sorcerer Gallery (no. 1), whom the pardoned murderer Saint-Aignan – a royal procurator from Alençon whose appeal for clemency, dated from the mid-1520s, is historically documented – engages to kill his own wife, an earlier victim's father, and the writer herself with black magic.¹⁵

studies of the occult. In other words, the line of demarcation between science and sorcery, reason and magic, was not always clear during the Renaissance. See Paolo L. Rossi, "Series Editor's Foreword," Martín Antoine Del Rio, *Investigations into Magic*, ed. and trans. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester, UK, and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), vii–ix. In matters of religion, moreover, Protestants had no monopoly on reason despite their rationalistic objections to the sale and veneration of relics, their rejection of the "miracle" of transubstantiation, their denunciation of Catholic beliefs and practices that drew upon folk magic, and their critical exegeses of the Bible – all of which inform Marguerite's writings. The Protestants' primary focus on faith and grace, however, and their construction of both as miracles beyond human comprehension, appears at times to reject rational components of the Thomistic synthesis in favor of a radical "salvation by faith alone." This tendency, particularly evident in the writings of Luther, helped fuel Catholicism's construction of reformers as practitioners of the black arts in their own right. See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England* (1971; Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 2003), 569: "Warring religious sects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries claimed that their rivals worshiped Satan himself. This was said by Protestants of Catholics, by Catholics of Protestants It was asserted that Luther had been converted to Protestantism by Satan himself." For insights into more positive reformist attitudes toward reason, and the dictum "Fides est actio intellectus" espoused by the reformer Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563), see Roland H. Bainton, "New Documents on Early Protestant Rationalism," *Church History* 7.2 (1938): 179–87; and Carla Gallicet Calvetti, *Il Testamento dottrinale di Sebastiano Castellion e l'evoluzione razionalistica del suo pensiero* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2005).

15 In this summary of allusions to magic in the *Heptaméron*, one might also include *nouvelle* 68, in which an apothecary's wife, overhearing another woman request a pharmacological cure for her own husband's infidelity and lack of sexual interest in her, steals some of the presumably "marvelous" powder prescribed to the other couple for her own use. In a classic variation on the "tricked trickster" motif, the apothecary's wife puts a large quantity of the Spanish fly powder in a roast for her own husband, who soon "felt as if his insides were on fire" (508) and calls the queen of Navarre's apothecary, who "administer[s] the remedies to cure him" (508).

This last example, a case of “attempted murder by magic,” will constitute the primary focus of this study. In particular, I will examine (1) the episode’s context and backstory, as well as the proposed curse itself, channeled through wax figures¹⁶ similar to voodoo dolls in a process known as *envoûtement*; (2) the magic’s subordination to, and effective nullification by, prosaic elements in the plot; (3) the event’s religious resonances, as related to internecine quarrels of the era; (4) the episode’s legal and juridical dimensions, including comparisons and contrasts between the *nouvelle*’s two “murders by proxy” and the ways in which they are adjudicated; and (5) the role of the sorcery episode within the complex grid of dualities, simulacra, and transmutations that make up the *substantifique moelle* of Marguerite’s narrative.

While there is no magic involved in the story, it nevertheless creates an important contrast between credulous folk who “are [so] eager for ... miracle[s] to come about” that they trust in the curative properties of marvelous roots, powders, and potions, and the physicians and pharmacists who prey upon their gullibility – albeit occasionally with some success. The first wife, for example, is pleased with the results of the powder she has purchased: “she felt considerably better” (508), writes Marguerite, implying that the wife succeeds in seducing her husband. In part, this is because the wife takes care to administer the correct dosage, so that her husband suffers no adverse effects (“[he] felt none the worse for it”), and because the woman believes the drug will work. In reprimanding the apothecary for “recommending drugs he would not take himself” (508), however, the queen of Navarre’s physician implies that the powder is useless and potentially harmful, which suggests that the first wife’s sexual pleasure has more to do with her own psychology, and the confidence with which she approached the challenge of bedding him, than with a medical cure directly attributable to the powder. In this sense, *nouvelle* 68, like the other tales mentioned above, demystifies a phenomenon that initially appears to be magical.

16 For accounts of medieval uses of these images for nefarious purposes and the prosecutions that resulted, see Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500*. Routledge Library Editions: Witchcraft (1976; New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 13–14, 52–53, 65, 73, 101, 110, 112. See also “Curses,” themystica.com (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016), for information on the use of wax figures in ancient Egypt; and Geoffrey Robert Quaife, *Godly Zeal and Furious Rage: The Witch in Early Modern Europe*. Routledge Library Editions: Witchcraft (1987; London and New York: Routledge, 2011), for a discussion of the evolution of and distinctions between high and low magic, as well as the differing receptions of each among both humanists and medieval and Renaissance theologians (36–44).

Preliminary Matters: The Backstory, Context, and Proposed Curse

Far from being a major character or key focal point of *nouvelle* 1 of the *Heptaméron*, the sorcerer or “invocatuer” named Gallery appears very briefly and late in the narrative, well after the events that drive the first three quarters of the plot and establish the story’s primary focus. These events, or narratemes, include (1) the double adultery of the procurator Saint Aignan’s wife, who sleeps with a bishop “pour son proffict” (12; “for profit,” 71) and a young chevalier named du Mesnil “pour son plaisir” (12; “for pleasure,” 71); (2) the youth’s discovery that she has betrayed their “pure love,” which he envisions in idealized, courtly terms, by sleeping with the clergyman, which prompts him to break off their liaison; (3) the wife’s claims to her husband that du Mesnil is a rebuffed admirer who is stalking her; (4) the husband’s orchestration of du Mesnil’s murder, largely at his wife’s behest; (5) the couple’s attempt to cover the evidence of their crime, by burning the victim’s body, burying his bones in mortar, and suppressing eyewitness testimony against themselves; (6) their trial, conviction, condemnation to death, and flight to England to avoid prosecution; (7) their royal pardon at the urging of Henry VIII (“[le roy d’Angleterre] le prochassa si très instamment, que, à la fin, le procureur l’eust à sa requeste,” 16; “the King of England . . . was so persistent in the matter that in the end Saint-Aignan got what he had been asking for,” 76); and (8) their return to France, where they are ordered to pay a sum of 1500 crowns to du Mesnil’s bereaved father.

Only at this moment in the narrative, after the tale’s early “sound and fury” have subsided, does the sorcerer appear, somewhat anticlimactically. Even then, Marguerite devotes few words to his portrayal and incantations, never swerving from the story’s primary focus. Upon his return to France, Marguerite tells us, Saint-Aignan “s’accoincta d’un invocatuer nommé Gallery, esperant que par son art il seroit exempt de paier les quinze cens escuz au pere du trepassé” (16; “[he] fell in with a sorcerer called Gallery, in the hope that the occult arts would enable him to avoid paying the fifteen hundred écus to the deceased man’s father due by him to his victim’s father,” 76). Rather than rejoicing at the commutation of the death sentence he and his wife so richly deserved, then, or attempting to expiate his sins, Saint-Aignan seeks to erase the penalties assessed against him entirely by engaging a sorcerer to kill du Mesnil’s father, the Duchess of Alençon, and his own wife surreptitiously with black magic. To this end, Gallery shows Saint-Aignan “five wooden dolls” (76; “cinq ymaiges de boys,” 16), three with their arms hanging down and two with their arms raised up in the air, and proposes to fashion wax dolls in a similar style. The

poppets with the lowered arms represent people Saint-Aignan wishes to kill (Marguerite d'Alençon, du Mesnil's father, and Saint-Aignan's wife), while the ones with their arms up represent public officials (King François I and and Chancellor Jean Brinon) whose favor the procurator is seeking.

To achieve this result, Gallery plans to put the wax dolls underneath an altar so that they [the people] can hear mass being said ("où ilz orront leur messe," 16)¹⁷ and promises he will teach Saint-Aignan "certain words" or an incantation to recite over the poppets at the time of the curse's execution. Because the procurator's wife overhears and reports her husband's new murder plot to the authorities, however, Saint-Aignan's proposed hex on her, Marguerite d'Alençon, and du Mesnil's father never comes to fruition. Instead, he and Gallery are condemned to hard labor for the remainder of their lives.

What to make of the episode, given the dearth of narrative cues, is a puzzle. From a moralistic standpoint, and within the context of Renaissance France and its ethos of vengeance, we cannot discount the possibility that Saint-Aignan believes his actions are honorable. Following the first homicide, he constructs his murder of the chevalier du Mesnil, carried out by an assassin, as a legitimate crime of honor against a man who sought to sully his wife's virtue. This, indeed, was his initial legal defense: for after burying du Mesnil's bones, he sues for a pardon on the grounds that the youth, whom he had barred from their house on several occasions, "pourchassoit le deshonneur de sa femme" (15; "[had] dishonourable intentions with regard to his wife," 75) and "estoit venu de nuit en lieu suspect pour parler à elle" (15; "this person had ... come under suspicious circumstances to visit his wife," 75).

Upon finding du Mesnil lurking "outside his wife's bedroom door" (75; "le trouvant à l'entrée de sa chambre," 15) in the dead of night, Saint-Aignan claims he was so shocked and "disturbed" (75) that he killed the chevalier ("plus remply de collere que de raison, l'auroit tué," 15), more in the heat of anger than deliberately, and to protect his home and family against the intruder.

Yet this potentially exculpatory argument, rejected by the French chancellor for its counterfactuality at the time of Saint-Aignan's first conviction, figures only briefly in Marguerite's account of his initial flurry of crimes, and not at all in her narrative of the second criminal episode, or attempted "murder by magic." To be sure, the terms of the procurator's pardon, as brokered by the King of England, "restore[s] him to his possessions and his honors," suggesting that Saint-Aignan

¹⁷ The original text reads as follows: "Il faut mettre ces ymaiges sous l'autel où ilz orront leur messe" (16). Because the word "ymaiges" is feminine, it cannot be the antecedent of "ilz" later in the sentence, which forces us to interpret "ilz" either as a generic "they," or, more likely, as a reference to the five people represented by the poppets.

constructed himself as a wrongly convicted champion of his wife's honor to the English aristocrats who brought his case to the attention of Henry VIII, much as he did in his historically documented appeal to François I, where he even contended that du Mesnil made a dying confession.¹⁸

In Marguerite's *nouvelle*, however, any claims Saint-Aignan might have to being a persecuted man of honor are eroded by his attempt to kill the wife whose honor he purported to protect with his first crime; by the unabashedly mercenary motivation of his plot to murder du Mesnil's grieving father; and, as well shall see later, by the consistently dishonorable methods of his criminal actions, reinforced by his interactions with the sorcerer Gallery. What Saint-Aignan proposes to save in his attempt at "murder by magic" is not honor, so cen-

18 In the historical Saint-Aignan's writ of pardon, he claims that after striking du Mesnil (whom he and his servant Colas did not initially recognize due to the young man's disguise and the darkness of the house) two or three times, he cried out to the youth, "Hé! Meschant que tu es, qui t'a icy amené? Te suffisoit il pas du mal que par venant tu m'as fait? Je ne le t'avoys pas desservy!" ("Hey! Miscreant that you are, who [or what] has brought you here? Wasn't the evil you did me by coming here [on previous occasions] sufficient? I have done nothing to you to merit this" [my translation]). According to Saint-Aignan's account, the mortally wounded youth responded, "Il est vray, je vous ay par trop offensé & suis trop meschant; je vous en requiers pardon" ("This is true, I have grievously offended you and am very wicked; I beseech your pardon" [my translation]). At this point, writes the petitioner, du Mesnil "tombe à terre comme mort" (literally, "he falls to the floor as if dead," which proves to be the case). See Marguerite de Navarre, *L'Heptaméron des nouvelles*, ed. Antoine Le Roux de Lincy (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles Français, 1853) 4: 216. Accessible online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k45136.r=21459;2> (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016). In this writ of pardon, discovered by Antoine Le Roucy de Lincy in the Archives Nationales and reproduced in his 1853 edition of the *Heptaméron*, the petitioner's self-serving statement maintains that du Mesnil – far from being a courtly-style lover, as Marguerite depicts him – was a family friend who abused Saint-Aignan's trust by maligning him, plotting to kill him ("en machinant la mort dudict suppliant Aignan," 214), attempting to alienate his wife's affections ("auroit voulu donner à entendre à lad. femme, entre autres choses, que led. de Saint-Aignan ne l'aymoit aucunement [et] qu'il desiroit chacun jour sa mort," 214), trying to seduce her, and promising to marry her ("promettoit l'espouser," 214) and provide her a more loving spouse once Saint-Aignan has been eliminated ("si elle vouloit consentir à la mort dud. Saint-Aignan son mary, qu'il l'espouseroit," 214). In his petition, Saint-Aignan moreover portrays his wife as a chaste and faithful woman who is unaware of du Mesnil's murder until after the fact; and Thomas Guérin, the assassin engaged specifically to slay the youth in Marguerite's account, as a business acquaintance who was serendipitously present when du Mesnil sneaked into Saint-Aignan's home. The document dates from 1526, and refers only to events pre-dating the procurer's consultation with Gallery in Marguerite's *Heptaméron*. No archival documentation of Saint-Aignan's "attempted murder by magic," other than de Navarre's fictionalized but putatively "true" story, has been found.

tral to his narratives of self-justification, but money, his own standing in the community, and his own skin.

A Botched and Illicit Plot: Demystifying the Occult

Because Saint-Aignan's plot not only fails, but backfires on him, modern readers may find the scene comic. From the outset, Marguerite portrays the procurator as a man of weak moral fiber and limited intelligence who is either willfully blind to his wife's transgressions or a simpleton: not only does he encourage his wife to entertain the bishop ("la sollicitoit de l'entretenir," 12), apparently without suspecting that they are having an affair, but he uncritically accedes to her imprecations for him to kill du Mesnil without assessing the veracity of her accusations, or the ethical and practical drawbacks of her murderous scheme. In contrast to the pathos and gravitas of the scenes that precede it, Saint-Aignan's botched encounter with an unskilled necromancer reinforces his character not just as a criminal but as a bumbling fool. This, together with the sorcerer's talk of magic incantations ("des paroles que je vous feray dire à l'heure," 16) and wax poppets ("ymaiges de cire," 16), and his seeming ineptitude, may suggest that Marguerite has knowingly infused her *histoire tragique* with a touch of levity, making her villain (who is also a victim of his own stupidity) the target of laughter by depicting him as an archetypal tricked trickster.

Notwithstanding the episode's comic potential, however, and our own penchant for laughing at magic spells and potions, particularly when they are used for trickery (as in Machiavelli's *Mandrake Root*) or go awry (as in *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, and Tomie da Paola's *Strega Nona*),¹⁹ we find none of the narrative

19 In Machiavelli's comedy *La mandragola* (The Mandrake Root, ca. 1518), a myth linking the marvelous mandrake root to fertility is used to persuade a bumbling old husband (Nicia) to condone the adulterous liaison of his virtuous wife (Lucretia) and the protagonist Callimaco. By posing first as a doctor, who convinces Nicia of the "magical" root's efficacy in curing female sterility, and later as a homeless man, who Nicia mistakenly thinks will die after sleeping with Lucrezia following her ingestion of the mandrake potion, Callimaco manages to trick Nicia and obtain the favors of the woman he desires – not by enchantment, but by preying upon the husband's credulity. See Machiavelli, *Mandragola*, Bibliotheca Philosophica, <http://www.latinamericanhistory.net/mandragola> (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016); and *Mandragola*, trans. Nerida Newbigin, http://www-personal.usyd.edu.au/~nnew4107/Texts/Sixteenth-century_Florence_files/Mandragola_Translation.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016). "The Sorcerer's Apprentice," in its original poetic version by Goethe (*Der Zauberlehrling*, 1797) and in the popu-

cues traditionally associated with, and used to signal, the presence of humor in the *nouvelle*. Moreover, it is in no way clear that sixteenth-century readers would have laughed at the episode. On the contrary, the regular prosecution of late-medieval and Renaissance priests and laypersons for using waxen images in the practice of witchcraft indicates that the Church and judiciary took these activities seriously, as did those members of the citizenry who commissioned these and other magic rituals to heal family members, bring fertility and prosperity to their households, farms, and businesses, ward off evil, and put hexes on their enemies.²⁰

That sorcery was not necessarily a laughing matter (depending on the context, whether it involved white or black magic, and whom it targeted) is further illustrated in Marguerite's narrative by the Crown and judiciary's arrest and conviction of both Saint-Aignan and the sorcerer, Gallery, for actions that caused no real harm. To be sure, the seeming levity of Marguerite's single ghost story in the *Heptaméron*, her disparagement of claims by a foolish preacher that Jambique is "the devil in disguise," her choice not to sensationalize Gallery's magic rituals in *nouvelle* 1, and his necromancy's failure to live up to its advance billing allow us to hypothesize that de Navarre places little stock in ghosts and sorcery. In *nouvelle* 29, the *devisant* Geburon disparagingly classifies sorcerers alongside thieves, murderers, and counterfeiterers both as "gens simples et de bas estat" (228; "simple folk of low station," 315) and as "pauvres gens et mecaniques" (228; "poor people and artisans," 315).

larized film (*Fantasia*, 1940) by Disney, focuses on a wizard's helper who attempts to lessen his workload by magically bringing brooms to life to mop the floor; but without knowing how to reverse the enchantment, he winds up flooding the premises. The theme is similar in Tomie de-Paola's children's book, *Strega Nona*. Simon and Schuster Books for Young Readers (Grandma Witch; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), which portrays a witch doctor's helper named Big Anthony, who, through a botched spell intended to enlarge his original recipe, creates so much pasta that it floods his entire village.

20 In his *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 37 (Geneva: E. Droz, 1960), Ralph Giesey describes the variety of waxen images used for thaumaturgical purposes in medieval and early modern France: "The post-funeral votive image . . . is one variety; very closely allied to it was the wax effigy made of a sick person to help his cure, either by sending it to the shrine of a saint famous as a healer, or by giving it to a religious house to receive the prayers of the clergy. And conversely, there were wax effigies secretly made of healthy persons and stuck with pins or submitted to a sorcerer's wiles, in the belief that evil would befall the living counterpart. Examples of such *envoûtement*, as it is termed in French, can be found up through the seventeenth century – if not until this day" (89). For more on the overlap between magic and religion in priestly activities of the Middle Ages, see also the contribution to this volume by Claire Fanger.

In the case of the would-be sorcerer Saint-Aignan, to be sure, we have no sense that he is particularly poor, at least once his “biens” (16) have been restored to him: the earlier presence of servants within his household, the abundance of henchman willing to do his bidding for a price, and his well-placed connections who successfully lobby monarchs for his release argue against this hypothesis. As mentioned earlier, however, the bumbling orchestration and outcome of his “murder by magic” scheme, together with his encouragement of his wife’s “friendship” with the bishop, lends credibility to the theory that Saint-Aignan is, at least in some respects, a simpleton.

As for the sorcerer himself, we will discuss Gallery’s possible historical prototype later in this chapter; but within the context of *nouvelle* 1, two things are evident. First, his characterization within the sorcery scene neither confirms nor impugns Gallery’s mastery of his craft. On the one hand, his detailed instructions to Saint-Aignan generate the impression that he is knowledgeable about *envoûtement* and confident his voodoo will work; but on the other hand, the plot’s failure, together with the sorcerer’s arrest and conviction for *lèse majesté*, and Marguerite’s skeptical attitude toward magic elsewhere in the *Heptaméron*, effectively nullifies his credibility.

Second, the sorcerer’s willingness in the first place to fall in with a convicted murderer and ne’er-do-well like Saint-Aignan, in a hastily hatched plot to murder the king’s sister and risk execution, places him squarely in Geburon’s category of “gens simples” (228). Ultimately, then, Marguerite’s portrayal of both men – the sorcerer and his apprentice – as bumbling failures serves to demystify magic and the occult. Like Dante’s Francesca and Paolo, the magician and his would-be apprentice deserve one another, and it is only fitting that they, like the two illicit lovers in the Italian master’s fifth canto, are condemned to the same *contrapasso* together.

While Marguerite’s disparagement of the occult appears to distance her from humanists such as Marsilio Ficino, it arguably approaches the more skeptical opinion of Plato, who hints that waxen images themselves, even when cursed, possess no magical properties.²¹ Rather, he implies that their effect is psycholog-

21 See Margaret Warner Morley, *The Honey-Makers* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1899). In this work, Morley discusses Plato’s references to wax figures used for curses in his *Laws*, where he suggests that the apparent effects of these hexes, when and if they occur, are primarily psychological rather than supernatural or magical in origin (317): “Although he evidently does not himself heartily believe in the efficacy of these waxen images,” writes Morley, “he recognizes the power they exert over the minds of people” (317). Cf. Plato, *Laws*, Book 11: “The injuries which one person does to another by the use of poisons are of two kinds – one affects the body by the employment of drugs and potions; the other works on the mind by the practice

ical, causing superstitious people – or those who are unable to understand that they “should despise all such things” – to become “disturbed in their minds.”²² No matter how spurious the relationship between cause and effect, however, Plato’s suggested penalty for anyone who “seems to . . . [injure] others by magic,” if he is a prophet or diviner, is death, the sentence that François I initially imposes upon Gallery and Saint-Aignan. To be sure, one might argue that Gallery is guilty only of witchcraft, a crime that Plato implies is less grave: in such instances, says the philosopher in his *The Laws*, “the court [should] fix what [a sorcerer] ought to pay or suffer,” allowing the judiciary some leeway in assessing penalties for necromancy.²³ As the many trials and executions of accused witches and sorcerers in early modern France attest, however, the level of tolerance for the black arts in medieval and Reform-era Christendom was considerably lower than what we see among Greek philosophers – particularly in cases, no matter how bungled, that target the royal family: “Ayant la vie de sa seur aussy chere que la sienne,” Marguerite tells us, “[le Roy] commanda que l’on donnast la sentence telle que s’ilz eussent attempté à sa personne propre” (17; “Holding his sister’s life as dear as his own, the king] ordered [Gallery and Saint-Aignan] to be sentenced as if they had made an attempt on his own person,” 17), an act of *lèse-majesté*. Only through Marguerite’s own intervention (“le supplia que la vie fut saulvée au dict procureur,” 17; “[she] begged him to spare Saint-Aignan’s life,” 77), likely motivated by her religious commitment to mercy, and by her hope (analogous to that of Boccaccio, in his own first novella) that the miscreants will repent and find God before dying, are their penalties commuted to a life of hard labor.

of sorcery and magic. Fatal cases of either sort have been already mentioned; and now we must have a law respecting cases which are not fatal. There is no use in arguing with a man whose mind is disturbed by waxen images placed at his own door, or on the sepulcher of his father or mother, or at a spot where three ways meet.” *The Project Gutenberg EBook of Laws, by Plato*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016). Taken from *The Dialogues of Plato*, 3rd ed., trans. Benjamin Jowett (London: Oxford University Press, 1892), vol. 5. See *The Dialogues of Plato translated into English with Analyses and Introductions by B. Jowett, M.A. in Five Volumes*. 3rd edition revised and corrected (Oxford University Press, 1892). Online at <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/769> (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016).

²² Morley, *The Honey-Makers*, 318 (see note 21).

²³ Morley, *The Honey-Makers*, 318 (see note 21).

Between the Devil and the Good Lord: Religious Resonances in the Sorcery Scene

In addition to mocking and condemning necromancy, which is nullified and stripped of its efficacy and magical allure in *nouvelle* 1, Marguerite's sorcery episode has religious resonances as well. At its most basic level, her account of Gallery's necromancy targets the misappropriation of Christian icons (wooden statues), rituals (the mass), ceremonial objects (the altar), and collects or blessings ("certain words") for nefarious, and presumably Satanic, purposes, in a variation of the world-upside-down trope that figures so often in her writings. Far from being unidimensional, these religious signifiers are at once visual cues and ambiguous linguistic tokens that mobilize the reader's gaze and prompt us to envision the sorcery scene in two ways: first, and literally, as the depiction of a "black mass" utilizing poppets and a Satanic altar to curse Saint-Aignan's enemies; and second, as a result of the visual and linguistic slippage inherent in the scene, as a Catholic mass taking place before an ecclesiastical altar, in the presence of holy icons and "wooden statues," amid words of blessing that the necromancer, an ungodly rather than godly celebrant of the liturgy, has co-opted in the service of evil. In this sense, Marguerite's portrayal of Gallery implicitly condemns sorcery as a perversion of true godliness.

No less importantly, the sorcerer's departure from Christian ideals of charity, good works, and a benevolent pastorate mirrors that of the abusive Catholic priests and monks whom Marguerite excoriates in the *Heptaméron*, suggesting that literal sorcery and witchcraft are not the only targets of her criticism. Instead, parallels between the Catholic icons and rituals condemned by reformers, on the one hand, and the invocations, statuary, and rituals that Gallery describes to Saint-Aignan, on the other hand, take on supplementary meaning within the context of Reformation polemics.

To be sure, the line of demarcation between religion and magic, both of which focus on the marvelous and supernatural, was at once tenuous and permeable in Marguerite's era. Notwithstanding laws against the practice, non- or pre-Christian magic coexisted with Christianity in many medieval churches, and in the vocabulary, gestures, and material objects used in their rituals.²⁴ While Catholics and Protestants routinely denounced one another as Satanists,

²⁴ See, for example, Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Carolina Escobar-Vargas, "Magic in the Church," in *Magic and Medieval Society*. Seminar Studies in History (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 113–26.

moreover, Marguerite's own alignment with French evangelicals and other European reformers – many of whom condemned the mass, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the veneration of icons and statuary, and even the liturgical altar – allows us to hypothesize that her sorcery scene alludes obliquely to this confessional debate.

By associating the Church's sacramental mysteries with necromancy, through linguistic and visual cues that conflate ecclesiastical and black masses, de Navarre slyly draws her reader's attention to unreformed Catholicism's pro forma rituals; to its vulnerability to corruption and abuses of power; and to analogies between the miracles attributed to holy statuary, often made of wood ("ymaiges de bois," 16), and the black magic Gallery proposes to conjure with wax poppets.

Despite her frequent criticism of Roman Catholic clergy, Marguerite at no time identifies the necromancer as a priest or monk, referring to him only as an "invocateur" (16) or "sorcerer" (76). On one level, this omission is surprising, given the abundant anti-clerical satire that we see elsewhere in the *Heptaméron* and the applicability of the term "priest" to celebrants of pagan as well as Christian rituals.²⁵

On the other hand, however, the label "invocateur" is a much safer choice on Marguerite's part, particularly in view of her reformist leanings;²⁶ and if the character Gallery was inspired by a contemporary historical figure, as many scholars believe, the term "invocateur" would have characterized him more precisely, and less ambiguously, than the religious descriptor "prebtre." Whether the fictionalized sorcerer that Marguerite describes actually existed is unclear.

As a result of the myriad proper names in the *Heptaméron*, and Marguerite's promise to write only "veritable[s] histoire[s]," scholars for centuries assumed that virtually all her characters and stories were either completely factual, or based on fact. In the case of *nouvelle* 1, this assumption is particularly strong, due to Saint-Aignan's letter of remission, held in the National Archives and signed by François I, that coincides very loosely with Marguerite's account of his earlier crimes. Corroborating the sorcery episode's historicity has been more prob-

²⁵ See "Prestre" definition B ("Relig. autre que chrétienne, paganisme"), online *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)*, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/prestre> (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016).

²⁶ While the term *invocateur* is translated only as "invoker" in modern French and English, the online *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)* defines the noun as follows: (1) "celui qui invoque des puissances démoniaques" (someone who invokes demonic powers), (2) "celui qui fait des incantations magiques" (someone who does magical incantations), (3) a "sorcier" (sorcerer). See <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/invocateur> (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016).

lematic, however. François Grudé, seigneur de La Croix du Maine (1552–1592), contended that Marguerite's necromancer was a certain Jehan (Jean) Gallery or Guallery who was a philosopher, poet, mathematician and tragedian as well as a magician:

JEAN GALLERY OU GUALLERY, natif de la ville du Mans, oncle de maistre Prothais Coulom Chirugien, des plus renommez du Maine &c. Guallery étoit Poëte François, Philosophe, Mathématicien & bien versé en autres sciences. Il a composé quelques Tragédies, Comédies & autres Poésies Françaises non encore imprimées. Il fut accusé enfin d'être magicien, & fut condamné aux galères. Le Livre mis au nom de la Roine de Navarre, intitulé l'Heptaméron ou sept journées, fait mention du dit Gallery & de ce qu'il lui advint. Il étoit Principal du Collège de Justice à Paris, auquel lieu il fist jouer & représenter plusieurs Tragédies & Comédies, tant en Latin qu'en François, composées par lui. Ses Œuvres ne sont en lumière. Il florissoit à Paris sous le règne de François premier du nom, Roi de France. C'est dans la première Nouvelle de l'Heptaméron qu'il est parlé du Magicien Gallery.²⁷

[JEAN GALLERY OR GUALLERY, a native of Le Mans, uncle of master Prothais Coulom, a surgeon, one of the most renowned of Le Maine. Gallery was a French poet, philosopher, mathematician, and well versed in other sciences. He composed several tragedies, comedies, and additional French poetry that have not yet been printed. He was eventually accused of being a magician and was condemned to the galleys. The book attributed to the queen of Navarre, entitled the Heptaméron or the seven days, mentions the aforementioned Gallery and what became of him. He was principal of the College of Justice in Paris, where he staged several tragedies and comedies, in Latin as well as French, which he had composed. He lived in Paris during the reign of François I. It is in the first nouvelle of the Heptaméron that the magician Gallery is mentioned. (my translation)]

La Croix du Maine's assertions about Marguerite's magician are not universally accepted, however: indeed, they rarely (if ever) figure in the critical apparatus or endnotes of modern editions of *The Heptaméron*. Already at the beginning of the twentieth century, Gustave Lanson challenged the sixteenth-century bibliographer's somewhat implausible finding, not so much for its identification of Marguerite de Navarre's sorcerer as Jehan Gallery, principal of the College of Justice, as for its implication that original tragedies in French appeared as early as the 1520s, rather than in the 1550s as literary historians have long contended.²⁸ More importantly for the purposes of our study, the four decades sep-

²⁷ La Croix du Maine, *La bibliothèque du sieur de la Croix du Maine* (1579; Paris: Abel l'Angelier, 1584) 1: 226–27.

²⁸ Lanson, "Études sur les origines de la tragédie classique en France. Comment s'est opérée la substitution de la tragédie aux mystères et moralités," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 10, 2 (1903): 177–231; here 182. See also Lanson, "L'idée de la Tragédie en France avant Jodelle," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 11.4 (1904): 541–85; here 557.

arating La Croix du Maine's biographical sketch and the actions of Marguerite's *nouvelle* – as well as his failure to provide documentation external to the *Heptaméron* in support of his claims – make his statements about Gallery suspect. Born three years after de Navarre's death, the bibliographer La Croix du Maine would have had no first-hand knowledge of the man or events that he describes so authoritatively; and while he may have heard about the historical Gallery from oral memorialists older than himself, or read about him in correspondence, court records, or other documents that are no longer extant, we should bear in mind that the name Gallery was relatively common in early modern France. Whether La Croix du Maine conflated a writer and scholar named Jehan or Jean Gallery with a fictionalized sorcerer bearing the same last name is uncertain, but such errors were and are common. Even so, his suggestion that Marguerite's necromancer was a principal of the College of Justice is an intriguing one, given the frequent appointment of clerics and theologians to that position.

Whether Gallery was a respected scholar or not, Marguerite does not need to call him a “priest” to give the sorcery episode religious overtones: instead, the visual similarities between Catholic and “black” masses, the convergence of key terms and practices in their rituals, and the presence of ecclesiastical signifiers in Gallery's instructions to Saint-Aignan imbue the episode with alternative iconographic and linguistic associations.²⁹ The sorcerer's references to ritualistic words (“des paroles que je vous feray dire,” 16), the mass (“leur messe,” 16), statuary (“cinq ymaiges de boys,” 16), and an altar (“l'autel,” 16) draw our attention to superficial commonalities between necromancy and Catholicism, suggesting that the latter is mired in superstitions. More importantly, the specific cues mentioned above target key “talking points” of reformist discourse and civil protest, while signaling areas of proposed reform that were eventually adopted, at least in part, by some Protestant congregations.

Notably, French dissidents mounted a wide-ranging demonstration against the mass itself in 1534, affixing posters opposing the sacrament in public places,

²⁹ In his *The Iconography of Power: The French Nouvelle at the End of the Middle Ages* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press, 1999), David LaGuardia notes that Renaissance tale collections used an “iconographic” mode of representation” (29) that “invite[s] readers to interpret” significant images (39) according to their details, which identify characters as social prototypes. At times, however, de Navarre includes visual and linguistic details in her iconography that refer to two different social prototypes, rather than one, in a single image. See Zegura, *Marguerite de Navarre's Shifting Gaze*, 17, 27, n. 53, 77, 87, 91, 119. Arguably this is what happens in Marguerite's sorcery episode in *nouvelle* 1, where some details of Gallery's description prompt us to identify him as a sorcerer; and others, as a priest. Overall, this iconographic ambivalence is a cornerstone of the *Heptaméron's* interpretive richness; and in *nouvelle* 1, it is a vehicle of the author's reformist and anticlerical satire.

including the king's bedchamber during the Affaire des Placards; and in the same spirit of protest, iconoclasts vandalized statues of the Virgin on numerous occasions, and in cities ranging from Paris and Alençon to Metz, in the 1520s and 1530s.³⁰

In some reformed churches, moreover, simple tables replaced the liturgical altar used for the Lord's Supper; and Bible readings, accompanied by scriptural exegesis and discussions among the congregants, all in the vernacular, supplanted the deacon or priest's recitations in Latin from the missal, as well as the parishioners' formulaic or directed responses ("des paroles que je vous feray dire"), also Latin, in the unreformed Church. All of this suggests that the author has a double agenda in her sorcery episode: not just to rationalize, disempower, and demystify magic, but also to reflect figuratively on religious controversies in Reformation-era France. Much like *nouvelle* 32, where an adulteress's forced adoration of her dead lover's skeleton implicitly condemns Catholicism's reliquary practices, the sorcery episode of *Heptaméron* 1 may be read as a figurative criticism of the unreformed Church's cult of images and icons, which, according to Protestants such as Calvin, have no intercessory or supernatural power.³¹ With its various resonances, then, the scene debunks magic, targets a corrupt, unholy celebrant of the mass, and takes aim at Catholicism's statuary practices.

Legal and Judicial Considerations: Portrait of a Headless Household and a Lawless Lawman

Neither the Church nor Gallery are the primary targets of the sorcery episode, of course, which reinforces and darkens Marguerite's portrayal of Saint-Aignan.

³⁰ Reid, *King's Sister*, 1: 26, 364, 394, 398 (see note 10).

³¹ See his *Institution de la religion chrestienne: composée en latin par Jean Calvin, et translâtée en françoys par luymesme, et encores de nouveau reveuë et augmentée: en laquelle est comprinse une somme de toute la chrestienté* (Geneva: Philbert Hamelin, 1554), 101: "Mesme c'est à ceste fin qu'on a inventé la distinction qu'on appellee de Latrie & Dulie: à ce qu'on peust transferer l'honneur de Dieu aux Anges & aux morts sans peché. Car il est assez notoire, que le service que les Papistes font leurs saints, ne differe en rien du service de Dieu" ("The distinction of what is called δουλια [dulia] and λατρία [latria] was invented for the very purpose of permitting divine honours to be paid to angels and dead men with apparent impunity. For it is plain that the worship which Papists pay to saints differs in no respect from the worship of God." *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge [1845; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989], Book 1, 12.2, 105. Accessible online at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.pdf>, 108 [last accessed on Oct. 4, 2016]).

True, the narrator's stated goal is to describe "the world's worst woman." As egregious as the procurator's wife's transgressions – including double adultery, lying to her husband, and plotting to have her "true love" killed – are, though, clearly her husband is no less at fault. He triggers his wife's first fall from virtue, encouraging her "friendship" with the Bishop of Sées and turning a blind eye to her adultery in exchange for monetary, social, and political gain. When his wife mendaciously claims that du Mesnil (her second lover) is stalking her and must be killed, moreover, additional facets of Saint-Aignan's character come into focus. His meek acceptance of her lies and compliance with her directives casts him, on the one hand, as a weak, uxorious, and credulous head of household (traits that may be calculated to mitigate his culpability). And while his seeming uxoriousness has dissipated, and gives way to plans for killing, rather than obeying, his wife by the time he consults the sorcerer, certainly the credulity with which he accepted her lies is echoed by his confidence in Gallery's hocus pocus.

He also has a pattern of delegating his "dirty work" to others, shirking responsibility for his transgressions, and using the rhetoric of honor to deflect blame away from himself and mask his cowardice. In this sense, his attempted "murder by magic," plotted surreptitiously under the guidance of a sorcerer, mirrors the *modus operandi* of his previous crime. Rather than confronting his victims honorably and courageously in the earlier episode, with sword in hand, he hired an assassin to ambush and kill du Mesnil, instructed servants to bury the youth's bones, and ordered his agents to make off with and discredit a young witness.

As a result, his own hands remain clean, but in ways that clash sharply with traditional notions of manly honor: for in both episodes, Saint-Aignan takes a cowardly short-cut in dispatching his "enemies," relying on the handiwork of others, rather than his own skill or valor, to achieve his ends. Not just the sorcerer, then, but anyone who seeks to elude justice and harm or secure an advantage over others through magic, rather than merit, is implicitly condemned in this *nouvelle*.

As we recall analogies between the head of household and head of state in early modern allegories of the body, moreover, the contrast between François I's *modus operandi* in *Heptaméron* 1 and that of Saint-Aignan also takes on meaning: for unlike the king, who painstakingly wades through mounds of evidence before deciding whether to pardon his procurator for the first murder, Saint-Aignan precipitously yields to his wife's imprecations to kill du Mesnil, without vetting her testimony. Rather than learning from this error, moreover, the antagonist returns to a life of crime immediately following his return to France, squandering the second chance he has been granted – whereas the king, whose commutation

of Saint-Aignan's murder conviction was clearly a mistake, on several grounds, recognizes and rectifies his blunder. That Gallery plans to teach Saint-Aignan how to "murder by magic" is somewhat ironic, then: for the "apprentice" not only attempts to use magic to his own detriment, but proves that he cannot learn.

For many Renaissance scholars of the occult, to be sure, arcane studies represented an effort to enhance their own – and humankind's – understanding of the universe through research and reflection, as they engaged in learning for its own sake rather than for personal profit. Unlike his humanistic counterparts, however, Saint-Aignan seeks superficial, but fast, easy, and effective, instruction in sorcery for self-serving reasons, both as a Machiavellian means to an end, and as an attempt to destroy, rather than enrich, the lives of others. Overall, his relationship to, and attitude toward, knowledge is skewed on a number of counts, which become clear as we reassess the *nouvelle* in its entirety.

Notably, we discover that Marguerite's first novella is structured around a series of variations on the theme of knowledge and learning, many of which involve Saint-Aignan. They include (1) the procurator's ignorance, either willful or dim-witted, of his wife's love affairs ("il ne s'apparceut du vice de sa femme," 11); (2) his attempts to camouflage and skew the evidence of his murder of du Mesnil, by tampering with witnesses ("il trouva façon de . . . faire suborner [la chambrière qui avoit vu le crime]," 15), destroying forensic materials ("fait brusler le corps du pauvre trespasé," 15), and plying the authorities with misinformation ("donn[oi]t à entendre qu'il avoit plusieurs fois deffendu sa maison à un personnaige dont il avoit suspicion, [et] le trouvant à l'entrée de sa chambre . . . l'auroit tué," 15); (3) his ability to ingratiate himself with "plusieurs grands seigneurs" (16) in England, by falsely representing himself as a man of honor and virtue; (4) his ill-advised attempts to master the ersatz knowledge, and forbidden tricks, of necromancy ("s'accointa d'un invocateur nommé Gallery, esperant que par son art il seroit exempt de paier les quinze cens escuz," 16), in order to kill those he believes have wronged him; and (5) his obliviousness to what Marguerite would call true knowledge, or the "bonnes nouvelles" of the scriptures, as illustrated by his misplaced trust in the sorcerer's ungodly, diabolic "parolles" rather than the Word of God.

Far from being a complete novice when he begins his "apprenticeship" in sorcery with Gallery, then, Saint-Aignan has rehearsed the role – on a figurative level, at least – for the better part of his adult life, through the alchemy of the false appearances he cultivates, the fantasies he perpetrates and persuades others to believe, and the facts he causes to vanish, or to morph into their opposites, before our very eyes.

Saint-Aignan's deceitfulness, and his foray into the illicit world of sorcery to avenge himself against perceived wrongs done to him, takes on added significance when we consider his profession. He is a *procureur*, usually translated as procurator, proctor, or procurer, typically in reference to a magistrate, attorney at law, or officer of the duchy or Crown.³² While Marguerite does not belabor this point by detailing his professional duties, or by drawing a pointed contrast between his official judicial activities and the injustices he perpetrates against others, her repetition of the term "procureur" on ten occasions in the *nouvelle* provides a subtle reminder that Saint-Aignan is a servant of the court, who is bound to uphold the law.

To be sure, his status as a procurator is uncertain at the time of his last illegal venture, the "attempted murder by magic." The text implies that he forfeited all his wealth and honors – including, presumably, his professional credentials and titles – when he was convicted of murder; but the English king petitions François I to restore all of Saint-Aignan's "biens et honneurs" at the time of his pardon, suggesting that he would have been reinstated as a procurator. Marguerite's lexicon supports this impression: whether intentionally or not, she refrains from calling Saint-Aignan a "procureur" during his exile, but resumes her use of the term immediately following his pardon, continuing her usage of the descriptor for the remainder of the *nouvelle* – even though he is no longer practicing his profession.

Earlier in the story, however, there is no doubt about Saint-Aignan's juridical occupation. When he enlists an assassin to kill du Mesnil, burns his victims' bones, and instructs his henchman to discredit a young female witness by taking her to a Parisian "brothel" (75; "au lieu publicq," 15), Saint-Aignan is active in his profession, as evidenced by the frequent "commissions" (71) obtained for him by the Bishop of Sées. That this work stems primarily from his wife's liaison with the cleric, in an exchange of sex for professional favors, provides a hint of the corruption that taints his work from the outset; and this is confirmed by Saint-Aignan's association with the assassin, Thomas Guérin, who, according to the procurator's letter of remission, "estoit venu [à sa maison] pour ses affaires" [had

32 See Patricia Cholakian, *Rape and Writing in the Heptaméron of Marguerite de Navarre* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 236: "In modern French, a *procureur* is a magistrate who represents juridical or public interests before a tribunal. Cotgrave translates the noun simply as "proctor" or "attorney at law." The definitions of "procureur" in the *Dictionnaire du moyen français* include the following: "Celui à qui est confié une procuration et qui représente qqn d'autre" (someone to whom a procuration is entrusted and who represents someone else), and particularly "celui qui est chargé de représenter qqn en justice, avocat" (a person who is charged with representing someone in court, a lawyer).

come to Saint-Aignan's house on business], suggesting that the *procureur* has made unsavory connections, and learned more about eluding than upholding the law, over the course of his career. If this portrait of an unlawful man of the law reflects badly on the French judiciary, reminding us – as Marguerite does so often – that “l’habit ne fait pas le moine” (you can’t tell a book by its cover), it also helps contextualize Saint-Aignan’s foray into sorcery: for despite his façade of lawfulness, the procurator has a history of engaging in illicit activities behind closed doors, and betraying the values of justice, fair play, and godliness that he purports to serve. In this sense, engaging in illicit necromancy and plotting to commit a triple murder do not deviate from, but rather confirm, Saint-Aignan’s earlier character traits and tendencies.

The procurator’s fundamental lawlessness and ungodliness contrast not only with his own juridical profession, but also with the positive examples of lawfulness and justice in the *nouvelle*: these include François I’s role as an fair and attentive arbiter of law and justice for both crimes, and the implicit promise of divine justice – present throughout the *Heptaméron*, in the prologue that immediately precedes *nouvelle* 1, and in the martyred Mesnil’s invocation of God, and divine judgment, with his dying breath (“Je meurs et recommande à Dieu mon esprit!” (14; “I’m dying! God have mercy on my soul!” 74).

Compositional Principles of *Nouvelle* 1: Dualities, Simulacra, and Transmutations

Finally, the sorcery episode draws our attention to a pervasive set of dualities, simulacra, and transmutations in *Heptaméron* 1. We have already alluded to several of these, including the wife’s two lovers; two murder plots, the first “successful” and the second thwarted; two commuted death sentences, the first one too lenient but the second one just; two kings, the one (Henry VIII) moved by hearsay and the other (François I) initially focused on evidence; two contrasting heads of household (Saint-Aignan and François I), the one destructive and the other protective of the body of his family and the state; and two types of priestly activities, the one holy and the other unholy. Even the necromancer’s surname Gallery, often associated with power, high position, and noble origins in early modern France, is twinned with its negative double, “galères” or “galleys,” which serves as a fitting punishment or *contrapasso* for the sorcerer’s perversion of the Christian priesthood.

More than anything, in fact, the sorcery scene with its wax images draws our attention to the simulacra present throughout the entire story, and to the slip-

page or perversion separating the model or prototype from its reiteration or reproduction. Given the ritualistic use of royal effigies following the death of kings and queens in late medieval and early modern France, and the myriad likenesses of her brother, mother, and even herself that were fashioned, displayed privately or publicly, and/or presented to the honoree with considerable fanfare, it is perhaps a stretch to argue that Marguerite is condemning iconographic “copies” per se. Certainly the *imitatio Christi* (imitation of Christ), a rigorous protocol for “copying” in which faithful Christians sought to model themselves after Christ, would have been familiar to Marguerite, as would devotional guides advocating the emulation of saints³³; and her allusions to Platonic and Neo-Platonic tropes suggest a passing acquaintance with the Greek scholar’s ideal forms and their earthly copies.

The sorcerer’s perverted simulacra, however, and the other deformed replicas of positive models and prototypes in the *Heptaméron*, are of a far different ilk. Gallery’s proposed use of wax figures not to celebrate or honor the person depicted, but to unleash the ritualistic forces of death, darkness, and black magic against him or her, invokes the “world upside down” motif while indicating the dangers of misused and perverted models of divine creation for “the thing itself.” Within this category, in the sorcery scene, we find plans to craft wax images of the targeted murder victims, Saint-Aignan’s wife, Marguerite d’Alençon, and du Mesnil’s father, who are to be fashioned with lowered rather than upraised arms.

In traditional iconography, the latter are often used to symbolize either a prayer to God, a gesture of blessing, or a benediction. Moreover, the statues are not simply simulacra of the people they represent, but copies of copies, two degrees removed from “God’s creation”: for the wax images are based at least partially on wooden statues – perhaps tools of Gallery’s illicit trade, or, more likely, examples of religious statuary, in which hand positions were often varied for aesthetic considerations or religious symbolism. Marguerite describes the images and the context in which they are discussed as follows:

Ledict Gallery luy monstroït cinq ymaiges de boys dont les trois avoient les mains pendantes et les deux levées contremont. Et parlant au procureur: “Il nous fault faire de telles ymaiges de cire que ceulx cy, et celles qui auront les bras pendans, ce seront ceulx que nous

33 The latter may appear to be in conflict with Marguerite’s reformist tendencies, given the objections of Protestants such as Calvin to the veneration of saints. However, Marguerite – as an evangelical attempting to reform the Catholic Church from within – was certainly familiar with the saints’ lives, and possessed prayer books and other devotional materials based on the *vitae sanctorum*.

ferons mourir, et ceulx qui les ont eslevées seront ceulx de qui vous voudrez avoir la bonne grace et amour.” (16)

[Gallery (showed Saint-Aignan) five wooden dolls . . . Three of the dolls had arms hanging by their sides, and two had their arms up in the air. “We’ve got to make dolls like these, but out of wax [said Gallery to St. Aignan]. The ones with their arms hanging down are the ones we’re going to cause to die. The ones with their arms up are the ones whose favours and goodwill we’re after.” (76)]

The two figures with upturned hands are the king and the Chancellor of Alençon, whose favor Saint-Aignan seeks, while the three with lowered arms, slated for death, represent threats to his well-being, in part because they know his villainy too well to be persuaded he is innocent:

L’une estoit maistre Gilles du Mesnil, pere du trepassé; car [Saint-Aignan] sçavoit bien que tant qu’il vivoit il ne cesseroit de le poursuivre. Et une des femmes qui avoit ses mains pendantes estoit ma dame la duchesse d’Allençon, seur du Roy, parce qu’elle ayroit tant ce viel serviteur, et avoit en tant d’autres choses congneu sa meschanceté, que, si elle ne mourait, il ne pouvoit vivre. La seconde femme aiant les brans pendans estoit sa femme. (17)

[One (statue) was Gilles du Mesnil, the father of the dead man, because [Saint-Aignan] knew that for as long as the Lieutenant had breath in him he would never give up trying to track him down. One of [the female figures] was the Duchess of Alençon, the King’s sister, because she was so fond of her old servant du Mesnil, and because she knew so much about Saint-Aignan’s other evil doings that if she too did not die, he, Saint-Aignan, could not hope to live. The other doll was his own wife. (76–77)]

In his proposed curse, Gallery does not plan to stick pins in the statues or otherwise harm them, according to the principles of voodoo or sympathetic magic, but the downturned hands signal the anticipated “fall” of the targeted characters, their powerlessness in the face of the dark forces he plans to unleash against them, and their proximity to the realm of Death.

In addition to being ineffective, in part because Saint-Aignan’s wife eavesdrops on his conversations with Gallery and divulges his plot to Marguerite, nipping it in the bud, the proposed sorcery draws our attention to other false images within the narrative: they include (1) the wife’s love affairs, twisted facsimiles of her marriage; (2) distorted simulacra of patriarchy and patriarchal responsibilities, in Saint-Aignan’s uxoriousness, his facilitation of his wife’s adultery, and his eventual attempt to kill rather than protect her; (3) deformed imitations of religious figures, objects, and rituals, in the sorcerer’s priestly activities and incantations, in his service of Satan rather than God, and in the icons, altar, and mass he coopts for evil rather than righteous purposes; (4) perversions of justice exhibited by men of the law such as Saint-Aignan, a procurator, proctor, or so-

licitor by profession, and, arguably, by Henry VIII and François I in their advocacy and approval of Saint-Aignan's pardon; and (5) the counterfeit honor that permeates Saint-Aignan's own mendacious accounts of his crimes.

In this context, but conversely, however, *nouvelle* 1 features a juridical anti-model (Saint-Aignan's pardon for the murder of du Mesnil, injudiciously proffered by François I at King Henry VIII's behest for diplomatic reasons) that is corrected by a wise pardon – or, at least, a commutation: for in a gesture of Christian charity, Marguerite persuades her brother to commute the procurator's death sentence for the “attempted murder by magic” to a life of hard labor at sea. This commutation, at once just and merciful, arguably figures as an earthly foretaste, still imperfect, of the potential pardon that awaits repentant sinners in heaven.

As puzzling and boring as they initially appear, then, Marguerite's underdeveloped, anticlimactical paragraphs on “attempted murder by magic” yield a wealth of insights into the *nouvelle's* key themes and compositional principles, and into the confessional debates of Reformation-era France. The scene contributes to Saint-Aignan's characterization as an underhanded coward. It also rationalizes, rejects, and demystifies sorcery; reflects negatively on statutory practices in unreformed Catholicism; and points to the “false images” that permeate the *Heptaméron* and the culture as a whole. For an episode that seems curiously “flat,” the sorcery scene packs a considerable punch if we take the time to analyze it in depth.

One might even venture that its true “magic,” from a readerly perspective, resides in Marguerite's own narrative sleight-of-hand and in the miracle of divine creation, justice, and mercy toward which the short story points. For without constructing herself as an alchemist in the manner of Rabelais, de Navarre pulls the underlying themes and ideological threads of her “fiction” through the linear warp of her historical narrative, transforming the botched sorcery episode into literary “gold”; the first *nouvelle's* “false images,” into veiled signifiers of the truths they obfuscate; and her readers, into her own apprentices.

Thomas Willard

How Magical Was Renaissance Magic?

During the early modern period in Europe, the word “magic” took on a variety of meanings and associations – not all of them new, but collectively blurring what had been fairly clear lines between religions on the one hand and technologies or sciences on the other. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, magic had long been associated with the ritual use of spells to predict the future or to achieve desired ends.¹ The *Oxford English Dictionary* makes it clear that the earliest instances of the English word “magic” concerned “ritual activities or observances.”² Meanwhile, as more figurative uses of the word were introduced, accompanied by published texts of alchemy and astrology, the ritual element of magic tended to disappear.³ Developments like these are associated with names that “conjure up” images in the verb’s figurative sense – names like Agrippa and Paracelsus.⁴ But given the departure from older associations with conjuring and witchcraft, they raise the question of just how magical the post-medieval magic was. In this chapter, I shall follow the fortunes of magic from the Middle Ages through the various stages of the Renaissance and Reformation, on the Continent and then in England.

I Introduction

Forty years ago, I began studying what then was known as Renaissance magic or Renaissance intellectual magic. The terms had been around for half a century, but had recently received a good deal of attention thanks to the pioneering

1 Howard Clark Kee, “Magic and Divination,” *The Oxford Guide to Ideas & Issues of the Bible*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 334–35.

2 “magic, n. 1” OED Online. Oxford University Press, www.oed.com (last accessed on Sep. 26, 2016).

3 E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 3–4. For the complementary view that medieval books of magic continued to find an audience in the early modern period, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Also see notes 26 and 31 below.

4 “conjure, v9c.” OED Online (see note 2) (last accessed Sep. 26, 2016).

Thomas Willard, The University of Arizona, Tucson

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-022>

work of Frances Yates and others at the Warburg Institute in London.⁵ The more I read, the more I formed the impression that it was indeed different from medieval magic. Not only did it include magical ideas from the ancient world, ideas that had been vaguely known but inaccessible before the renewed study of ancient Greek in fourteenth-century Italy; it also excluded ideas from the Arabic and Persian cultures that reached Europe in the High Middle Ages. I attributed these developments to two things: first, a growing desire to show that “real” magic was compatible with the Christian religion and the new developments in science; then again, new ideas about ways that different magical practices worked together and belonged to the larger, and as yet unconsidered, concept of magic itself.

I propose to reassess these old impressions, not by raising theoretical questions about what has been called “the metamorphosis of magic,”⁶ but by examining the statements of thinkers from two distinct stages of intellectual development: the Italian Renaissance of the fourteenth century and the so-called Northern Renaissance of the fifteenth. But first I must give some intellectual background from antiquity and the Middle Ages. Many of the Renaissance *magi* were humanists at heart, committed to the study of *litterae humaniores* (humane letters) and the desire to return *ad fontes* (to the fountains, specifically the classical fountains of knowledge), often in search of a *prisca theologia* (ancient theology).⁷ The word “magic” was known to derive from the Magian religion of Zoroaster and its hereditary priests, the *magi*. A Platonic text identified the *mageia* of Zoroaster as “worship of the gods,”⁸ and some Byzantine scholars, such as Michael Psellus (ca. 1017–1078) and Gemistus Pletho (1355–1452), thought that core principles of Zoroastrian magic were preserved in the *Oracula Chaldaica* (Chaldean Oracles) attributed to Julian the Theurgist.⁹ Other ancient authorities included the Egyptian Hermes, known as Trismegistus (the thrice great), and the Thracian Orpheus. Both of them were translated from the post-classical Greek of the *Corpus Hermetica* (Hermetic Corpus) and the *Orphikí Ýmni* (Orphic Hymns).

5 Most notably, perhaps, Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

6 *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. J. N. Bremmer and J. R. Veenstra. Gronigen Studies in Cultural Change, 1 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2002).

7 See D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972).

8 Plato (attrib.), *Alcibiades 1*, 122a, trans. W. R. M. Lamb, Perseus Project, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/> (last accessed on Aug. 4, 2016).

9 Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (see note 5), 18; see also Sarah Iles Johnston, “Oracula Chaldaica,” *Brill’s New Pauly*, reference works, brillonline.com (last accessed on Aug. 4, 2016).

Renaissance *magi* tended to invert the now-famous formula of Sir James Frazer: “from magic through religion to science.”¹⁰ Although they insisted on the antiquity of magic, and regarded it as the primitive thought of mankind, they used the word “primitive” quite differently from Frazer. They associated such practices, not with the inhabitants of preliterate societies, but with the recipients of original revelations from God, much as religious reformers of the sixteenth century spoke of a return to “primitive Christianity.”¹¹ They regarded their subject as an ultimate form of knowledge. While their adversaries tended to frame magic as bad religion, bad science, or both, the Renaissance *magi* suggested that they could offer a new paradigm for developments in religious and scientific knowledge.

II The Middle Ages

In the early Middle Ages, Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) enumerated the various types of magic in book 8 of his *Etymologies*, a title that should be understood as “origins.” His section on the Church and its sects treated not only Christian and Jewish heresies, but ancient philosophy and poetry as well as sibyls, magicians, paganism, and gentile gods. Isidore traced magic back to Zoroaster, “king of the Bactrians,” or Persians, and noted that it spread through the Assyrians and even the Greeks and Romans. He wrote that “this foolery of the magic arts held sway over the entire world through the instruction of the evil angels.” He mentioned divinations and auguries, oracles and necromancy. In addition to the evildoers who conjured demons to kill and maim their victims, he listed magicians of many sorts, including necromancers who conjured the dead, hydromancers and pyromancers who invoked demons from the elements of water and fire, augurs and haruspicators who sought information from observation of animals and their entrails, as well as astrologers and interpreters of lots.¹² The catalogue was fairly inclusive and remained so for the period. For Church officials, all of these practices were regarded as forbidden magic. Of particular concern to them was what Isidore termed *astrologia superstitiosa*, which brought magical elements into the observation of the heavens.

¹⁰ James Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1922), 711. Though implicit in all twelve volumes of Frazer’s *opus magnum* (3rd ed., 1906–1915), it is explicitly stated in the final chapter of this one-volume abridgement.

¹¹ “primitive,” n. 3a, b, *OED Online*. www.oed.com (last accessed on Sept. 26, 2016).

¹² *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney and Muriel Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press, 2006), 181–83; 8.9.3. See also the Introduction to the present volume.

The picture changed somewhat when key texts of Arabic science were translated into Latin. William of Auvergne (ca. 1190–1249), the influential Bishop of Paris, introduced the concept of natural magic (*magia naturalis*), which exploited natural virtues for the benefit of humans, and did so without the help of demons. In his book on laws, he treated natural magic as a branch of philosophy; in time it would come to be known as natural philosophy.¹³

There were, however, small innovations that pushed astronomy deeper into the realm of spirits. With the translation of Arabic books on astrology, especially in the twelfth century, there came the new magic of talismans designed to attract the influence of a planet or constellation.¹⁴ The Baghdad philosopher al-Kindi (ca. 801–ca. 873) had introduced the notion that all bodies emitted rays which could influence other bodies, and his follower Thābit ibn Qurra (836–901) introduced the concept of images designed to draw down special heavenly influences. Meanwhile, confusion in the translation and transliteration of names from Greek into Arabic and then into Latin created monstrosities that readers took to be demons, and overly magical materials were copied into originally scientific texts. The work known in the West as the *Picatrix* – a text translated from Arabic into Spanish during the thirteenth century, traditionally by the order of Alfonso X (1221–1284) – systematized and ritualized the association of spirits and planets and created the basis of a fully blown ritual magic that has been periodically revived and reviled.¹⁵

III The Italian Renaissance

In the Italian Renaissance, the philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) was deeply read in the Middle Platonists Plotinus (204–270) and Iamblichus (245–325), well enough to realize that they made Platonism into a religion. Plotinus

13 William of Auvergne, *De Universo*, pt. 3, chap. 22; cited in William of Auvergne, *The Universe of Creatures*, ed and trans. Roland J. Teske (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1998), 141, note 117. For a good example of the interplay of natural magic and natural science in religious illustrations of the late thirteenth century, see the contribution by Nurit Golan in this volume.

14 See Peter J. Forshaw, “The Occult Middle Ages,” *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 34–48. Also see Thomas Willard, “Alchemy, Magic, and other Occult Sciences,” *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), vol. 1, 102–19.

15 For a new edition, see *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, ed. and trans. David Pingree. Studies of the Warburg Institute, 39 (London: Warburg Institute, 1986).

and Iamblichus drew on the Middle Eastern, ostensibly Chaldean, idea of theurgy, a ritual practice designed to gain the assistance of a pagan god or spirit that could help one learn about the cosmos and draw near to the godhead or Monad. Ficino's famous books on life (*De Vita*) could be said to be theurgic inasmuch as they suggest using music and images to seek the guidance of one or another of the heavenly bodies.

In an afterword to the books, which he wrote at the Medici palace in Carregi in September 1489, Ficino took pains to distinguish "two kinds of magic": one practiced by those who wish to be joined to demons "by a specific religious rite" and one practiced by others "who seasonably subject natural materials to natural causes to be formed in a wondrous way."¹⁶ When this second type joins astrology and medicine, he wrote, it is strictly beneficial and in no way heretical or malicious. Nevertheless, Ficino remained cautious, far more cautious than the younger Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494).

Three years earlier, in 1486, the 23-year-old Pico published a list of 900 conclusions that he was prepared to debate in public. Of these, just under 400 were drawn from philosophers and theologians, ancient and modern, pagan, Christian, and Islamic.¹⁷ Just over 500 were his own conclusions, sometimes refuting other thinkers, like Aquinas and Ficino, but at other times reconciling apparently contradictory positions. At thesis 500, Pico introduces a *philosophia nova*, which is both syncretic and irenic, showing that the great thought of all nations supports the truths of Christianity. There follow conclusions about mathematics, by which Pico means numerology, and there seems to be some numerological significance in the whole arrangement. Following the section on mathematics, there are conclusions on Zoroaster and the Chaldean oracles, conclusions on magic, conclusions on the Orphic hymns, and conclusions on the Jewish "Cabala" and its support of Christianity.

The "Twenty-six magical conclusions according to my own opinion" begin by affirming the Church's opposition to modern magic because it depends on dark powers. Magic, as Pico wants it to be understood, "is the practical part of natural science," indeed its noblest part. Magical power proceeds from the

16 Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, ed. and trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 57 (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1989), 399.

17 *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486): The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems, With Text, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. and trans. S. A. Farmer. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 167 (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998). Pico's conclusions about magic (*conclusiones magicæ*) appear with translations at 494–503.

soul and serves to join what nature created separately. It follows that “To operate magic is nothing other than to marry the world.” The magician stands above nature and above the horizon of time and eternity, but the Cabalist stands above him.

For Pico, all miraculous operations proceed from God alone, and the purest of them are works of Cabala rather than magic. Without magic and Cabala, Christ could not have performed his miracles and demonstrated his divinity. Moreover, any magical operation must be connected to a work of Cabala, “explicit or implicit.” Pico’s privileging of Cabala over magic, oracles, and other wisdom of the East must have reflected the influence of his tutor, the Sicilian *converso* Flavius Mithridates (1450–1489).

Pico does not seem to have learned much Hebrew, and his conception of a Christianized Cabala was soon eclipsed by the scholarship of Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522).¹⁸ However, Pico was responsible for placing Jewish thought in later European writing on magic.¹⁹

Pico elaborated on his magical aphorisms in the famous “Oration on the Dignity of Man” (also 1486), which served as an introduction to his philosophical project.²⁰ He refers to his aphorisms and states that he recognizes two kinds of magic. The first is based entirely on the powers of demons and therefore quite execrable; the other, however, is “the absolute perfection of philosophy.” He notes that the Greeks called these *goetia* and *magia*, respectively. He notes too that Plato drew on the teachings of Zoroaster and others and found in magic both “the science of divine things” and “the medicine of the soul.” He argues that the study of natural magic moves the spiritual seeker to the contemplation of God’s wonders.

18 See Heiko A. Obermann, “Sixteenth-Century Attitudes to Judaism: Reuchlin, Erasmus, Luther,” *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge, MA, and London, Eng.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 326–64, esp. 328–39.

19 See Peter Forshaw, “Kabbalah,” *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 541–51; esp. 543–47.

20 Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, ed. and trans. Frances Borghesi, Michael Papio, and Massimo Riva (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). The oration begins as an introduction to the case that Pico planned to make as an introduction to the public dispute of his 900 theses, planned for January 1487, but prevented by the action of Pope Innocent VIII, who objected to the theses even after several had been removed or revised and stopped the debate from happening. Starting at sentence 186, the oration is a summary defense of the various theses in the collection.

IV The Northern Renaissance

North of the Alps in Germany, a somewhat different sort of Renaissance began in the sixteenth century. Albertus Magnus (1206–1280), a younger contemporary of William of Auvergne, had recognized that magic could be natural as well as demonic. But there remained the question whether miracles could be attributed to magic, especially the miracles of Christ. These questions were taken up by Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Sponheim, in the Rhineland-Palatinate; by Johann Reuchlin, a teacher and lawyer in Pforzheim and elsewhere; and especially by the highly educated Henricus Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) from Nettesheim near Cologne. Each wrote books that associated him with magic in the popular culture. Trithemius wrote on secret writing and planetary intelligences; Reuchlin on Kabbalah; and Agrippa on magic itself. Agrippa had drafted his three books on magic or occult philosophy after studying in Italy and spending a winter with Trithemius, who encouraged his efforts to show that magic was no sacrilege.

Trithemius welcomed the manuscript of Agrippa's *Three Books on Occult Philosophy*, when he received it in 1513. Along with his praise and encouragement, he offered some advice: "communicate vulgar secrets to vulgar friends, but higher and secret [ones] to higher, and secret friends only."²¹ Agrippa followed this advice inasmuch as he published nothing else on magic beyond the revised version of the manuscript he sent to Trithemius, and that was two decades later when he was near the end of his life. Before that, he had touched on the various magical arts in *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiae* (Of the uncertainty and vanity of sciences). There he painted satirical portraits: "a fallacious Astrologer, a wicked Magician, a perfidious Cabalist, a dreaming Naturalist, a Wonder-faigining Metaphysician," and the like.²² Though he grew "weary" of his youthful claims, and wanted to "recant" any errors he had made, his view about the overall dimensions of the subject did not change.

He continued to distinguish "natural magic" from "ceremonial magic." He still thought of natural magic as "the chief power of all the natural sciences"

²¹ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*, ed. and trans. V. Perrone Compagni. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions. (1533; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 72. On Agrippa's significance in the development of Renaissance magic, see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, "Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa," *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge (see note 14), 92–106.

²² Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (1531; London: Samuel Speed, 1676), A7a–A8r. This is not the Elizabethan translation by James Sanford (1569), but an extensive revision or entirely new translation.

and therefore “the top and perfection of Natural Philosophy.”²³ He admitted that natural magic could become witchcraft when “Evil Spirits” were involved – for example, in the making of a witch’s potions. But he added that this usually followed on the abuse of ceremonial magic to raise those spirits. The only form of ceremonial magic that he fully condoned was that of Jewish Cabala, which he saw as a largely contemplative practice, especially when it went beyond the creation to the realm of God and his angels. Unlike Pico, who placed Kabbalah above magic, Agrippa wanted to understand it as a form of magic, working in the supercelestial world very much as alchemy worked in the natural world or astrology in the celestial world. He even called it “Divine Magic,” but by that he did not imply or accept any sort of effort to coerce God. To the contrary, he accepted the pagan practice of theurgy, only insofar as it enabled “the soul . . . to receive Spirits and Angels, to see and converse with them.”²⁴

Although Agrippa made his contempt of demonic magic abundantly clear, calling it “Abominable, and wholly Condemn’d by the Decrees of all Lawgivers,”²⁵ there were many who suspected him of secretly practising it or who wanted his imprimatur for their own practices. A “fourth book of occult philosophy” was printed under his name in Marburg in 1559, twenty-four years after Agrippa’s death. The book shows good familiarity with the three books that Agrippa did write,²⁶ but draws extensively from medieval grimoires. Indeed, the first edition was bound with the *Elementa Magica* of Pietro d’Abano (1257–1316), an Italian astrologer influenced by occult ideas from Arabic texts. (The attribution to d’Abano has been contested.)

A similar posthumous fate befell Agrippa’s younger contemporary, Theophrastus Bombastus, who called himself Paracelsus (1493–1541). I have written about Paracelsus on mental health and have mentioned his conviction that magic was a mode of cognition.²⁷ He liked to say, as a challenge to his many en-

23 Agrippa, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (see note 22), 110.

24 Agrippa, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (see note 22), 120.

25 Agrippa, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (see note 22), 115.

26 Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *Liber Quartus de Occulta Philosophia, seu de Ceremoniis Magicis* (Marburg: [Andreas Kolbe], 1559); trans. Robert Turner as *Henry Cornelius Agrippa His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (London: Thomas Rooks, 1665). On Agrippa’s treatment of angels, see Christopher I. Lehrich, *The Language of Demons and Angels: Cornelius Agrippa’s Occult Philosophy*. Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 119 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), esp. 202–03 and note 132.

27 Thomas Willard, “Paracelsus on Mental Health,” *Mental Health, Spirituality and Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 15. (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 524–56.

emies, that magic is a great secret wisdom, while reason is a great public folly.²⁸ He urged doctors of theology to learn the difference between magic and witchcraft, just as he urged doctors of medicine to think magically about what he termed the Doctrine of Signatures, and to see that magic had placed significant correspondences that led him, for example, to a sixteenth-century form of Viagra known as *satyrion testiculus*.²⁹ But he was emphatic that one mustn't interpret the existence of magic as a summons to practice it. For, he said, "If one practises false magic, one tempts God."³⁰ Nevertheless, a book of talismanic magic, attributed to Paracelsus, was published posthumously.³¹

There are stylistic similarities in the spurious books of ceremonial magic, attributed to Agrippa and Paracelsus. Both were written in Latin and published within the same decade, and both have similarities to the anonymous *Arbatel*, published in Latin at the same time and included in the Basel reprint of Agrippa's "fourth book." I think the grimoires attributed to Agrippa and Paracelsus may have been written by the same person: the French naturalist Jacques Gohory (1576), who wrote under the pseudonym Leo Suavius. The Englishman Robert Burton (1577–1640) later wrote that Gohory saw the air to be as full of spirits "as snow falling in the skies."³²

By the end of the sixteenth century, Agrippa and Paracelsus were joined in the popular imagination as two likely sources of the Faust legend. They were solitary men who expressed their disdain for what passed as common knowledge. They were widely traveled and largely self-taught in matters of magic, though Agrippa had the greater academic credentials and Paracelsus said he learned more from hangmen and witches than from scholars. They both revered magic as a way of thought, but in so doing they emphasized the symbolism of magic as it translated into creative expression in Latin and German over the practice of magic, even as their contemporaries continued to think of the

28 Paracelsus, "De Occulta Philosophia," *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Karl Sudhoff, pt., 1, vol. 14 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1933), 513–42; here 538. Sudhoff places the text with Paracelsian "spuria," but many later scholars consider it an authentic text of Paracelsus.

29 Paracelsus, *Selected Writings*, ed. Jolande Jacobi and trans. Norbert Guterman. Bollingen Series, 28, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), 123–24.

30 Paracelsus, *Selected Writings* (see note 29), 138.

31 Paracelsus, "Archidoxis Magica," *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Karl Sudhoff, pt. 1, vol. 14 (see note 28), 437–98. Selected passages are included in Paracelsus, *Essential Readings*, ed. and trans. Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1999), 192–97. Also see Owen Davies, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (1933; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, New York, 2009), 533–98.

32 Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1927), 60; pt. 1, sec. 2, memb. 1, subsec. 2.

magus standing in the magic circle, holding book and staff. Perhaps because they sought to exalt magic so highly, as the key to understanding man's place in the world and the unity of religion and science, they left a inspiring legacy which, for all its claims, was largely literary. The same could be said for Ficino or, later, for Giordano Bruno (1548–1600). It could also be said for the Welsh writer Thomas Vaughan (1621–1666), who regarded himself as the successor of Agrippa and indeed one “borne out of time” to champion the whole group of Renaissance magi.³³ However, I will end the procession in Germany with the gifted Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1605).

Khunrath was trained in Basel in the medical faculty from which Paracelsus fled a half-century earlier. He practiced throughout Germany, though mainly in Leipzig, and became personal physician of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612). His books brought science and religion together with the motto *Ore et labore* (work and pray). They include incredible iconographic details that have caught the imagination of many scholars. His masterpiece, the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (“Amphitheater of eternal wisdom”) from 1595, published subsequently in several editions until 1653, has remarkable plates, hand-colored in some copies.³⁴ The frontispiece shows the author-illustrator with his hound, his writing and drawing instruments, and his books. A detail in the lower left-hand margin shows a stack of six books. The prominent three, standing upright, are *Alchymia*, *Magia*, and *Kabala* (see Fig. 1).³⁵ They correspond to the three books of Agrippa’s “occult philosophy,” with magic as the centrepiece. They support two other books: *Dictionarium Medicum* leaning against them on the right and *Historia*, standing with an hourglass on top of the first two.

Finally, all five of those books are supported by *Biblia*. The whole tableau is a wonderful representation of Renaissance intellectual magic, and a much more accurate one than the famous drawing of Christopher Marlowe’s Doctor Faustus (see Fig. 2). They show the representation of these diverse subjects as reconciled in the minds of thinkers from Agrippa and Paracelsus to Khunrath and the Rosicrucian philosophers who built on his work. However, the synthesis was chal-

³³ Eugenius Philalethes (pseud. of Thomas Vaughan), *Magia Adamica: Or, the Antiquitie of Magic, and the Descent thereof from Adam downwards proved* (London: H. Blunden, 1651), 8.

³⁴ Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae Solius Verae, Christiano-Kabalisticum, Divino-Magicum, nec non Physico-Chymicum, Tertriumum, Catholicon* (1595; Hanau: G. Antonius, 1609). For fine examples from the copy at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, see <https://www.library.wisc.edu/specialcollections/collections/history-of-science/khunraths-amphitheatrum-sapientiae-aeternae-1595/> (last accessed on Jul. 25, 2016).

³⁵ See, e.g., Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (see note 5), 398–431, on what happened “After Hermes Trismegistus Was Dated.”

lenged in the seventeenth century, as writers from Francis Bacon (1561–1626) to Marin Mersenne (1588–1648) and Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1716) found it difficult to reconcile the competing claims of religion and science, while history worked against all attempts to coordinate thought through an occult philosophy or secret tradition. Whichever book was removed from the stack – *Historia* or *Biblia* or even *Medica* – the whole stack could come crashing down. The *Amphitheatrum* itself was condemned as a “damnable” book by the faculty at the Sorbonne.³⁶

V Investigating Magic

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the learned Jesuit Martin Delrio (1551–1608) returned to the analysis of magical superstitions by Isidore of Seville, where our study started, and considered all the developments over the intervening centuries. His *Disquisitiones Magicae* (Disquisitions on Magic), was printed in three volumes of two parts each in 1599–1600.³⁷ The first volume treated the origin of magical arts and especially those that involved evil spirits. The second volume distinguished deliberately harmful practices from merely superstitious ones before turning to contemporary types of prophecy and divination. Finally, the third volume gave directions to officials who must deal with people accused of magical practices, whether as judges or as confessors. The three volumes were recognized almost at once as the most thorough-going account of magic and the most useful to officials who became involved in cases of magic and witchcraft. Reprinted something like two dozen times, the volumes were readily available for at least the next two centuries.

Delrio proceeds by asking questions and seeking answers from a wide variety of sources – from scholars, from civil and canon law, and from stories of magic in different times and places. He makes his own opinions clear, but they are often quite open-minded. He cannot accept the view that a person’s given name is an indicator of his or her moral character, even if that view is

³⁶ See Peter J. Forshaw, “Curious Knowledge and Wonder-Working Wisdom in the Occult Works of Heinrich Khunrath,” *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. R. W. Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot, Hants, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 107–29; esp. 110.

³⁷ *Martin Del Rio: Investigations into Magic*, ed. and trans. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart. Social and Cultural Values in Early Modern Europe (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000). I have also consulted Martino Del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex: Quibus continentur accurata curiosarum artium, et vanrum superstitionum confutatio, utilis theologis, iuriconsultis, medicis, philologis* (Cologne: Petrus Henningius, 1657).

voiced by the likes of Ficino. Nor can he condemn Paracelsus for indulging the popular belief that an evil influence can be averted by a wax manikin, a metal talisman, or a paper with a prayer written on it. Nevertheless, he can advise readers that the books of Paracelsus should be avoided and those of Ficino read with great care. He is especially stern with Agrippa, whom he calls the “Arch-magician” and places him with Pietro d’Abano and other magicians “inspired by the Devil.”³⁸

Delrio does not explicitly condemn all forms of occult practice – alchemy, astrology, cabala, or other so-called natural magic. However, he does warn that it is inappropriate for the great majority of humans. Especially when it is used as a guide to spiritual practice, it does not become a way to God, but rather puts one dangerously close to the Devil. To the question “Is alchemy lawful or unlawful?” Delrio answers: “Experience tells us that whenever a large number of people practice alchemy, acts of harmful magic (*maleficia*) and witchcraft (*sortilegia*) also flourish, as we ourselves are experiencing in this unhappy age.” He notes the “alchemical tradition of misusing the names and words of Holy Scripture as substitutes for alchemical names and precepts,” which he considers sinful.³⁹ Astrology too is superstitious as soon as it gets beyond simple observation of heavenly bodies and their movements, while Kabbalah with its permutations of letters seems dangerously close to the scrambling of sacred words in the spells of witches.⁴⁰

As for superstitions associated with knowing the future, Delrio scrupulously distinguishes between “Divine Precognition” or prophecy, “which emanates from God”; “Demonic Precognition,” which he calls “divination” because it stems from “a tacit or open pact with evil spirits,” presumably those in the elements; and finally “Natural Precognition, which arises from signs or natural causes.”⁴¹ He concludes that divination “smacks of heresy,” the sin under which the crime of witchcraft was securely placed.⁴² And in suggesting legal treatment for those

38 Del Rio: *Investigations into Magic* (see note 37), 37, 72. Delrio’s translator notes the very selective quotations from Agrippa with omissions not noted. Thomas Vaughan wrote more bluntly about Delrio’s “Fabulous Disquisitions.” See *Anima Magica Abscondita* (London: H. Blunden, 1650), A3v.

39 Del Rio: *Investigations into Magic* (see note 37), 64–66. Delrio alludes to the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), for which see the discussion in Thomas Willard, “Beya and Gabricus: Erotic Imagery in German Alchemy,” *Mediaevistik* 28 (2015): 269–81.

40 Del Rio: *Investigations into Magic* (see note 37), 246.

41 Del Rio: *Investigations into Magic* (see note 37), 148.

42 For the early connection between witchcraft and heresy in France, see *The Arras Witch Treatises*, ed. and trans., Andrew Colin Gow, Robert B. Desjardins, and François V. Pageau. Magic in History Sourcebooks (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

accused of witchcraft, he may become self-contradictory. Whereas astrologers may simply imagine future events, witches cannot be excused for sinning only in their imaginations, even when they claim to have flown to Black Sabbaths. For the all-powerful demons can make even such flight possible.

Delrio's "investigations" were not new, only more thorough and systematic than older comments of church officials. However, their associations with the witch trials of early modern Europe as well as the prevailing attitudes in the Post-Reformation Catholic Church helped put an effective end to the dreams of a Christianized science and medicine, such as those schemes set forth in books like the *Astronomia Magna* of Paracelsus.⁴³ Delrio regarded the endless ambition of the Renaissance *magi* as a plague and a form of wicked curiosity (*mala curiositas*). As Alexander Marr has observed, "the *Disquisitionum* is, in many ways, a compendium detailing the legitimate subjects and acceptable limits of curiosity."⁴⁴ The only legitimate curiosity was mathematical, however; all else, including what Paracelsus called the "uncertain arts" (*artes incertas*),⁴⁵ was delusional and deceitful. The efforts of Pico and Agrippa and others to make magic a form of spiritual science came to an end, as churchmen and scientists (who were often the same people) recognized the need for a partition between science and religion.

VI Defending Magic

In 1650, a half-century after Delrio's investigations had been published, an influential English-language essay appeared, defending "the Antiquitie of Magic" and demonstrating its continuous "Descent" through the ages.⁴⁶ The author was a

⁴³ Paracelsus, *Astronomia Magna oder Die ganze Philosophia Sagax der grossen und kleinen Welt* (Frankfurt a. M.: Martin Lechler, 1571). For a good overview of the range of magical arts covered in the book, see Paracelsus, *Essential Readings* (see note 31), 120–42. Also see Gunhild Pörksen, "Einführung," [Paracelsus]: *Philosophie der Grossen und der Kleinen Welt: aus der "Astronomia Magna" (Vorrede, Kap. 1–3), mit einem Reprint der Ausgabe Basel 1591*, ed. and trans. Gunhild Pörksen (Basel: Schwabe, 2008), 9–36.

⁴⁴ Alexander Marr, "Gentile curiosité: Wonder-Working and the Culture of Automata in the Late Renaissance," *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. R. W. Evans and Alexander Marr (see note 36), 149–70; here 152.

⁴⁵ Paracelsus, *Astronomia Magna* (see note 43), 144 et seq.

⁴⁶ Vaughan, *Magia Adamica* (see note 33). Further references to this volume appear in parentheses.

young Welshman named Thomas Vaughan (1622–1666), a graduate of Oxford University and, according to the Oxford antiquary Antony Wood “a great Chymist, a noted Son of the Fire, an experimental Philosopher, [and] a zealous Brother of the Rosie-Crucian fraternity, an understander of some of the Oriental Languages, and a tolerable good English and Latin Poet,”⁴⁷ Vaughan was living in London with the amateur scientist Thomas Henshaw, a founder of the Royal Society of London (est. 1660). In dedicating the essay to Henshaw,⁴⁸ he referred to the fate that “forc’d me to *severall Courses of life*,” specifically when a parliamentary committee “ejected” him from his living as the Anglican vicar of a parish in Breconshire earlier in 1650. He advised his friend that the essay on magic was only “the *Brokage* and weake *Remembrances* of my former, and more entire studies” (A4v). But he rushed his treatise on magic to press, along with a companion tract on the “first matter of all things,” so that he could add a defence of his first pair of essays, recently attacked in a pamphlet by Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, who ridiculed his “theomagical” ideas.

Vaughan began the defence with a definition: “*Magic* is nothing else but the *Wisdom* of the *Creator* in the *Creature*” (1). This was a distillation of a line of reasoning he put forward in the “theomagical” tract on “the Creator’s Proto-Chymistrie,” where he argued that each object of God’s creation contained the idea on which it was founded.⁴⁹ In writing about “Adamic” magic, he confessed that he was “no *Antiquarie*” (9), and fell back on his studies for the clergy. He noted, following Agrippa, that the *magi* were the first to adore and proclaim the Christ (1–2). Confessing that he was “no *Antiquarie*” (9). He also expounded Agrippa’s take on Cabala as a biblical exposition, “*Traditions* of those *Men*, to whom the *Word*, both *Written* and *Mystical*, was intrusted, and these were the *Jews* in Generall, and more particularly their *Cabalists*” (10). Here he drew on Christian students of Cabala, such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Johann Reuchlin, for the notion that “Cabala” referred to what was “handed down,” in the root sense of “tradition” or “reception.”

Vaughan used the distinction between the literal and the mystical to explain the sectarian differences dividing England itself as well as Europe as a whole:

⁴⁷ Antony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*. 2 vols. (London: Tho[mas] Bennett, 1691–1692), vol. 2, 253–56; here 253. For Vaughan’s denial that he was a Rosicrucian or wished to be; see *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternitie of R: C:* (London: Giles Calvert, 1652), a4v.

⁴⁸ Vaughan, *Magia Adamica* (see note 33), A2r–A4v.

⁴⁹ Thomas Vaughan, (writing as Eugenius Philalethes), *Anthroposophia Theomagica* (London: H. Blunden, 1650), title page. Peter Levenda remarks that “For Vaughan, magic is religion.” See his *The Tantric Alchemist* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2015), 257.

For without Controversie the *Apostles* instituted, and left behind them certaine *Elements* or *Signes*, as *Water*, *Oile*, *Salt* and *Lights*, by which they signified unto us some great, and reverend *Mysteries*. But our *Refor/mers* mistaking these things for superstitious, turn'd them all out of Doores. But verily it was ill done: for if the *shadow* of Saint *Peter* healed, shall not these *shadowes* of *Christ* doe much more? The *Papist* on the contrary knowing not the *signification* of these *Types*, did place a certain *Inhaerent holiness* in them, & so fell into a very dangerous *Idolatrie*. (6)

The Anglican, he implied, followed the *via media* between Catholic idolatry and Protestant iconoclasm. So too could the poet and esotericist in himself and others.⁵⁰ He knew about Gematria and its “*alphabetical knacks*” (49), but thought the “*true Cabala*” was full of ‘*Physicall Secrets*’ and indeed quite magical (51). Here he followed Pico and Agrippa, but did so under the influence of Agrippa, whom he called “my author.”⁵¹

“Now I will shew you,” he says, ‘how the *Physicall* expounds the *Literall*’ (50–51). The Jews speak of “three Mothers” which are to be understood as air, water, and fire:

The heavens were made of this Fire, The Earth was made of the Water (mark well this *Cabalism*) and the Ayre proceeded from a middle spirit. Now when the *Cabalist* speaks of the *Generation* of the *Three Mothers*, he brings in *Ten secret Principle* which I think ten men have not understood since the *Sanhedrin*.⁵²

Vaughan proceeded to suggest the real magic of Kabbalah was “*Chymicall*” and to quote from Nicholas Flamel’s account of interpreting the secret manuscript “*Booke of Abraham the Jew*.”⁵³ He finds similar signs of chemical knowledge in Egyptian records and Byzantine Greek texts and concludes that there was a single stream of wisdom proceeding from the Hebrew Patriarchs to the alchemists of the high Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The historiography defies analysis, but the writing allows him to support the Rosicrucian lore that grew up as an underground philosophy during the half-century since Delrio. He dedicated his

50 On the importance of Vaughan’s ideas about magic and the Word of God for radical poets like Blake, see Northrop Frye, *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947), 140–41.

51 Vaughan, *Anthroposophia Theomagica* (see note 49), 50.

52 Lamborn, *The Tantric Alchemist* (see note 49), 274, observes that Vaughan is following an account in the *Sefer Yetzirah*.

53 Vaughan, *Magia Adamica* (see note 46), 46, 54–61. See Rafael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 218–33.

earlier book to the Rosicrucians and would go on to introduce the Rosicrucian manifestos in their English translation.⁵⁴

Vaughan conceded that there were those who misused magic: “*Conjurers*, whose dark indirect Affection to the Name of *Magic*, made them nvent *Traditions* more *prodigious* than their *Practices*” (65). He avoided these entirely to establish a tradition of his own, reaching from Adam to Moses and from Christ to Christian chemists like Paracelsus and himself.

VII Conclusion

So how magical was Renaissance magic? For students of ideas and literature, the writings of Ficino, Reuchlin, and Agrippa are truly magical, reconciling esoteric ideas of antiquity and the Middle Ages, in both Europe and the Near East, and producing some beautiful if bewildering books in all the languages of Europe. For budding magicians, however – for would-be alchemists, astrologers, and Kabbalists, and certainly for budding conjurers – it must lack the adventure of the Alfonsine workshop in Spain or the efforts in late Byzantium. There are ironies abounding. For example, Renaissance magic started out as strictly natural magic, concerned with knowledge of the physical world, but that knowledge expanded to metaphysical or supernatural areas.

As it expanded, concern with science and technology as such yielded to concern with personal perceptions, most notably in the wave of writings associated with the Rosicrucian movement. Frances Yates, who once regarded the Rosicrucian style of writing as a “reactionary” development,⁵⁵ came to think of it as a sort of new normal in early modern thought, which she called the Rosicrucian Enlightenment.⁵⁶

The Renaissance magic associated with these writers does not fit well with either of the modern theories of magic.⁵⁷ It does not depend on the secret “sympathy” of things like the sun and the sunflower, which Frazer associated with primitive magic. Nor does it depend on private “ritual” actions thought to produce a certain result, in a parody of religious practices. Perhaps the closest sim-

⁵⁴ Vaughan, *Anthroposophia Theomagica* (see note 49), a2r–a3v, and *The Fame and Confession*, ed. Vaughan (see note 47). Also see Thomas Willard, “De furore Britannico: The Rosicrucian Manifestos in Britain,” *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 14.1 (Jan. 2014): 32–61.

⁵⁵ Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (see note 5), 407.

⁵⁶ Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972). See esp. 264–78.

⁵⁷ Wouter Hannegraaff, “Magic,” *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 393–404; here 393–95.

ilarity is to the *participation mystique* that the French anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl first attributed to primitive peoples,⁵⁸ then generalized to include anyone who identified with an object of special interest, and finally rejected altogether. This theory was embraced by C. G. Jung, who used it as the basis of his psychological reading of alchemical texts and symbolism.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it does not speak to the lives of scholars like Ficino or Agrippa. Ficino sang the Orphic hymns and recommended their singing to scholars who wanted to live long enough to complete their projects, but his singing can hardly be called a magical practice.

Truly, the word “intellectual” is needed to identify the sort of magic that he or Agrippa pursued. The one real exception to the scholarly take on magic during the period is Paracelsus, who preferred the company of rural miners and herb gatherers to that of university professors. Paracelsus thought that he performed magic in his healing of patients, or rather he imagined that to be the case. For he considered imagination a higher form of reason and a means of connecting the individual Christian to God the creator, who had imagined the world before creating it. He predicted a magical continuation of his life, and indeed instructed that his dead body be chopped into pieces and buried in horse dung so that it could regenerate. But he owed his continued existence to the manuscripts he left behind and to the younger physicians they inspired.

Perhaps the real magic of the Renaissance is the magic of the word, and above all the printed word as the memorized rituals of medieval magic morph into the magical ritual of reading.

⁵⁸ Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*, trans. Lilian A. Clare (London: Allen & Unwin, 1926); originally published as *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*. Travaux de l'Année sociologique (Paris: F. Alcan, 1910).

⁵⁹ C. G. Jung, *Mysterium Coniunctionis: An Inquiry into the Separation and Synthesis of Psychic Opposites in Alchemy*, trans. R. F. C. Hull. Bollingen Series, 20.14, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 249–50.



Fig. 1: Frontispiece of Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609). From the Wellcome Library, London, wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0002754.html (last accessed on Jul. 25, 2016).

The Tragicall Histoy of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus.

With new Additions.

Written by *Ch. Mar.*



LONDON,
Printed for *John Wright*, and are to be sold at his shop without
Newgate, at the signe of the Bible. 1620.

Fig. 2: Title page of Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (1620). From Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Faustus-tragedy.gif?uselang=en-gb> (last accessed on Aug. 10, 2016).

Martha Moffitt Peacock

Magic in Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen's *Saul and the Witch of Endor*

One of the more unusual paintings of the early modern era is Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen's *Saul and the Witch of Endor* dated November 29, 1526 (Fig. 1). The theme of the painting, which stems from the biblical narrative in I Samuel 28, has often been interpreted as a sixteenth-century condemnation of witches and their inverted Sabbath, in relation to the hysteria surrounding the trials and treatises that censured such practices. Furthermore, as a purported representation of corrupt ritual, it has been construed as a denunciation of the Protestant heresy.¹ In this vein, it has been linked to depictions of evil sorceresses in the manner of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) (Fig. 2) and Hans Baldung Grien (ca. 1484–1545) (Fig. 3) and also to the demons of Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516) (Fig. 4).

¹ The various discussions about this painting cite one another and are in general agreement that it is a depiction of evil sorcery that condemns witchcraft and/or Protestant heresy, including Jane Louise Carroll, "The Paintings of Jacob Cornelisz. Van Oostsanen (1472?–1533)," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1987, 90–104; Linda C. Hults, *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2005), 49–50; Charles Zika, "The Witch of Endor: Transformations of a Biblical Necromancer in Early Modern Europe," *Rituals, Images, and Words: Varieties of Cultural Expression in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. F. W. Kent and Charles Zika. Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 235–59; Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 156–78; Wilhelmina C.M. Wüstefeld, "Clavicula Salomonis in the Kalverstraat, or Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen's Witch of Endor Revisited," *Living Memoria. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren*, ed. R. de Weijert, K. Ragetli, A. J. Bijsterveld, and J. van Arentshals. Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen, 137 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011), 347–63; Daantje Meuwissen, Peter van den Brink, and Yvonne Bleyerveld, *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (ca. 1475–1533): De Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar*, exhibition catalog (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), 120–21; Hans de Waardt, "Endor and Amsterdam: The Image of Witchcraft as a Weapon in the Political Arena," *Religion, the Supernatural, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe: An Album Amicorum for Charles Zika*, ed. Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 191 (Boston: Brill, 2015), 126–139; "Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, Amsterdam, 1526," *Cat. 15e en 16e eeuwse Nederlandse Schilderijen*, online coll. cat. Amsterdam: www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-668/catalogus-entry (last accessed on Jan. 31, 2017).

Martha Moffitt Peacock, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-023>

This type of interpretation continues in spite of the fact that other scholars have convincingly demonstrated the popular appearance of sorceresses in art long before the witch hunts began.² This was particularly true of Van Oostanen's hometown, Amsterdam, in which there were no witch executions until 1642, and even then, accusations of demonology and witches' Sabbaths played a very minor role.³ In accordance with these historical facts and due to the early sixteenth-century dating of Dürer's and Hans Baldung Grien's witch imagery in particular, Sullivan instead relates this art to a rather different tradition stemming from classical texts.

She suggests that these references to ancient sorceresses like Diana and Circe were intended for an audience of German humanists such as Conrad Celtis (1459–1508), Rudolf Agricola (1443?–1485), Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), and Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522).⁴ I would argue that the ambiguity found in Van Oostanen's unique painting also appealed to humanist interests of the sixteenth century – and particularly to the interests of the Dutch businessman, Pompeius Occo (1483–1537), who had been educated in the German humanist tradition. Indeed, the original manner of the subject's presentation reflects both contemporary humanist fascination with, and wary awe of, the occult.

This ambivalence in regards to magic is also apparent in the numerous historical commentaries on the biblical narrative of Saul and the Woman of Endor. The account of Saul visiting a clairvoyant woman in order to summon up Samuel's ghost had long been a source of theological mystery and controversy. Some early Christian commentators considered the event a demonic illusion created by the Woman of Endor, while others viewed the episode as a manifestation of God's power. Dispute over the black and white, or evil and saintly, nature of magic, and particularly necromancy continued throughout the medieval and early modern eras.⁵ By the sixteenth century, when Van Oostanen was designing

² Margaret A. Sullivan, "The Witches of Dürer and Hans Baldung Grien," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 333–401.

³ De Waardt, "Endor and Amsterdam" (see note 1), 128; and Hans de Waardt, "Witchcraft and Wealth: The Case of the Netherlands," *Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. Brian Levack. Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 237–43.

⁴ Sullivan, "Witches" (see note 2), 333–401.

⁵ For discussions regarding the controversy over magic, see Willy Louis Braekman, *Middeleeuwse witte en zwarte magie in het Nederlands taalgebied: gecommentarieerd compendium van incantamenta tot einde 16de eeuw*. Reeks VI, 127 (Ghent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1997); and Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Tradition, 125 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007).

this painting, there existed a strong obsession with the occult, as manifest in the writings of philosophers, humanists, and magicians such as Johannes Reuchlin and Henricus Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535). These texts contain vivid descriptions of magical operations and defend the practice of summoning up spirits for the purpose of divination. It is these sympathetic understandings of occult philosophy and magic that are reflected in this unique work of art.

Karel van Mander's biography of artists provides the little historical information known about the painter Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen.⁶ He was born into a family of artists and he came to prominence in the city of Amsterdam in the early 1500s. *Saul and the Witch of Endor* was painted late in his career, only seven years before his death in 1533. Van Oostsanen's painting is distinctive in several respects. First, the artist inscribed very detailed information about the subject within the painting itself. He provides the biblical reference, identifies key figures, and even briefly overviews the narrative (Fig. 5). The visual narrative of the painting includes the figure of Saul, at the back left, who comes to consult the Woman of Endor in order to discover the outcome of a battle with the Philistines that is to take place the following day. He is in need of the woman's powers because he has fallen out of God's favor, and so he asks her to summon up the dead priest Samuel who he hopes will provide the needed prophecy. Thus, in the center of the scene beneath the arch, the revived Samuel is shown emerging from his tomb. Continuing the narrative, Saul and Samuel are depicted talking behind the tomb. In the biblical text, however, Saul cannot actually see Samuel, who foretells to the woman that Saul will be defeated and die the following day. The outcome of the prophecy is shown in the Philistine victory in the far background and in Saul falling on his sword to commit suicide.

6 Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch, 1604), 207r–207v. More recent scholarship on the artist includes Carroll, "Jacob Cornelisz. Van Oostsanen" (see note 1); Christiane Möller, *Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen und Doen Pietersz: Studien zur Zusammenarbeit zwischen Holzschneider und Drucker im Amsterdam des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*. Niederlande-Studien, 34 (Münster, New York, et al.: Waxmann, 2005); Dantje Meuwissen, "A Painter in Black and White? The Symbiotic Relationship Between the Paintings and the Woodcuts of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen," *Making and Marketing: Studies of the Painting Process in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Workshops*, ed. Molly Faries (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 55–81; Dudok van Heel, S.A.C., m.m.v. W. J. van den Berg, "De schilders Jacob Cornelisz, alias Jacob War, en Cornelis Buys uit Oostzaan. Hun werkplaatsen in Amsterdam en Alkmaar," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 2 (2011): 49–79; Meuwissen, Van den Brink, and Bleyerveld, *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen* (see note 1).

As mentioned, this episode of biblical necromancy inspired significant controversy amongst early commentators.⁷ This debate begins in V Ecclesiasticus or the Book of the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira XLVI, 23 (second century) in which the author is convinced that Samuel actually arose in order to prophesy against Saul. Later, however, St. Jerome (ca. 347–420) denied the reality of Samuel’s ghost and claimed it was a deception by the Woman of Endor. Eustache of Antioch (ca. 270–ca. 337), St. Basil (ca. 330–379), and St. Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335–ca. 395) all argued that the devil had merely taken on the appearance of Samuel in order to deceive Saul. Justin Martyr (ca. 100–ca. 130) viewed the woman as having been responsible for the diabolic deceit, but Tertullian (ca. 155–ca. 240) argued that only the devil would have had such power. In contrast to these declarations of satanic trickery, Flavius Josephus (37–ca. 100), Origen (ca. 184–ca. 254), and St. Ambrose (ca. 340–397) all insisted that Samuel had actually arisen from the dead in order to foretell Saul’s death. St. Augustine’s (354–430) discussions of the text allowed for a variety of possibilities, nevertheless, he eventually concluded that it was indeed Samuel who had appeared and prophesied. It was this interpretation of the story that had the greatest influence during the Middle Ages. This Augustinian view of Samuel’s actual awakening was also taken up by Catholics in the early sixteenth century in order to contest the Protestant view, which insisted that Samuel’s appearance was a demonic trick. Therefore, for devout Catholics like Van Oostsanen and his patron Occo, the Woman of Endor could be seen in a more sympathetic light. After all, it was she who provided the means by which God’s prophecy was brought forth. Hence, it is important to understand that the commentaries on the story universally decried Saul and his various sins, but views on the actions of the Woman of Endor were generally less harsh, especially amongst Catholics during this period.

In Van Oostsanen’s painting, Saul’s actions are clearly condemned in the inscribed title “Saul yielded to sorcery. By disturbing Samuel in his sleep of death he himself lost his life.”⁸ Nevertheless, the main focus of the painting is not on Saul but on the group of witches and their attendants in the foreground. The de-

7 There are two studies that thoroughly review historical opinions regarding this story: Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Le spectre de Samuel et la sorcière d’En Dor. Avatars historiques d’un récit biblique: I Rois 28,” *Études rurales* 105–106 (1987): 37–64; and François Lecercle, *Le retour du mort: Débats sur la sorcière d’Endor et l’apparition de Samuel (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle)*. Les seuils de la modernité, 13 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2011).

8 *Saul tot tovery heeft gehev. // Samuel te verwreke qua. hij te sne.ven*, translation provided by the Rijksmuseum website, www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-668/catalogus-entry (last accessed on Jan. 31, 2017).

tailed nature of their acts of sorcery is new to representations of this subject. While depictions of the theme are not common in earlier medieval manuscripts, they appear at times in illustrated Bibles, psalters, and world chronicles. As such, they simply depict the events without much moralizing commentary on the Woman of Endor. Frequently, she appears as a refined lady standing between Saul and Samuel while gesticulating in an explanatory manner as in a French illumination, possibly from a psalter, of about 1200 (Fig. 6).⁹ Interestingly, the woman pulls Samuel from the grave and her gesture mimics his, thus arguing that she was a vehicle for God. Saul, on the other hand, is punished for his wickedness as seen in his adjacent execution. In a fourteenth-century German chronicle, the woman once again appears as a noble figure (Fig. 7).¹⁰ Her pillar-like form parallels the pose of Samuel as she introduces the kneeling king to the ghost.

Closer in time and place to Van Oostsanen's painting is a manuscript page from Utrecht of about 1430 (Fig. 8).¹¹ The genteel lady has the most privileged and authoritative position of the onlookers, as she stands apart and behind Samuel who turns to her to reveal his prophecy. In this manner, she is once again an important conduit for the fulfillment of God's will. Consequently, the sacredness of her mission also seems indicated by her pose, gesture, red dress, and halo-like head scarf, which mimic common representations of Christ raising Lazarus from the tomb, as in an illumination from a Tournai manuscript of the mid-fifteenth century (Fig. 9).¹² Such typologizing between this Old Testament event and the life of Christ is not an unjustifiable comparison. St. Ambrose (ca. 340–397), for example, related Samuel's prophesy after death to St. John the Baptist's prophesy before life, when his movement in the womb indicated an acknowledgement of the coming of Christ.¹³ This manner of visual and textual interpretation and comparison surely contributed to positive perceptions of the necromancy at Endor.¹⁴

⁹ The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Psalter Fragment, 76 F 5, fol. 43r sc. 1 A.

¹⁰ New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, World Chronicle, Germany, Regensburg, ca. 1360, MS M.769 fol. 172r.

¹¹ The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Illustrated Bible, 78 D 38 I, fol. 175v.

¹² The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Office of the Dead, 76 F 27, fol. 123r.

¹³ This comparison is discussed in Schmitt, "Le spectre" (see note 6), 43–44.

¹⁴ Alternative views of a more "wicked witch" occur less frequently, as in a French manuscript of the early fifteenth century, New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, Illustrated Bible, France, Paris, ca. 1415, MS M.394 fol. 127v. In this instance, a winged devil hovers over the scene as a comment on the evils of sorcery. Nevertheless, the witch continues to appear as a respectable woman.

The visual history of the Woman at Endor has been somewhat neglected in past interpretations of Van Oostsanen's painting, yet it is critical to the hermeneutical discussion.¹⁵ Even from this brief overview of the visual tradition, it must be concluded that the artistic *topos* of Saul and the Woman of Endor primarily condemned and punished the evil Saul. She, however, was more often represented in a respectful and innocent manner throughout the Middle Ages.

No previous representation of the Woman of Endor theme, however, prepares us for Van Oostsanen's vivid display of magic. Moreover, he has taken great care to include objects believed to be necessary in the summoning up of spirits. For example, in front of the Woman of Endor, a small satyr holds a book of spells and pentacles, or a grimoire (Fig. 10). As will be discussed, this fascination with detailed aspects of the occult suggests an artist and patron who were aware of contemporary "how to" manuals on the subject and who were intrigued by the occult. A particularly significant grimoire that appeared in the Renaissance era was the *Clavicula Salomonis* (Key of Solomon) which was based on the work of various occult practices of the past including both Jewish and pagan sources.¹⁶

Since Carroll's early recognition of motifs inspired by this manuscript on magic, several scholars have used this text to suggest the means by which Van Oostsanen could reference and condemn black magic.¹⁷ However, what has been neglected in these discussions is the significance of this text as supportive, not condemnatory, of occult practices. Furthermore, the magical operations described in the text are carried out through the power of God, and it is to Him that all spells are addressed. Also, the text emphasizes the necessity for the operator of the spell to purify himself, confess his sins, and invoke God's protection.

Thus, without reference to the purpose of the manuscript, previous analyses have primarily gleaned comparative occult symbols in text and painting. These magical symbols are then employed to suggest that the work represents an inverted Sabbath, which includes various demonic rituals. However, the compari-

15 At the time of publication for this article a new study on medieval depictions of the Witch of Endor was not yet available for consultation, see Charles Zika, "The Witch of Endor Before the Witch Trials," *Contesting Orthodoxy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Louise Nyholm Kallestrup and Raisa Maria Toivo. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (Cham, Germany: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

16 Elizabeth M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (1949; University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 47–99; Stephen Skinner, *Techniques of Solomonic Magic: The Origin and Methods of the Solomonic Grimoires* (Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2015).

17 See note 1, especially Carroll, "Van Oostsanen," and Wüstefeld, "Clavicula Salomonis".

sons between image and text become most intriguing and most compelling when one examines the grimoire's careful instructions of how to summon up the spirits of the dead, which is, of course, the actual subject of the painting.

Instructions for this spell so closely mirror aspects of the painting that Van Oostsanen's careful inspection of the text seems quite certain. They occur as follows¹⁸: The first operation the sorcerer should perform is to trace a circle while reciting psalms, and writing the name of God. Hence, the circle has been drawn in the painting and *Deus* is written at the bottom right of the depicted text. He should also perform fumigations and ignite the fuel in the earthen pots, which is comparable to the actions of the witch handling smoking tapers and lighting the coals in the clay vessel before her. Then he should assemble his disciples, encourage them, reassure them, fortify them, and place them in the four quarters of the Earth. Thus, the four witch cohorts to the right of the painting are shown eating and drinking in order to strengthen themselves for the conjuration. Furthermore, each of the companions should have a knife or sword, and they should not quit the places assigned to them. In the painting, a sharpened red crucifix pointing toward the grimoire becomes one of the disciples' knives or swords, which looks very much like the blade illustrated in several *Key of Solomon* manuscripts (Fig. 11). The faint vestiges of writing on the blade are also comparable to the manuscript illustrations. In addition to referencing protective weaponry, the crucifix signifier is another suggestion of the holy nature of the conjuration.¹⁹

The other blade-wielding disciple on the left holds a mirror, which may well reference another related magical text of the era, the *Speculum Salomonis* (Mirror of Solomon). Furthermore, the astrologist and magician, Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus von Hohenheim, known as Paracelsus (1493–1541), suggested that while performing necromancy, one could distinguish spirits from smoke and air with the aid of a mirror juxtaposed near a pot of burning coals.²⁰ Hence, in imitative fashion, Van Oostsanen depicts shadowy creatures emanating from the flames. And while the hybrid disciple seems to be derived from Bosch, its

18 All references from the *Clavicula Salomonis* are taken from the translations presented by Joseph H. Peterson and originally compiled from manuscripts in the British Museum by Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon the King: Clavicula Salomonis. A Magical Grimoire of Sigils and Rituals for Summoning and Mastering Spirits* (1889; Newburyport, MA: Weiser, 2016).

19 For other examples, see Albrecht Classen's "Introduction" to the present volume.

20 Carroll references Paracelsus's statements in her discussion of this work, "Van Oostsanen" (see note 1), 98. See also the contribution to this volume by Thomas Willard. Wüstefeld discusses the magic of mirrors in relation to this painting in, "Clavicula Salomonis" (see note 1), 353.

goat-like feet and bird wings are perhaps even more reminiscent of illustrated demons in various grimoires.²¹

After these operations, the master should take up the consecrated taper of wax, and he should light it, just as the woman does in the painting. Then saying a prayer to protect himself from evil he should arise and place upon his head a crown made of virgin paper, on which there must be written names in various colors. These names are to be placed in the front, behind, and on either side of the head. Accordingly, Saul's name is written on the front of the witch's cap in the painting, and the name *Pitonissa* is placed on the side. This latter name, which is related to Pythia the priestess of Apollo at Delphi and her prophecies, is a further indication that this painting may well have been intended for a humanist schooled in ancient literature.²²

The text continues:

Furthermore, the master ought to have with him in the circle, those Pentacles or Medals which are necessary to his purpose, which are described hereinafter, and which should be constructed according to the rules given in the chapter on pentacles. They should be described on virgin paper with a pen; and ink, blood or colours . . .²³

In imitation of this description, some of the markings for pentacles and other writing in the depicted text are made with a blood-colored ink. Significantly, the first pentacle marking is a sacred crucifix painted in red, and other smaller red crosses also appear on the pages. Additionally, the master should chiefly use the colors of cinnabar, or vermilion red and celestial, or brilliant azure blue, and this rather unique color combination is precisely what makes up the iridescent sorceress's gown. The text also instructs that the pentacles could be made with purified metal and inscribed. Such small medallions are shown attached to the woman's tapers in the painting (Fig. 12). Moreover, Van Oostsanen enhances the sacred character of these amulets by decorating them with embellished crosses. And while it has been suggested that Van Oostsanen's depiction of a magic text is primarily "imaginary," the registers of markings and text correspond rather directly to those found in *Key of Solomon* manuscripts (Fig. 13).²⁴ Particularly familiar is the four-square pattern. Most of the inscriptions in the

²¹ Examples are found in Figures 4 and 5 from Skinner, *Solomonic Magic* (see note 16), 109, 129.

²² The name Pythia had also been associated with the Woman of Endor. For a discussion of Pythia, see Zika, "Witch of Endor" (see note 1), 236, n. 1.

²³ Peterson, *Key of Solomon* (see note 17), 12.

²⁴ Carroll suggests that the text is only loosely based on actual magic texts in "Van Oostsanen" (see note 1), 101.

painted text are unreadable with the exception of the last all important word “Deus.” In this manner, Van Oostsanen begins and ends his grimoire with holy signs.

The *Key of Solomon* continues with very explicit directions as to the magical motions that should be undertaken by the conjuror:

After this, let the Master turn himself towards the Eastern Quarter . . . and pronounce with a loud voice the Conjunction And if the spirits be disobedient and do not then make their appearance, he must arise and take the exorcised Knife of Art wherewith he hath constructed the circle, and raise it towards the sky as if he wished to beat or strike the Air, and conjure the spirits After having said all these words devoutly, let the Master arise, and place his hands upon the Pentacles, and let one of the Companions hold the Book open before the Master, who, raising his eyes to Heaven, and turning unto the four quarters of the Universe, shall say: – O Lord, be Thou unto me a Tower of Strength against the appearance and assault of the Evil Spirits These things being thus done and performed, ye shall see the Spirits come from all sides in great haste with their Princes and Superiors; the Spirits of the First Order, like Soldiers, armed with spears, shields, and corslets; those of the Second Order like Barons, Princes, Dukes, Captains, and Generals of Armies. For the Third and last Order their King will appear, before whom go many players on instruments of music, accompanied by beautiful and melodious voices which sing in chorus.²⁵

Mimicking this passage, Van Oostsanen represents the woman employing her tapers to seemingly make the circle, light the coals, and strike the air. One satyr holds open the book for her, while another satyr accompanies the horde of warlike spirits from the right while playing a hurdy gurdy instrument. In addition, however, to the good spirits that appear through this divination, such magic could also raise evil spirits, as described in the text. Such evil spirits are shown invading at the right of the painting. This black horde lends an ominous aura to that portion of the painting, and it is this juxtaposition of evil spirits versus the good spirit, that incites both awe and terror in the practice of necromancy. The dark and ominous enclave of witches on the right explains the sexual overtones in the phallic sausages being prepared and in the offering of a cup labeled “*mal*” (evil) to the lecherous satyr musician.²⁶ Nevertheless, on the left side of the painting, *Pitonissa* performs celestial magic as it is described in the text. The miraculous necromancy seems acknowledged by the risen Samuel, as he directs his gaze back toward the powerful clairvoyant. And, as has often been expressed, this Woman of Endor has become a rather androgynous figure with the

²⁵ Peterson, *Key of Solomon* (see note 17), 12, 13, 31.

²⁶ The erotic and evil nature of these witches is discussed in the texts listed in note 1, especially Carroll, “Van Oostsanen,” and Wüstefeld, “Clavicula Salomonis”.

breasts of a woman but with the muscled torso of a man.²⁷ In this way she more forcefully takes upon herself the power associated with the master described in the Solomon text.

These overt parallels between Van Oostsanen's painting and the described operations of necromancy in the text provide strong evidence that the artist was thoroughly familiar with the *Key of Solomon*. Moreover, magic's positive presentation in a text devoted to God problematizes the explanation of this painting as a condemnation of contemporary witchcraft. And it should be remembered that the theological interpretations which positively asserted the actual presence of Samuel had to admit that the Woman of Endor was the means by which God's prophecy was made.

The next question that arises is how Van Oostsanen would have gained access to such a rare manuscript as the *Key of Solomon*.²⁸ Wüstefeld has made a convincing suggestion that a copy may have existed in the famed library of the businessman, Pompeius Occo.²⁹ Occo, the wealthy representative of the Fugger banking house, was both neighbor and patron to Van Oostsanen. Thus, there is considerable likelihood that Occo provided the artist with this manuscript from his large collection. What has not been considered, however, is Occo's history and character in further relation to this painting.

Such an investigation points to the strong possibility that Occo may well have been the patron for this unusual work that displays significant interest in the occult. As a young man, Occo was taken from his birthplace in Frisia to Augsburg by his uncle, Adolph I (1447–1503), who was a humanist scholar and doc-

²⁷ See note 1.

²⁸ Wüstefeld has only located one extant manuscript in the Netherlands, "Clavicula Salomonis" (see note 1), 348.

²⁹ While Wüstefeld argues that the manuscript probably came from Occo's library, she does not identify him as the patron of the painting in "Clavicula Salomonis" (see note 1). She links the subject of the painting to criticism of Christian II and his love affair with Duveke Sigbritsdatter. The girl's mother, Sigbrit, was given enormous power at the court, and she soon became the king's chief advisor. In time, she was accused of having wielded occult powers over the king. The Habsburgs were unhappy about Sigbrit's influence, and they eventually forced him to end the relationship. While De Waardt agrees with a connection to Occo in this painting, he argues that it is unlikely that Van Oostsanen would have offended the King by making a critical comment about witches in this manner, "Endor and Amsterdam" (see note 1), 133, n. 21. At the time when this work was painted, the King, although deposed, was seeking to regain his throne. Instead, De Waardt, without specifying patronage, argues that the painting is the work of a devout Catholic who is condemning the local administrators for not enforcing a ban on heresy.

tor.³⁰ There the young Poppe or Poppius, who later changed his name to the Latinized Pompeius, was reared and educated. His uncle was a famous physician at the time and friend to many of the German humanist scholars, including Conrad Celtis, Johann Reuchlin, and Rudolf Agricola. It was through this friendship with Agricola that first Adolph, then Pompeius, inherited the large literary estate of humanist texts that were incorporated into his library.

It is known that Adolph learned Greek and Latin, and it is therefore assumed that Pompeius did the same during his approximately fifteen years with his uncle. In 1504, Pompeius went to Cologne to further his studies, but he returned the next year to begin work with the Fugger banking house, with which his uncle had connections. In 1511, Pompeius came to Amsterdam, married into a wealthy family, and eventually built a house in the Kalverstraat that was nicknamed “*Het Paradijs*” (Paradise). His clients included Margaret of Austria, King Christian II of Denmark, and the city of Amsterdam. The great wealth he accumulated via these connections allowed him to become an important patron of the arts, of humanist scholars, and of the Church. As a churchwarden of first, the Chapel of the Heilige Stede, and then, the Nieuwe Kerk, in Amsterdam, he commissioned decorative works, prayer books, and even a choirbook. Van Oostsanen was one of the beneficiaries of this patronage. There are records of glass and painting commissions from Occo to Van Oostsanen for the Heilige Stede. And in 1523, Occo supported the publication of a prayer book on the Passion written by the humanist Alardus of Amsterdam (1491–1544) and illustrated with sixty-four woodcut prints by Van Oostsanen.

Occo appears to have developed a fondness for Van Oostsanen's painting from his first years in Amsterdam. Apparently, he purchased a *Holy Family* tondo from the stock held by Van Oostanen's workshop, on which he later had his coat of arms painted. The hook-beaked bird on a shield is shown hanging from a tree near Joseph's head. This coat of arms had been granted to Occo in 1504 by the Emperor Maximilian I. In its fullest form, it consists of a bare-breasted woman with long flowing hair and wearing a laurel wreath (Fig. 14).³¹ She is situated atop a metal helmet that is juxtaposed over a hanging shield bearing the

³⁰ An excellent source on Occo's biography is found in Otto Nübel, *Pompejus Occo, 1483 bis 1537: Fuggerfaktor in Amsterdam*. Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, 24 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1972).

³¹ This image was taken from a late sixteenth-century copy of the text regarding Maximilian's 1504 granting of arms. This copy is found in the Amsterdam city archives. For further discussion of the arms in connection with Occo's commission of a choirbook, visit the CMME Project site at <http://www.cmme.org/database/projects/4>, *The Occo Codex*, ed. Jaap van Benthem, Marnix van Berchum, Anna Dieleman, Theodor Dumitrescu, and Frans Wiering (last accessed on Jan. 31, 2017).

image of a hook-beaked bird. That this coat of arms was a source of pride for Occo is evidenced by its frequent visual appearance in his commissions. The full image, for example, occurs in an initial opening the first mass of a choirbook he owned. The heraldic device is accompanied by banderoles that bear his name and his personal motto, *IN MELIVS SINGVLA* (Remarkable in Goodness).

In addition, the arms were included by Van Oostsanen in an altarpiece which Occo commissioned. The central panel of this triptych depicts Mary with the Christ Child surrounded by angels. In the left panel, Occo's half-length portrait is juxtaposed next to St. Sebastian. The tree above them holds the heraldic shield bearing the image of the hook-beaked bird. In parallel fashion, the right panel displays his wife, Gerberich Claesdr, St. Mary Magdalene, and Gerberich's coat of arms. The arms of Occo and his wife also appear on a panel from the Art Institute in Chicago and attributed to Joos van Cleve and Workshop that depicts Christ and St. John the Baptist as embracing infants. Once again, the heraldic devices in this last example appear painted in after the completion of the painting, suggesting that they did not commission the work but wanted to show their ownership after having bought or received it.

Finally, a grand portrait of Occo done by Van Oostsanen's son, Dirck Jacobsz, also contains the bird device on a shield hanging from a tree (Fig. 15). Occo, himself, is displayed in grand fashion in a gown with fur-trimmed collar and set against a mountainous landscape. The skull on which he rests one hand and the carnation held by the other are symbols of the transience of life and the resurrection respectively.³² A copy of this painting was created by Isaac Claesz van Swanenburg in 1531. In this version, the full coat of arms, including the laurel-crowned woman, the helmet, and the bird, have been included in the upper left corner. With this analysis, one gets a clear sense of Occo's pride in his coat of arms and of his desire to brandish this honor in his commissions and possessions.

Following in this vein, it is important to review the contents of Van Oostsanen's painting, *Saul and the Witch of Endor* more carefully. Indeed, Occo's participation in the depiction of the narrative, and therefore his likely commissioning of the work, are covertly referenced in the grouping of figures and objects to the left side of the painting (Fig. 12). The bare breasted woman with long flowing hair, for example, is directly related to the figure in his coat of arms. It is also worth noting that her symbolic presence is emphasized by the fact that she is the only bare-breasted witch in the scene; the others are, for the most part, all

³² Rijksmuseum website, www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-3924/catalogue-entry (last accessed on Jan. 31, 2017).

modestly dressed in contrast to the wild figures in the art of Dürer and Baldung Grien.

Furthermore, the green laurel crown worn by the satyr aiding her conjuration is comparable to that worn by the woman in his emblem. The hook-beaked attendant to her left is also reminiscent of his heraldic device. And finally, the helmeted figure behind the satyr seems to be a singular inclusion in contrast to the other turbaned soldiers. The helmet's juxtaposition with these other devices suggests an intent to include cleverly a visual puzzle for the delight of Occo and his circle of humanist acquaintances.

Returning to the discussion of humanist thought and learning of this era, it is essential to introduce the fascination with the occult espoused by many of these individuals. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are marked by a popular interest in magic, and the translations of ancient texts provided new material for those wishing to uncover the hidden powers of nature.³³ For example, Reuchlin, who was part of Adolph I's circle of humanist friends, was renowned for his translation of ancient Greek and Hebrew texts that eventually resulted in his work, *De Arte Cabalistica* of 1517. This text on divine magic was based on Pythagorean number theory and Kabbalistic letter symbolism, which he related to Christian theology. His follower, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, also elaborated on the practices of celestial magic in his text of 1510, *De Occulta Philosophia*.³⁴ His text engages with astrology, alchemy, and ritual to aid in the performance of mystical divinations. Agrippa also included a number of occult symbols such as magic squares, circles, pentacles, and crosses to be used in ceremonies that would call forth spirits. Much of his text outlines many of the rites found in *Key of Solomon* manuscripts. Both of these humanists attempted to restore the positive reputation of magic to what it had been in earlier times before it was corrupted by unlearned sorcerers. As with the author of the *Key of Solomon*,

33 There are many sources that discuss the occult interests of early modern German humanists, including: Johann Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah = De arte cabalistica*. Janus Series, 10 (New York: Abaris Books, 1983); Henricus Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. James Freake, ed. Donald Tyson. Llewellyn's Sourcebook Series (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1993); P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *The Occult in Early Modern Europe: A Documentary History*, Documents in History Series (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999); Charles Zika, *Exorcising our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 91 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003); Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic* (see note 5); Helen L. Parish, *Superstition and Magic in Early Modern Europe: A Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014). See also the introduction by Albrecht Classen to the present volume.

34 This manuscript was completed in 1510, and it was later published in altered form in 1531–1533.

they both felt it was necessary for the practitioner to prepare himself through good works, a pure mind, mystical prayers, and devout sacrifices.

Even though these philosophers described the rites and procedures for the calling forth of spirits, they were both cautious about the results. They warned their readers that a magician might dangerously summon evil spirits instead of good ones. However, Agrippa used the story of Saul to illustrate that a good spirit did actually revive in the case of Samuel.³⁵ And it is important to note that the majority of magical texts produced during this period were books on necromancy.³⁶ As a result of contesting attitudes regarding these magical rites, Reuchlin and Agrippa, as well as other German humanists interested in magic, such as Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) and Paracelsus, were all criticized at times by the clergy, nevertheless, they all had a certain following.

This brief discussion of German humanists interested in the occult makes it clear that an elite group of learned individuals advocated magic in spite of religious warnings regarding these practices. Magicians and astrologers like Agrippa could be befriended and patronized by rulers like Maximilian I at one moment, while at another point they were vilified by clergy and accused of heresy. This was the fine line tread by those mesmerized by the occult in the sixteenth century, as they consistently propounded a religious basis for their obsession with mysticism.

It is this same conflation that is found in Van Oostsanen's painting. He was obviously an individual who had gained approval by the Church, as evidenced by his several religious commissions, yet he was also clearly fascinated by the practice of celestial magic, likely due to the influence of Occo. The original treatment of the subject matter and the direct referencing to contemporary grimoires and texts on occult philosophy in conjunction with contemporary cultural interest in magic and theological ambivalence regarding the Woman of Endor all participate in the highly unusual character of this painting. These aspects also argue for a well-read patron who collected esoterica, like Occo.

Bearing in mind Van Oostsanen's intent that an enlightened viewer was a necessity for the "reading" of this painting, one final covert occultism for the delight of such a patron may be found in the very specific date written on a tromp l'oeil scrap of paper in the foreground – November 29, 1526. Attempts to uncover the meaning of this date have thus far proved unconvincing. If, however, one

³⁵ Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (see note 30), 606, 696.

³⁶ Skinner, *Solomonic Magic* (see note 16), 24, states that in Trithemius's list of over 77 magic books, the first 40 of those texts deal with the evocation of spirits.

considers the iconographic source, the inclusion is clarified. It is important to note that this date was the 333rd day of the year.

Correspondingly, the magical number three is invoked throughout the *Key of Solomon* as it had particularly significant properties. In the nine days used for preparation before the invocation of spirits, for example, all things are to be done in three-day increments. Moreover, the preparation of certain implements takes place over a three-day period. But perhaps of greatest significance, is the final passage at the end of the text, in which the numbers 3,3,3 are given to the reader to specially invoke spirits.

I will now give unto thee the Key of the Kingdom of the Spirits.
This Key is the same as that of the Mysterious Numbers of Yetzirah.
The Spirits are governed by the natural and universal Hierarchy of things.
Three command Three through the medium of Three.
There are the Spirits of Above, those of Below, and those of the Centre;
then if thou invertest the Sacred Ladder, if thou descendest instead of
ascending, thou wilt discover the CounterHierarchy of the
Shells, or of the Dead Spirits.³⁷

Hence, 3,3,3 was the key to raising the spirits of the dead.

Of equal importance is the meaning of three in a magical Christian context. Agrippa calls it “a holy number, a number of perfection, a most powerful number. For there are three persons in God”³⁸ Therefore, with such an inclusion by Van Oostsanen, this seemingly problematic conflation of Christian devotion and magic is resolved, and the enlightened viewer could visually walk the same fine line tread by occult philosophers of the era – that is, the fascinating elucidation of celestial magic.

³⁷ Peterson, *Key of Solomon* (see note 17), 129.

³⁸ Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (see note 30), 249.



Fig. 1: Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, November 29, 1526, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 2: Albrecht Dürer, *The Witch*, ca. 1500, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Fig. 3: Hans Baldung Grien, *Witches' Sabbath*, 1510, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Fig. 4: Detail from Hieronymus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, c. 1500, Museo del Prado, Madrid



Fig. 5: Detail from Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, November 29, 1526, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 6: Anonymous, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, French Psalter fragment, ca. 1200, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

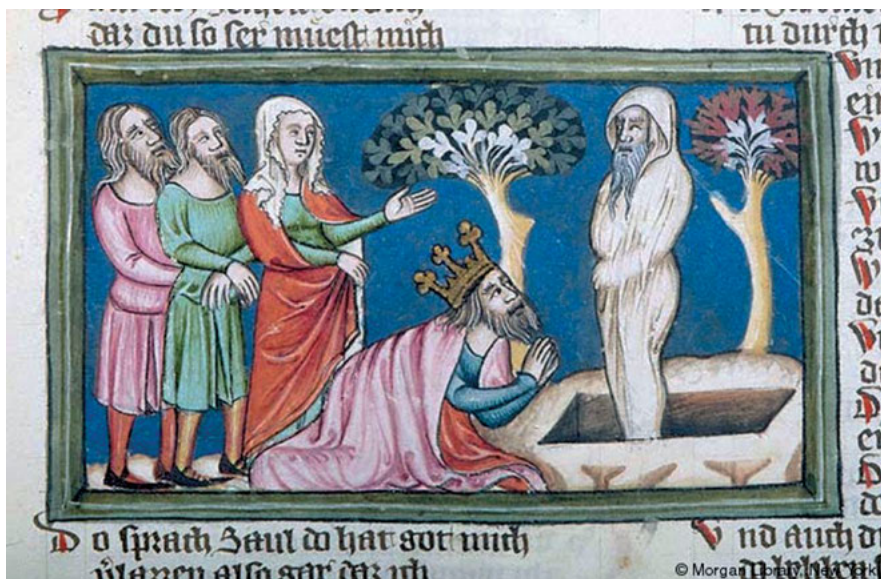


Fig. 7: Anonymous, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, German World Chronicle, ca. 1360, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York



Fig. 8: Anonymous, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, Utrecht Bible, c. 1430, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

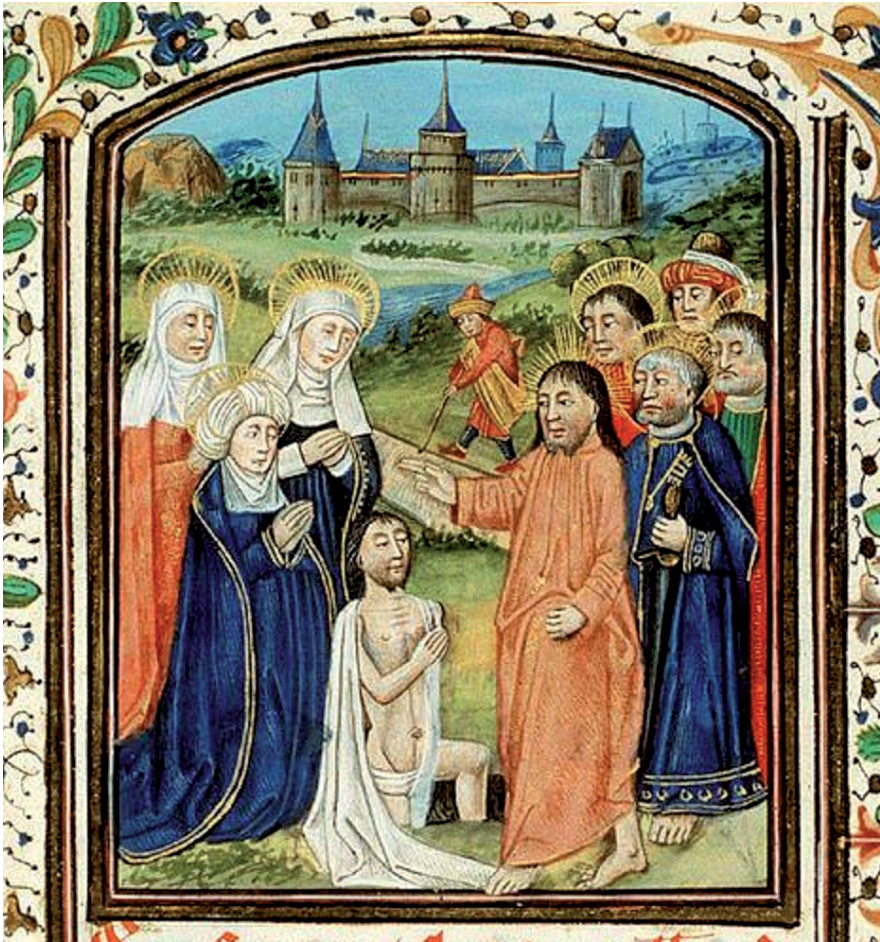


Fig. 9: Anonymous, *The Raising of Lazarus*, Tournai Book of Hours, ca. 1450, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague



Fig. 10: Detail from Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, November 29, 1526, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

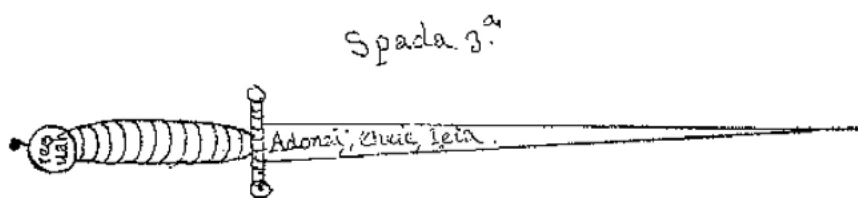


Fig. 11: Detail from *Clavicula Salomonis*, <http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomonksol2.htm#-chap1>



Fig. 14: Detail from copy of Maximilian I's 1504 grant of arms, late 16th century, Stadsarchief, Amsterdam



Fig. 15: Dirck Jacobsz, *Portrait of Pompeius Occo*, ca. 1531, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Jiří Koten

Heterochronic Representation of Magic in Czech Chapbooks

The materials that inform this study are Czech chapbooks.¹ In keeping with the purpose of this volume I concentrate on the ways in which early modern authors depict magic, wizards, and magical objects.

Czech chapbooks usually feature in two places in the traditional (or better, still dominant) interpretation of the history of Czech literature.² In the first phase they denote literary production appearing in the Czech areas in mass numbers in the sixteenth century but which sometimes preserved older literature from the fourteenth century on. These books were continually reprinted in provincial presses and they remained popular well into the nineteenth century among the reading audience. From the end of the Thirty Years' War onwards the chapbooks constituted, without doubt, the most widely read genre among small-town and rural readers. For this reason there is a slight difference between the usage of the term "Volksbücher" in the Czech and German context: Czech chapbooks do not describe solely popular narrative literature, but they include, as opposed to the German context,³ also more practical reading for less educated readers (e.g., almanacs, books on farming and health, and so on). However, in my essay I concentrate on popular narrative prose with motifs of magic and witchcraft.

The second important phase of Czech chapbooks begins at the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century when a new wave of original popular literature appeared. Alongside the new plots trying to reflect contemporary Enlightenment, nationalistic, and pre-Romantic ideals, traditional

1 See Albrecht Classen's fundamental monograph, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of a Late Medieval Genre*. Studies in German Language and Literature, 15 (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, Ont., and Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995).

2 E.g., Dagmar Mocná distinguishes between a period of establishing (from the sixteenth century) and a period of actualization and functional transformation of chapbooks (end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century). See Dagmar Mocná, "Knížky lidového čtení," *Encyklopedie literárních žánrů*, ed. eadem and Josef Peterka (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2004), 305–08; here 306.

3 On the German context (definitions, approaches), see Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 1), 6–13.

Jiří Koten, Jan Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-024>

motifs survived and were reworked and adapted despite the fact that leading proponents of the “new literature” labelled *Bruncvík* or *Melusine* stories as “stupid tales” (Prokop Šedivý)⁴ or “dumb chronicles” (Antonín J. Zíma).⁵ These condemnations, however, did not stop those making them from turning the condemned plots into theater plays for newly-emerging nationalistic stages. For example, Prokop Šedivý created the play *Kníže Bruncvík aneb Všem hlava dolů* (Duke Bruncvík or Off with Their Heads); Antonín J. Zíma, while searching for a plot for the play *Tharsya z Tyru* (Tharsya from Tyre) from 1791, adapted a chapbook on Apollo, king of Tyre. A member of the most famous nineteenth-century Czech publishing dynasty, Václav Rodomil Kramerius, continued adapting and publishing *Tristan*, *Melusine*, *Fortunatus*, or *Faustus*.

The aim of my article is to compare methods of representing the magical element in chapbooks from the late Middle Ages and early modern period with representations of the same in popular literature of the end of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I consider such a comparison of heterochronical representations useful, for it should reveal what is characteristic of narrative literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Specifically, I will attempt to “centrifuge” older ways of conceptualizing magic and spells from the more modern representations of magic and the supernatural. I will compare literary works with the same or similar plots. Analyzing the particular narrative forms can be revealing, too. I will rely on methods of diachronic narratology which have experienced rapid growth in the last few years.⁶

⁴ This is from the foreword to the chivalric romance *České Amazonky* (Czech Savage Women) from 1792; see Prokop Šedivý, “České Amazonky,” *Romantické příběhy z českého obrození*, ed. Miloslav Novotný (Prague: Nakladatelství ELK, 1947), 7.

⁵ Introduction to A. J. Zíma’s short story *Karel Devienzo z Londýna a Amálie z Florencie* (Charles Devienzo from London and Amelia from Florence) from 1792. Quoted after Jan Máchal, “Počátky zábavné prózy novočeské,” Josef Hanuš, Jan Jakubec, Jan Máchal, Emil Smetánka and Jaroslav Vlček, *Literatura česká devatenáctého století. Díl první. Od Josefa Dobrovského k Jungmannově škole básnické* (Prague: Jan Leichter, 1902), 312.

⁶ Narratology in its “classical phase” was almost solely limited to its synchronic aspect. It was only recently that systematic attention was paid to diachronic research. In the last couple of years, a diachronic narratology program was even formulated. See Monika Fludernik, “The Diachronization of Narratology,” *Narrative* 11 (2003): 331–48.

Faustus Books

I will begin with the comparison of two *Faustus* books. The first is *Historia o životu doktora Jana Fausta*⁷ (The History of the Life of Doctor Faustus). This Czech rendering of the story came out in Prague in 1611, which was twenty-four years after the first German chapbook published by the German publisher Johann Spies in Frankfurt (1587).⁸ The Czech translator was the Renaissance humanist Martin Kraus from Krausenthal, a Prague Old Town scrivener, writing also under the pseudonym Carchesius. Czech scholars do not agree on what copy Carchesius used for his translation; he could have combined two of the versions at his disposal.⁹ The translator's input is evident from the style of the work as well as in its composition, where he changed the originally three-part narration into a four-part piece. The content of the story remained the same as in the original.

I will compare the oldest Czech translation of the Faustus story with a substantially later book with the descriptive title *Život, činové a do pekla vzeší znamenitého a pověstného čarodějníka a kouzelníka doktora Jana Fausta*¹⁰ (The Life, Deeds, and Descent to Hell of the Excellent and Well-known Magician and Black Wizard Doctor Johan Faustus) from 1851, whose author is probably the famous chapbooks author Václav Rodomil Kramerius. However, it is difficult to prove this with certainty. The 1851 book was the first published chapbook on Faustus since Carchesius, which was probably due to censorship. In any case, after 1851 there was a boom in Faustus books published in the Czech lands, including books with differently worded titles but only a slightly-changed story. The 1851 book was a version of Marbach's book *Leben, Thaten und Höllenfahrt des berühmten Zauberers und Schwarzkünstlers Dr. Johann Faust* published in Leipzig in 1842.¹¹

7 *Historia o životu doktora Jana Fausta*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár. Památky staré literatury české, 35 (Prague: Academia, 1989).

8 On the German chapbook *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, see, for instance, Frank Baron, *Faustus on Trial. The Origins of Johann Spies's Historia in an Age of Witch Hunting*. Frühe Neuzeit, 9 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992); Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 1), 211–46.

9 Jaroslav Kolár, "Východisko evropské faustovské tradice a jeho česká podoba," *Historia o životu Jana Fausta* (see note 8), 11.

10 "Život, činové a do pekla vzeší znamenitého a pověstného čarodějníka a kouzelníka doktora Jana Fausta," Václav Rodomil Kramerius, *Knížky lidového čtení*, ed. Ondřej Hausenblas, Jaroslava Janáčková and Lenka Kusáková (Prague: Odeon, 1988), 155–212.

11 Jaroslava Janáčková and Lenka Kusáková, "Zábavné čtení na křižovatkách a Kramerius mladší," Kramerius, *Knížky lidového čtení* (see note 10), 40.

First, I am going to analyze the interpretation of Johann Faustus's magic in the narrative commentary in both chapbooks. The commentary often has a key role in medieval and early modern literature because the narrator supplements the narration of the story with his reflections. The commentary fulfils its interpretative and controlling function at the same time, by which I mean that the author or narrator reveals his creative purposes and gives the reader clues how to understand the narration. The story translated into Czech by Carchesius does not begin with the commentary, but rather goes straight to narrating Faustus's life story. Immediately after describing his powers, the narrator turns to a broader reflection with sayings characterizing Faustus (for example, "He who hurries to the Devil in Hell will not be stopped or dissuaded"¹²). The magician's story is presented as a large exemplum claiming universal validity. The narrator's commentary is present from the beginning to the end and its main function is moralizing. Faustus's magic is equated with mortal sin, especially pride. The narrator's cautions and warnings to the readers, namely, if they are to be good Christians, "not to let the Devil in anywhere,"¹³ have a present and very live urgency to them. That is not surprising since the time at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was favorable to magicians, either at royal courts with many astrologers, alchemists, and doctors, or among the population in general which kept alive traditions of white magic, spells, and sorcery. After all, the courts of Catherine de' Medici and Rudolf II still inspire fantastic tales; the personalities of Edward Kelley or Walter Raleigh attract curious readers even today.

Warning against "simple" sin as well as against forbidden knowledge and Faustian pride is very pressing for the book's author, translator, and contemporary reader, even though Faustus's audacity to take on the powers of Hell surely went beyond the imagination of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century common man. Cautionary and moralistic aims are explicitly summed up in the narration's ending, which says: "thus ends the true history of Doctor Faustus's witchcraft; let this be an example to every Christian, especially the one who is conceited, proud, prying, and audacious, to fear God, abandon witchcraft and magic, and not to entice the devil to his table."¹⁴ It was necessary to warn against practicing magic, for it was perceived as an integral part of contemporary social reality.¹⁵

¹² *Historia o životu doktora Jana Fausta* (see note 8), 29.

¹³ *Historia o životu doktora Jana Fausta* (see note 8), 134.

¹⁴ *Historia o životu doktora Jana Fausta* (see note 8), 134.

¹⁵ See, for instance, *The Faustian Century. German Literature and Culture in the Age of Luther and Faustus*, ed. J. M. van der Laan and Andrew Weeks. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Camden House, 2013).

Let us illustrate this point by drawing from the work of Czech Renaissance writer Havel Žalanský, who mentions Faustus one year before the publishing of Carchesius's translation, in 1610. Havel, who also wrote under the Renaissance pseudonym Phaeton, was minister at St Barbara's Church in Kutná Hora and later at St Giles in Prague Old Town. We know that he was well acquainted with works of the German Reformers, but his way of conceptualizing witchcraft is noteworthy for our purposes. In his *Kniha o starosti* (Book on Old Age) he says: "Wizards practice their devilish craft so long that they are at the end strangled by their master Satan or are taken with their body and soul, as was the case with Faustus and others of his ilk."¹⁶ Practice of magic is thus classified as a bad deed; in the catalogue of wrongs it comes after a treatise on wrath; witchcraft is then followed by anger and only then come crimes that God punishes by cutting the criminals' lives shorter. Witchcraft is thus placed alongside harmful but very common behavior, with, for example, the deeds of "drunkards" or "fornicators" who are "their own bodies' executioners."¹⁷

The more educated readers with a bent for theology could have been sensitive to the pressing relevance of the Faustian theme projected into the narrative commentary. It contains, in the ending, reflections on the possibilities of the magician's salvation that could be seen as a contentious issue between the Catholic and Lutheran orthodoxies.¹⁸ This possible allegorical plan of the Faustus history (as a clash of the true and false theology) surely remained inaccessible to the majority of the readers of chapbooks.

Let us next turn our attention to narrative commentary in the chapbooks of the nineteenth century. Kramerius's Faustus book uses it already in the incipit. However, the commentary is conceived differently from the older version. Gone is the moralistic urgency characteristic of the original history. Even though the story is – despite some substantial cuts – almost identical, the narrator stresses the chasm between the act of narration and the time which is narrated. According to him, "in the past centuries there reigned a superstition that man could

16 Havel Žalanský, *Knížka o starosti, aneb věku sešlém a šedivém, co a kolikerý jest. Jaká jeho vzácnost a důstojnost, jaká zase bída a strast. O velice dlouhém věku Svatých Otců a Patriarchů a příčinách jeho: O krátkém věku našem a příčinách jeho. Item, o smrti náhlé, co o ní smyslit, jestli slušné a nebo Smrti, anebo prodloužení života žádati, a proč* (Prague: Jan Schumann Printing House, Prague Old Town, 1610), 70–71. Digitized online: https://play.google.com/store/books/details/Havel_%C5%BDalansk%C3%BD_Knj%C5%BEka_O_Starosti_aneb_w%C4%9Bku_sessl%C3%A9m?id=chtkAAAAcAAJ&hl=cs (last accessed on Jan. 21, 2017).

17 Havel Žalanský, *Knížka o starosti* (see note 16), 69–70.

18 For the debate about Faustian collision between Catholic and Lutheran orthodoxies, see, for instance, Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 1), 231.

enter into an alliance with the evil spirit.”¹⁹ Magic in this nineteenth-century book is neither a common misdemeanor nor a way of making a living, nor a forbidden craft, but a method of deceiving uneducated people for the sake of entertainment.

Also Faustus’s fame, even though he was “the most illustrious magician,” does not rest solely on his necromantic powers, but instead rests on his reputation. Faustus “reached such fame that he and his deeds were discussed in all empires without anybody enquiring whether all his deeds were true and whether they did not spring from natural forces and causes created by God.”²⁰ Faustus’s story, the narrator continues, offers a window into “secret dealings,” but it serves to teach a lesson as well as entertain.²¹ The interpretation of the story is thus changed and it cannot be subverted even by the hero’s grisly end.

The depth of the change between the two narratives, separated by two-hundred and forty years, is to be expected and can be seen as something banal: after all, we are comparing early modern attitude to magic with the attitude of someone who has already digested the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, the almost identical story in both versions suggests that the structures of the human imagination change only slowly and that the change in the wizard’s conception is most conspicuous precisely in the narrative commentary, which was used to steer the readers toward the proper interpretation of history.

Having dealt with the commentary, let us turn to an analysis of the architecture of the story. We have observed that both stories are almost identical, but this is true more with respect to their content, i.e., the particularly described events, than to the overall architecture or composition of the stories in which we can observe apparent discrepancies despite both narratives sharing the same biographical subject.

The 1611 *Historia o životu doktora Jana Fausta* is not the type of narrative with a compact plot. The basis of any story, namely, is the ordering of events in time together with causality, which guides the linking of events into sequences and gives the plot its unity. Each character’s actions follow from a new situation. For example, in the book *Kronika o Bruncvíkovi* (Chronicle of Bruncvík),²² the hero Duke Bruncvík is captured, and he has to undergo a test in order to set him-

19 Kramerius, *Knížky lidového čtení* (see note 11), 157.

20 Kramerius, *Knížky lidového čtení* (see note 11), 157.

21 Kramerius, *Knížky lidového čtení* (see note 11), 158.

22 “Kronika o Bruncvíkovi,” *Próza českého středověku*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár. Živá díla minulosti, 95 (Prague: Odeon, 1983), 163–78. For a German translation of the *Chronicle*, see *Die Romane von dem Ritter mit dem Löwen*, ed. Xenja von Ertzdorff and Rudolf Schulz. Chloe, 20 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1994).

self free. He can pass the test or fail it. A success is achieved either by means of his powers (Bruncvík's father Štilfrid defeats twelve enemy knights)²³ or by magic (Bruncvík is helped in his escape from captivity by his magical ring and magical sword)²⁴ or simply by a stroke of good luck (when for example, in *Kronika o Meluzíně* [Chronicle of Melusine] Raymond gets into trouble, he is saved through meeting Melusine).²⁵

The point of narrativity rests in the uncertainty of the outcome of events. Authors of medieval stories make use not only of narrative logic, but also of a kind of logic described by Tzvetan Todorov as ritual. The difference between the narrative and ritual logic is illustrated by Todorov with the example of the *Queste del Saint Graal* (Quest for the Holy Grail). Lancelot's, Bors's, or Perceval's actions have narrative logic because the result of their trials is not known in advance. Galahad's actions, on the contrary, possess ritual logic because it is clear from the beginning that the Good Knight will succeed.²⁶

The logic of the narration in the 1611 *Faustus* is similar to ritual logic. The story is clear and predictable from the beginning. There is a simple narrative conflict as its basis, which we could describe as a transgression of epistemic limits valid in the natural world of men. Faustus did not rest content with human knowledge and he broke the natural restriction, which gives rise to a typical conflict of guilt which has to be punished. The punishment will come at an exactly specified time (after twenty-four years) and it is postponed to the end of the narration, when the prediction of the doctor's fall to hell is born out. The whole narration between the chapter on the pact with the Devil and the chapter on the "terrible death and funeral" contains, in the Czech version, sixty-six chapters, which fulfill no function in the basic story of crime and punishment. What is their point, then?

Weakened narrativity evokes other ways of sequencing: logic of description or explanation. Faustus's story does not raise the question "what happens next?" for the reader, but "what more will happen?" or, to be more precise, "what *more* tricks can Faustus do?" Chapters depicting Faustus's actions function as a list of magician skills conceivable in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At first

23 "Kronika o Štilfridovi," *Próza českého středověku*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár. Živá díla minulosti, 95 (Prague: Odeon, 1983), 149–62.

24 "Kronika o Bruncvíkovi" (see note 22).

25 "Kronika kratochvilná o ctné a šlechtěné panně Meluzíně. Kterážto opět znovu jest v jazyku českém vytištěná," *Tři knížky lidového čtení. Meluzína. Magelona. Jenovefa*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár. Česká knižnice (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2000), 7–110.

26 See Tzvetan Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, trans. by Richard Howard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 132.

they describe forbidden knowledge, then a journey to hell, a journey through the air, and various methods of casting spells and invoking the dead. Then we read about Faustus's intercourse with Helen of Troy who even bears him a son. The list of Faustus's deeds refers not only to different forms of magic, but also to different ways of presenting it. The mixture of styles is diverse, including fortune-telling, cosmographic lessons, theological expositions reminiscent of the medieval *Elucidarium*. Carnival anecdotes in which, for example, Faustus saws off his leg to con a creditor or swallows a hay wagon had many parallels in the sixteenth century.

In the Czech context, this is true especially of *Historia regni Boemiae*. The author of the thirty-three books written for the heir apparent, Maximilian, was the bishop of Olomouc, Dubravius. The history, published in 1552, contains, among other things, a narration of the deeds of magician Žito (Zito), who is in the end taken to hell, both "body and soul." Czech historiography²⁷ has long been interested in the similarities between Žito and Faustus; Dubravius's narration was sometimes even considered one of possible sources of inspiration for Faustian legends (here we find also the conned crooks, a torn-off leg, and magically-appearing antlers).

I consider the exact routes of borrowing magical motives not to be significant; it is important to realize that a chapbook functioned as a contemporary catalogue of conceptions of black magic shared by the popular reader, who was the intended audience of the chapbook, as well as by men of letters and bishops.

Let us briefly compare it with Kramerius's version of Faustus. Unlike Carchesius's translation, Kramerius's version took great care to achieve narrative compactness. As we know from the commentary, the story was supposed to caution as well as to entertain. Faustus's most impressive tricks are still there: for example, his journey through the air to a wedding in Munich, his contest with other magicians ending in the death of one of them, or the evocation of Alexander the Great for the emperor. But the cosmographic passages are completely absent, as well as the dialogues or detailed descriptions of the journeys to hell or through the well-known cities of that time.

To put it simply, Kramerius's version no longer works as a catalogue of the state of knowledge about necromancy and other various types of witchcraft. The

27 Čeněk Zíbrt, "Zkazky o staročeském čaroději Žitovi (Zítovi) a první vydání české knihy o Faustovi r. 1611," *Květy* 2 (1893): 340–44; Rudolf Urbánek, "Jan Paleček, šašek krále Jiřího, a jeho předchůdci v zemích českých," *Příspěvky k dějinám starší české literatury*, ed. Josef Hrabák (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1958), 5–92, about Žito, 28–30.

author of the later book also increased his effort to build a compact plot with progression where each episode fulfills a narrative function. In Carchesius's translation, for example, Faustus's intention to marry, the evocation of Helen of Troy, and bodily intercourse with her are narrated in different and unconnected chapters.²⁸ In Kramerius's version these chapters follow each other and are turned into a coherent plot: Faustus falls in love with a girl, prompting Mephistopheles to bring him Helen. Faustus is so smitten by her beauty that he even forgets the oppressive prophecy.²⁹

To sum it up: in the nineteenth-century version the emphasis is not on the particular types of black magic, but on the plot where magic becomes only an attractive theme. Faustus's story had lost its noetic function and became a fantastic story with a substantially enhanced entertainment function.

Fortunatus and Its Later Adaptation

The second pair of Czech texts I would like to compare comes from a *Fortunatus* chapbook. The German original was published in 1509 in Augsburg by Johann Otmar. Albrecht Classen states that it was an exceptionally successful chapbook, being published at least thirty times in German-speaking countries during the sixteenth century, and at least ten times during the seventeenth century.³⁰ The sixteenth-century Czech edition has not survived but there are strong reasons to think it was also popular. In the Preface to the book *O nebi a peklu* (About Heaven and Hell), which came out in Hradec Králové in 1620, we find, for example, these verses: "If someone does not like this / he can read what he likes. / If he does not enjoy the Holy Scripture / he can read Fortunatus / Till Eulenspiegel and other poems"³¹

A Czech version is known from later prints from the time around the middle of the eighteenth century.³² When compared to the Polish version, which contains original features, the Czech version is a verbatim and rather clumsy translation.³³ I compare *Fortunatus* to the book *Zdeněk ze Zásnuku se svými tovaryši*

28 *Historia o životě doktora Jana Fausta* (see note 8), here 40–41, 99–100, 122.

29 Kramerius, *Knížky lidového čtení* (see note 11), 197–200.

30 Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 1), 165.

31 Quoted after Josef Hrabák, "Úvod," *Fortunatus*, ed. Josef Hrabák. *Památky staré literatury české*, 32 (Prague: Academia, 1970), 7–41, 13.

32 *Fortunatus*, ed. Josef Hrabák. *Památky staré literatury české*, 32 (Prague: Academia, 1970).

33 Hrabák, "Úvod" (see note 31), 28–30.

aneb Rytíři v Blanickém vrchu zavření (Zdeněk from Zásmuk and His Companions or Knights Enclosed in Mount Blaník).³⁴ This short story came out as an immediate translation of the German book by Josef Schiffner, *Zdenko von Zasmuk und seine Gefährten oder die im Berge Blanik eigenschlossenen Ritter. Hauptsage aus der böhmischen Vorzeit*, in 1798. The Czech translation was produced by someone from the circle around Václav Matěj Kramerius (father of Václav Rodomil Kramerius, the author of the “later” Czech *Faustus*), perhaps Prokop Šedivý (1764–1810), author of Czech patriotic plays and stories.

When it comes to depicting magic, *Fortunatus* is not as rich as *Faustus*. But still, there is some magic in the story in the form of magical objects: 1) The poor but wise Fortunatus, having lived through many trials and tribulations and having narrowly escaped death, is met by Fortuna who bestows on him a magical purse, which he had selected from a number of other options, such as wisdom and long life.

The bottomless purse contains infinite riches left to Fortunatus and his offspring. After the death of Fortunatus’s sons the prediction comes true and the purse vanishes. 2) During his travels, Fortunatus acquires a Sultan’s magical hat, which has the power of transporting its wearer to any place he desires. Fortunatus utilizes the supernatural power of the hat in the very moment of stealing it. Fortunatus’s son Andolosia loses the hat to English princess Agripina, even though Andolosia reclaims it, but it is ultimately destroyed by his brother Ampe-do. Fortunatus’s second son suspects that magical objects bring bad luck and, fearing for his life, he cuts the hat into pieces and burns it. 3) Another magical motif is the apples that give horns to those who eat them, or make the horns disappear. Andolosia uses the apples to trick Agrippina out of the stolen purse and hat. Andolosia himself calls his tricks with apples and hat “necromantic art.”³⁵

In *Fortunatus* the narrator did not use narrative commentary to provide a key for interpreting the story. Except for the introductory commentaries summarizing the following story, he leaves it to the reader’s ability to understand it. Therefore I turn straight to analyzing the composition of the narration.

The reader would expect that the acquisition of the purse constitutes a radical twist in Fortunatus’s story. Before it, the plot is made up exclusively of incidents bringing bad luck to our hero, which he struggles to overcome. The gift of the purse represents a fortunate event, but the expected twist does not occur. On

³⁴ “Zdeněk ze Zásmuku se svými tovaryši aneb Rytíři v Blanickém vrchu zavření,” *Romantické příběhy z českého obrození*, ed. Miloslav Novotný. Národní klenotnice, 27 (Prague: Nakladatelství ELK, 1947), 145–217.

³⁵ *Fortunatus* (see note 32), 144.

the contrary: *Fortunatus* remains a fugitive. First, he is taken prisoner, then he is suspected of robbery and questioned. In Constantinople he escapes further intrigues, but not with the help of a magical object, but rather thanks to his own ingeniousness. He has a break in Venice, the relief being dramatically communicated through direct speech: “There are many rich people here, you can finally show you have a lot of money.”³⁶ Only after his return to Cyprus does *Fortunatus*’s life take a lucky turn: he builds himself a palace, marries a bride of high birth, and becomes father.

To summarize the main points: the acquisition of the purse does not constitute as significant a narrative unit as we would expect; it even seems to serve a chronological rather than a narrative function in the linear plot. A narrative theorist would classify *Fortunatus* as a narrative of the first degree, i.e., a narration with the story based on the chronology of a series of events. It is not a second degree narrative requiring an element in the narrative structure bringing a surprising twist in the expected sequence of events.³⁷ Even though the acquisition of a magical object carries a significant narrative potential, there is no surprising twist. Why is this so?

The answer is, in my opinion, simple: a sudden windfall does not constitute a radical turn toward happiness in the life of a person. A similar interpretation, following the work of H. R. Patch, is offered by Classen, who sees the *Fortunatus* chapbook in a line of literary texts which were “deeply influenced by Boethius *De consolazione philosophiae*.”³⁸ I will try to take this interpretation one step further.

The *Fortunatus* narrative is once again not governed by narrative, but by ritual logic. As in *Faustus*, whose fate is predetermined by his contract with the Devil, *Fortunatus*’s fate is predetermined by Fortuna. The acquired gifts are labelled “fortune” or even “virtues.”³⁹ *Fortunatus* chooses wealth from the offered virtues (apart from wealth it is wisdom, strength, health, beauty, and longevity).

³⁶ *Fortunatus* (see note 32), 94.

³⁷ According to Wolf Schmid, Peter Hühn, and other theoreticians of narrative it is necessary to distinguish a first degree narrativity simply ordering and mediating events in time from a second degree narrativity that demands the traditional narrativity structure to be enriched by an element disrupting the expected scheme, i.e., some kind of twist producing, for example, astonishment or amusement. See e.g., Peter Hühn, *Eventfulness in British Fiction. Historical, Cultural and Social Aspects of Stories*. Contributions to Narrative Theory, 18 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010); Wolf Schmid, “Narrativity and Eventfulness,” *What is Narratology? Questions and Answers Regarding the Status of a Theory*, ed. Tom Kindt and Hans Harald Müller. Narratologia, 1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 17–33.

³⁸ See Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 1), 167.

³⁹ *Fortunatus* (see note 32), 72.

The acquisition of the purse has a symbolic or allegorical function, not a narrative one: the reader is informed that luck is unstable and turning. The grace of Fortune culminates in the acquisition of the hat. But the motif of the acquisition of the hat does not radically change the flow of the story either; it rather serves as the culmination of the hero's success. Once again, it is a motif with a function in the chronology of the story, albeit one without a substantial twist in the development of subsequent events.

The second part of *Fortunatus* tells the story of the hero's sons. From the point of narrativity it is a much more eventful narrative. The magical objects have a stronger narrative function and they are the cause and as well as the means of conflict between the characters. However, in the whole composition, the second part is a mirror image of the first part. Fortunatus is active, he travels and exploits the magical power of the objects. On the contrary, his son Ampedo does not leave home and even gives up the magical objects. The second son, Andolosia, uses the purse and the hat, but he loses them as well. In situations where his father showed his ingenuity, he proves to be a fool. While Fortunatus met his luck in the wilderness, Andolosia grows a mocking pair of horns there.

The antinomy of the events evidently strengthens the ritual logic that the reader discovered while reading the father's story. The prevalence of chronology over narrativity has its undoubted significance in drawing attention to the flow of time, reminding one of the flowing and cyclical motion of the wheel of Fortune. The whole composition strongly evokes an image of the power of Fortune that we find, for example, in a miniature on the first folio of the medieval manuscript *Carmina Burana*. This miniature⁴⁰ can serve as a perfect interpretative key for *Fortunatus*: the hero's first journey, during which he acquired the magical purse, mirrors the king climbing up the wheel of Fortune (the king is labelled with the word *regnabo*; I shall govern). From building the palace until acquiring the hat (which is the crown of Fortunatus's luck) is the phase of *regno* (I am governing). After Fortunatus's death the story moves to the right-hand side of the miniature (*regnavi*, I have governed) with the king falling down and losing his crown: Andolosia's adventures constitute a gradual descent with the resulting loss of his pseudo-royal attributes, the purse and the hat. The conclusion of the novel with Fortunatus's sons dying is expressed in the picture's lower part (*sume sine regno*, I have nothing to govern), where the king is crushed by the wheel of Fortune and loses everything. The deaths of Fortunatus's sons are

⁴⁰ For the simplified picture, see Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, *Fortuna, Money, and the Sublunar World: Twelfth-Century Ethical Poetics and the Satirical Poetry of the Carmina Burana*. *Bibliotheca historica*, 9 (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1995), 95.

also sorrowful: Ampedo dies worrying, and Andolosia's death is especially ignominious, for he is robbed, tortured, and finally strangled.

We should also pay attention to a shift in the meaning of the magical objects. While for *Fortunatus* they represented, as already mentioned, fortune and virtue, for Ampedo they are a burden and a source of worry. For Andolosia, they are even the direct cause of his fall. Before his death he surrenders the purse and hands it over to his killers who worry that he is a doctor in necromancy who can “fly in the air and conjure up devils.”⁴¹ It is also significant that the presence of the magical objects themselves does not turn *Fortunatus* into a fantastic narrative. On the contrary, as Classen states, “most events in the text meet the requirements of a realistic novel.”⁴²

Modern literary theory has tried to come up with a typology of fictional worlds depicted in literary texts.⁴³ The fictional world of *Fortunatus* is not the fantastic world peculiar to other chapbooks, such as *Melusine* or *Bruncvík*. *Melusine* is a fairy but the fictional world of the chapbook is full of fantastic creatures and strange occurrences. Also, *Bruncvík*'s world is magical, full of magical creatures (Roc, the friendly lion, Basilisk) as well as objects (a sword that decapitates enemies on command). The fictional world of *Fortunatus* is – as well as that of *Faustus* from the sixteenth century – only paranormal⁴⁴; the magic is an integral, but not a defining, feature of the depicted world, which we consider the actual, real world. The same (or almost the same) physical and social rules apply, their validity not being compromised by the presence of magic.

It is evident that the fictional world (or spacetime) of the *Fortunatus* chapbook is an evolutionary predecessor of the spacetime of the modern novel. The realistic framework of *Fortunatus* only underscores the allegoric significance of the magical objects which stand in for wealth and fortune but do not force the reader to understand the story as fantastical. It is the story of a man wrestling with luck in the world we live in; that is why it is immediately relevant to the readers or listeners.

Next, I propose to compare *Fortunatus* to *Zdeněk ze Zásmuku* (Zdeněk from Zásmuk), a short story from 1799, which carried the subtitle ‘old Bohemian tale.’ I

⁴¹ *Fortunatus* (see note 32), 153.

⁴² Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 1), 171.

⁴³ For a typology of fictional worlds see, for instance, Jiří Koten: “Fictional Worlds and Story-worlds: Forms and Means of classification,” Bohumil Fořt, Alice Jedličková, Jiří Koten and Ondřej Sládek, *Four Studies on Narrative* (Prague: Institute of Czech Literature AS CR, 2010), 47–58.

⁴⁴ For the difference between paranormal and fantastic worlds in fiction, see Nancy H. Traill, *Possible Worlds of the Fantastic: A Rise of the Paranormal in Fiction*. Theory/Culture Series (Toronto, Ont., and Buffalo, NY: Toronto University Press, 1996).

concentrate on the differences in the use of magical motifs since that is the central topic of the present book. Since *Zdeněk from Zásmuk* is a mere paraphrase or an updated adaptation of *Fortunatus*, the differences between the earlier and later works are naturally considerable. But *Fortunatus*'s influence is unmistakable, so the comparison will help to highlight the specific features of early modern conception of magical motifs.

The plot summary is as follows: Just as *Fortunatus*'s father had done, *Zdeněk*'s father squanders his fortune. *Zdeněk* arrives at the court of count Lichtenštejn where he also becomes the target of envy. On his further travels he encounters the ghost of an old monk who gives him magical powder, which has the power of transforming metal into gold, and stones into diamonds, and of healing the sick. Like *Fortunatus*, he marries a bride of high birth. But after many adventures in foreign lands, the knight succumbs to vanity and, having been deceived by a woman with whom he falls in love, temporarily loses his gift. He then receives a magical ring from the ghost which has the power – just like the magical hat – of transporting its wearer to any place he desires. Eventually he achieves fame again and joins the legendary army in Mount Blaník, which protects the Czech lands in times of peril.

The motif of a sleeping king with his troops under the mountain represents a patriotic update of the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The inserted Blaník story, which became the topic of many nineteenth-century Czech literature works (V. K. Klicpera: *Blaník*, J. K. Tyl: *Jiříkovo vidění*, A. Jirásek: *Staré pověsti české*), has nothing in common with *Fortunatus*. Therefore, I shall not cover it in any detail here, though I would like to point out the merging of patriotic and magical motifs. At the time of a commencing national revival, wonders related to the national tradition represented attractive material (though in the case of *Zdeněk from Zásmuk* the author probably did not realize its full potential).

The story of *Zdeněk from Zásmuk* draws on both parts of *Fortunatus*. There are borrowings from the first part (the rise and the acquisition of magical objects) as well as from the second part (the fall, the loss of magical objects). Since it is not a story of a family but of a single hero, the role of the flow of time is suppressed (including dying), which, as I tried to show, strengthens the motif of a man's struggle for success in life and for permanent favor of Fortune in the allegoric plan of *Fortunatus*. There are almost no traces of allegory in *Zdeněk*. He learns of the capriciousness of Fortune in the underground of Mount Blaník, but the ritual time that we know from *Fortunatus* is not introduced here.

The contrast between conscious (*Fortunatus*) and unconscious action (*Andolosia*) is not represented in *Zdeněk* by different characters, which results in a confused and chaotic plotline. *Zdeněk* sometimes succeeds, sometimes fails, then he

gets another chance to rectify things. The author of the story had evidently a different goal compared with the author of *Fortunatus*: he wanted his story exclusively to entertain; that is why he placed such stress on the particular trials the hero goes through.

It is significant that the author of *Zdeněk from Zášmuk* chose an older evolutionary type of a narrative space-time continuum than *Fortunatus*. *Zdeněk from Zášmuk* utilizes an adventure spacetime characteristic of the oldest type of entertainment prose which can be found perhaps even in Greek novels. Time in the story does not really flow (Zdeněk does not get older or weaker); it is a time of trials, not real time. Mikhail Bakhtin⁴⁵ takes the adventure chronotope to be a predecessor of travel narratives among which we could tentatively place *Fortunatus* himself. To put it simply, the author of *Zdeněk from Zášmuk* strives for brisk action and entertainment, which would be at odds with any diversions. The magical gifts at the knight's disposal have no allegoric meaning. They are real props causing narrative conflict (this is true also of the motif of the magical picture, which is new in the knight's story). That is also why the genre to which *Zdeněk from Zášmuk* belongs resembles a fairy tale. The fictional world of the story lacks a realistic framework. It is not a paranormal world, but rather a fairy-tale magical one. The only reliable element is the setting of the story in Czech history and the inclusion of some features of the actual world within the fictional one (Mount Blaník, towns and lands where Zdeněk undergoes trials).

The conclusion of the narrative is almost a polemic against *Fortunatus*. The authorial narrator explains in the narrative commentary:

This story was composed with the only purpose . . . of serving to amuse the mind. There used to be another way, a long time ago, when many authors related human actions in the form of mystery and parable so that the reader could better remember them. . . . Here, as already mentioned, the author had no other purpose but to while away the time.⁴⁶

What I stated in relation to the *Faustus* chapbooks is true here once again: the more modern version lost its noetic function and turned into simple entertainment. While the author of *Fortunatus* managed to portray conflicts of his time in the story, as well as a early modern world view in which man fights for his fortune, the author of *Zdeněk from Zášmuk* did not achieve anything of this sort, nor was he trying to do so. From a successful narrative he took a gripping

⁴⁵ See Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope of the Novel," *The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 1981), 84–110.

⁴⁶ "Zdeněk ze Zášmuku" (see note 34), 217.

topic with attractive magical props to entertain the reader without asking for a willingness to think about the message of the story.

Bruncvík Books

Subsequently I will supplement the previous analysis with a brief comparison of two texts representing slightly different material. I will focus on the depiction of magic in the medieval *Kronika o Bruncvíkovi* (Chronicle of Bruncvík) in contrast to the depiction of spell casting in an adaptation of the same book in *Všem hlava dolů aneb Bruncvík a jeho lev* (Off with Their Heads or Bruncvík and His Lion). The medieval *Bruncvík* is a historically older work than the Czech translations of *Fortunatus* or *Faustus*. It is preserved already in manuscripts from the second half of the fifteenth century. According to Czech medievalist Jaroslav Kolár, it was probably the most popular Czech chapbook, its popularity attested as early as the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The *Bruncvík* book forms a diptych with the story of Bruncvík's father Štilfrid (similarly to *Fortunatus* or *Melusine*, the whole consisted of subsequent stories of two generations of heroes).

The story of *Bruncvík* is a prototypical knight-errant story with the hero overcoming obstacles in a hostile world to reach his goal. Bruncvík wanders through fantastic lands wrestling with magical creatures (Roc, Basilisk, a monstrous king with his eyes in the back of his head, and Melusine-like maids turning into serpents from their waist down), and using magical objects he seized (e.g., a ring giving the hero supernatural strength, a sword decapitating enemies on command, and so on). He befriends a lion during his wanderings and places its image into the country's coat of arms to commemorate his adventures.

It was already Kolár who, having closely studied the four manuscripts and thirty eight surviving prints of this work, observed that “most of the surviving printed versions of the chronicles of Štilfrid and Bruncvík represent essentially a single version of both books, with limited stylistic and with no ideological changes.”⁴⁸ We can answer the question why the text of *Bruncvík* did not change much over time, even after almost five centuries, with the same argument I used in the previous exposition of *Zdeněk from Zásmuk*: the story uses adventure spacetime. This narrative type based on overcoming particular obstacles has sufficient narrative momentum to entertain not only medieval audience but also nineteenth-century readers. There is no narrative commentary in *Bruncvík* at

⁴⁷ Kolár, *Česká zábavná próza a tzv. knížky lidového čtení* (see note 3), 48–49.

⁴⁸ Kolár, *Česká zábavná próza a tzv. knížky lidového čtení* (see note 3), 54.

all, which is understandable – the narrator's interpretative interjections would slow down the narration's momentum.

The second evident reason for the constant popularity of the chapbook was probably the inclusion of magical motifs. The depicted fantastic landscapes, magical creatures, and objects carried over from one version to another, but there is no doubt that readers from different times found different meanings in them. Probably the same situation was repeated which we described in connection with the *Faustus* story, where the nineteenth-century reader no longer recognized the urgent warning or the dialogue of the Catholic and Lutheran theologies, but treated the story simply as a source of entertainment.

The later reader probably approached the *Chronicle of Bruncvík* in the same way as the later versions of *Fortunatus*, which preserved only an entertaining story full of magical props and omitted the “great mechanism” of Fortune incorporated in the composition that the earlier reader could discover and understand. *Bruncvík* gradually turned into a fairytale-like story which strongly enriched folk tradition. I will attempt to enhance existing knowledge of the Bruncvík theme by comparing a medieval *Bruncvík* (I work with an edition of the manuscript)⁴⁹ to a version that is more different from usual versions.

The chapbook *Off with Their Heads or Bruncvík and His Lion* was published by Jan Spurný around 1850.⁵⁰ Its author is described as a “Certain Admirer of the Czech Language” in the book. He probably based his version on the updated edition of the original manuscript from 1827 by Czech patriot Václav Hanka. Similarly to *Zdeněk from Zásnuk*, this was a patriotic adaptation, which is attested by the changes in the names of some of the heroes (for example, Bruncvík's father is no longer called by the German name Štilfrid, but by the Czech name Stojmír).

The shift toward the patriotic reading is also apparent from the character's speeches: Bruncvík repeatedly insists on his desire to accomplish great deeds for his country. But we will be concerned once again with the depiction of magical elements. The certain admirer of the Czech language, for example, leaves out the information about Bruncvík's cohabitation with a serpent maid named Europa on the island to which he was attracted by the Magnetic Mountain. According to Kolár,⁵¹ the meaning of Bruncvík's intercourse with Europa is allegorical: the hero subjugates her as a man and on the metaphorical level he thus conquers

⁴⁹ “Kronika o Bruncvíkovi” (see note 22), 163–78.

⁵⁰ *Všem hlava dolů! aneb Bruncvík a jeho lev. Kratochvilné vyspání příhod a činův jednoho knížete českého* (Prague: Jan Spurný, ca. 1850).

⁵¹ Jaroslav Kolár, “K otázce alegorických plánů v staročeských povídkách o Štilfridovi a Bruncvíkovi,” *Návraty bez konce* (Brno: Atlantis, 1999), 67–87.

the known world of the time. In the nineteenth-century version there is no mention of intercourse with Europa, but there is a detailed description of the exclusive cohabitation with a similarly-described princess Afrika, which is the source of narrative conflict in the second half of the story (Bruncvík saves Afrika from the clutches of a dragon, but the king, the maid's father, does not want to set him free despite his earlier promise, thus forcing the knight to use his magical sword and escape with its help). The description of the cohabitation with Europa was perceived by the nineteenth-century author as superfluous, without a real function in the plot, and so was left out. The author did not expect the reader to read his work as an allegory; perhaps he did not fully grasp the allegorical potential of the work himself.

What was added in the nineteenth-century version? The medieval Bruncvík acts without explaining his motivation. He sets out on an adventure, behaves aggressively, and knows no mercy. He does not care about the fate of his friend Balád who has saved him. One of his victims is his second wife Afrika with whom he lives in captivity. The nineteenth-century version, in contrast to the original, explains Bruncvík's motivation, or expands the hero's speeches so that the reader can understand the knight's motives. For example, before he leaves Balád, Bruncvík is interested in his fate and leaves him only when he realizes "there is no help."⁵² He even spares Afrika and her father and kills only their servants.⁵³

To sum up the described differences: the magical motifs in the medieval *Chronicle of Bruncvík* were understood either literally (as the period's conception of a strange world) or allegorically (as a glorification of the Czech monarch who can take on even supernatural creatures). To the nineteenth century, though, the medieval worldview becomes incomprehensible in its fullness and the built-in allegories lose much of their meaning. The best proof of this thesis is the alterations by the nineteenth-century author, which created a more appealing and acceptable version of the chronicle for that period. They cut out the incomprehensible cruelty and matter-of-factness of fighting the magical creatures and the use of the magical objects. Bruncvík becomes an unequivocal hero in an unambitious story. It did not matter any more that the magical creatures and objects did not provoke the reader to search for the metaphorical meaning of these motifs. The narration satisfied the reader as a fairytale legend embedded in Czech history.

⁵² *Všem hlava dolů!* (see note 50), 10.

⁵³ *Všem hlava dolů!* (see note 50), 34.

Conclusion

In this article I have analyzed the narration in three pairs of chapbooks with the same topic, but originating in different historical periods. I have tried to demonstrate that an analysis of narrative means can tell us something about how popular narratives conceptualized magic. Despite the apparent overlap in the content of surviving narratives, only a fraction of the medieval or early modern cultural heritage was preserved in the nineteenth-century conception of magic. Magic in the nineteenth century ceased to provoke moralists or members of the Church, whose voice had sounded much more urgently in the narrative commentary of the older books (see the example of *Faustus*). It stopped raising questions, which had occupied not only the popular reader but also theologians, lawyers, preachers, and inquisitors (this is true of the motifs containing the dialogue between Catholicism and Protestantism in *Faustus*) and became simply an attractive theme evoking Romantic imagination.

The modern adaptations also do not preserve the medieval and early modern world-view (that is the case of *Fortunatus*, whose story illustrates the mechanism of Fortune, as well as *Chronicle of Bruncvík*, where the depiction of magical creatures and objects not only reflects the medieval conception of nature, but also opens up the allegorical plan of the work). What survived, though, were the attractive magical motifs that found a second life in fairy-tales (the bottomless purse, the magical sword). Narrative tools on which narrative action is based also proved enduring.

While sixteenth-century chapbooks (*Faustus*, *Fortunatus*) became the evolutionary predecessors of the modern novel (if only by constituting paranormal, almost realistic fictional world), eighteenth- and nineteenth-century chapbooks represent an evolutionary dead-end which survived by exploiting proven paradigms of older literature.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Anne Marie Scott, Marek Tomeček, and Albrecht Classen have all helped me prepare and revise the English version of this essay. I am very grateful for their support.

Allison P. Coudert

Rethinking Max Weber's Theory of Disenchantment

Who says we are disenchanted? Not the leaders of the National Rifle Association, who are currently rewriting fairy tales to include fantastical stories in which Little Red Riding Hood doesn't need a manly woodsman to come to her rescue because Granny had the foresight to arm herself with a shotgun. And isn't it a comfort to learn that Hansel and Gretel's parents did not abandon them in the woods to starve because both children had guns and brought home the necessary bacon to keep the family together?¹ But while the NRA may believe it can re-enchant the world with bigger and better guns, there has been a long tradition of scholarship in the West claiming that from the Reformation onwards people experienced the world as increasingly disenchanted. According to this narrative, science demystified the world, taking the magic and mystery out of nature. A sense of communal identification was lost to bureaucratic connections and the rise of isolated and alienated individuals. Finally, instrumental reason undermined the power of the imagination. This was, of course, the view set forth by Max Weber in his 1918 lecture "Science as a Vocation."²

In past decades a number of scholars have seriously challenged Weber's thesis, most recently Egil Asprem, who has problematized Weber's notion of disenchantment by presenting ample evidence that there was plenty of enchantment in the scientific and philosophical theories devised and discussed in the first half of the twentieth century.³ It is the object of this essay to show that the same can be said of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The idea that a materialist and mechanical philosophy achieved canonical status in the early modern period is quite simply wrong. As I will argue, eighteenth-century enlightenment sci-

1 <https://www.nrafamily.org/articles/2016/1/13/little-red-riding-hood-has-a-gun/> (last accessed August 17, 2016).

2 "The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world.'" Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," *Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), 129–56; here 155. This essay was originally published as "Wissenschaft als Beruf." It was delivered at the University of Munich in 1918 and published by Dunker & Humblot (Munich, 1919).

3 Egil Asprem, *The Problem of Disenchantment: Scientific Naturalism and Esoteric Discourse, 1900–1939*. Studies in the History of Religions, 147 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014).

Allison P. Coudert, University of California at Davis

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110557725-025>

ence and philosophy and its nineteenth-century counterparts enchanted the world by revealing the marvelous and magical possibilities of science and by emphasizing the sheer pleasures of the imagination. But it was not science alone that offered new kinds of enchantment; literature, art, and the new forms of entertainment that arose did as well. Reason, I contend, was not the enemy of magic and enchantment but one of its greatest allies.

In my *Religion, Magic, and Science in Early Modern Europe and America* I argued that the attempt to rationalize the early-modern world was a Sisyphean effort, much like the little Dutch boy trying to hold back the flood by putting his finger in the dyke. Labeling and classifying natural objects, writing catechisms to shore up religious dogmas, prescribing stricter rules of etiquette to civilize the *hoi poloi*, and devising schemes to make ordinary language less vulgar were all aspects of the larger attempt to impose rational order on nature and society in the wake of the collapse of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic worldview and breakdown of late medieval society under the impact of the Reformation and emergence of proto-capitalism.⁴ In actuality all these attempts to reestablish order were only partially successful, but their limited success appeared to provide evidence for Weber's contention that enlightenment rationality disenchanting the world.

However, in arguing this Weber essentially drank the kool aid provided by anti-Enlightenment and later Traditionalist thinkers from Edmund Burke (1729–1797) to Oswald Spengler (1880–1936), who excoriated the enlightenment ideals of rationality, equality, and democracy as they looked back longingly to a lost golden age suffused by religious faith and dedicated to communal rather than individual good.⁵ This past perfect was, however, a form of nostalgia, a fiction, a utopia that, as the noun implies, existed nowhere but in the minds of enlightenment critics. I am not denying that from the end of the seventeenth century onwards the world was in many respects rationalized and disenchanting, although I follow Alexandra Walsham in preferring the term “desacralized.”⁶

⁴ Allison P. Coudert, *Religion, Magic, and Science in Europe and America*. Praeger Series on the Early Modern World (Santa Barbara, CA, Denver, CO, and Oxford: Praeger, 2011), ch. 5.

⁵ *The Enlightenment and its Shadows*, ed. Peter Hulme and Ludmilla Jordanova (London and New York: Routledge: 1990); Zeev Sternhell, *The Anti-Enlightenment Tradition*, trans. David Maisel (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2010). Over the past decades God has returned to the Enlightenment with a vengeance, as scholars have taken issue with the Traditionalists' view of the Enlightenment as anti-religious and secular. See *God in the Enlightenment*, ed. William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁶ Walsham prefers the terms desacralization to secularism because she is principally concerned “with the decline of belief in divine immanence rather than the rejection or marginalization of

I am arguing that throughout Western history there have been periods of disenchantment, but in every case new forms of enchantment arose to fill the gap. This is particularly true of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when enchantment escaped the confines of the church, entering the public realm of pleasure gardens, theaters, scientific societies, zoos, pubs, cabarets, circuses, freak shows, mountain trekking, bicycling, and out-door camping.⁷ But even more importantly, enchantment moved from outside of individuals into the human imagination. Exotic travel literature, the novel, and science developed in tandem in the early modern period, allowing individuals unprecedented ways to imagine, to get under the skin of, spy on, or see inside of beings decidedly different from themselves, such as flies, cannibals, murderers, moon-people, monsters, mountebanks, quacks, even women.⁸

Henry Stubbe (1632–1676), the English physician, writer, and member of the England's prestigious Royal Society, went as far as to call natural philosophers “novellists”⁹ and with good reason because, like novelists, they alerted the public to all the new and wondrous things that had been discovered about humans and the world around them: microscopes, telescopes, air pumps, the circulation of the blood, a human-powered submarine, pendulum clocks, the slide ruler, blood transfusions, adding and calculating machines, the pressure cooker, and Dom Perignon champagne.¹⁰ These new wonders did not fit neatly within a Christian framework that viewed enchantment as coming from external supernatural forces. They were part of the natural world.¹¹

religion per se.” Alexandra Walsham, “The Reformation and the Disenchantment of the World Reassessed,” *American Historical Review* 51.2 (2006): 497–528; here 504. On this issue, see *Säkularisierung, Dechristianisierung, Rechristianisierung im neuzeitlichen Europa: Bilanz in Perspektiven der Forschung*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck Instituts für Geschichte, 130 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997); and Anthony Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).

7 For a magisterial examination of the many things that Londoners paid to look at from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, see Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978).

8 I am indebted to Mary Baine Campbell for this observation, although I disagree with her contention that the world became disenchanted as a result of scientific advances in the early modern period. See her *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 17.

9 Campbell, *Wonder & Science* (see note 8), 17.

10 <http://theinventors.org/library/inventors/bl1600s.htm> (last accessed on August 17, 2016)

11 This point is emphasized by Jane Bennett: “My quasi-pagan model of enchantment pushes against a powerful and versatile Western tradition (in the disciplines of history, philosophy, and literature) that make enchantment depend on a divine creator, Providence, or, at the very least, a physical world with some original connection to a divine will.” See her *The Enchantment of Mod-*

The paradox here is that one of the most vociferous early proponents of the disenchantment thesis was Edmund Burke (1729–1797) in his excoriation of the French Revolution; but this same Burke reintroduced eighteenth-century Europeans to Longinus’s concept of the sublime, and with that came a new and marvelous source of enchantment found not only in nature but in the sciences and the arts as well.¹² Burke’s Janus-faced approach to disenchantment points to something important, namely the idea that modernity is characterized by ambiguity, ambiguity expressed in the “fruitful tensions between seemingly irreconcilable forces and ideas,” to cite Michael Saler.¹³

I would go even further and argue that disenchantment occurs historically any time anyone envisions a previous age as being enchanted, unlike his or her own. If disenchantment were not an unavoidable fact of everyone’s life in every recorded age, why would religion have arisen in the first place? What other than real or possible disenchantment would motivate individuals to sacrifice things they love and value and perform complex, costly, and often painful rituals? Thanksgiving would be an obvious motive, but the obverse of thanksgiving is always and inevitably disappointment or disenchantment, with death being the greatest disenchanter of all. Following Durkheim, one might say that disenchantment comes to everyone who forsakes the community for purely private interests. Durkheim claimed that it was the nature and function of community festivals and communal feasts to restore communal enchantment and the “effervescence” lost to individuals estranged from the group.¹⁴ This suggests that disenchantment cannot be a permanent feature of life in general. There is a moral dimension to this analysis that I will come back to at the end of this essay.

Before we get to Burke’s sublime and the awe and astonishment it produced in individuals, we need to go back a century and consider Robert Boyle’s reaction to a “luminous” leg of veal discovered by a terrified servant just as Boyle was retiring for the night. Boyle was so fascinated by the report of this luminous

ern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 12. Bennett rejects this teleological framework, arguing with Epicureans that matter is “wondrous, even without purpose” (13).

12 Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Oxford World Classics (1790; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); id., *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Oxford World Classics (1756; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

13 Michael Saler, “Modernity and Enchantment: A Historiographical Review,” *American Historical Review* 111 (June 2006): 692–716; here 699.

14 Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (New York: Free Press, 1965). “Collective Effervescence” is mentioned six times in this work on pages 250, 258, 405, 441, 445, and 469.

leg that he ordered it to be placed in a dark corner of his bedroom, where, as he later wrote to a friend, "I plainly saw, both with wonder and delight, that the joint of meat did, in diverse places, shine like rotten wood or stinking fish; which was so uncommon a sight, that I had presently thoughts of inviting you to be a sharer in the pleasure of it."¹⁵ Despite the late hour and the cold he had previously caught trying out a new telescope, Boyle called for another shank "ennobled with this shining faculty" to be brought from the larder to his bedroom, and, intrigued by this "uncommon sight," he stayed up until the early hours of the morning to investigate the phenomenon.

As odd, even repugnant, as we might find this incident, Boyle clearly believed his correspondent would experience the same wonder and urge to investigate that he had, and, indeed, seventeenth-century natural philosophers did consider wonder a prime motivation behind their investigations. René Descartes (1596–1650) claimed that his researches were often preceded by "a sudden surprise of the soul which makes it tend to consider attentively those objects which seem to it rare and extraordinary"¹⁶ Francis Mercurius van Helmont (1614–1698), whose biography I wrote, claimed that "the beauty of this Living Earth when seen with a microscope will make a man in Love with it."¹⁷

Van Helmont's good friend Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) was propelled by the same love and wonder in his scientific investigations: ". . . the more one understands nature and the solid truth of real sciences, which are so many rays of divine perfection, the more one is able to truly love God."¹⁸ Fran-

15 Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 13.

16 Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (see note 15), 13. Descartes described wonder as the first passion of the soul: "When the first encounter with some object surprises us ... this makes us wonder and be astonished. . . . And since this can happen before we know in the least whether this object is suitable to us or not, it seems to me that Wonder is the first of all the passions. It has no opposite, because if the object presented has nothing in it that surprises us, we are not in the least moved by it and regard it without passion." René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*, trans. Stephen Voss (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co, 1989), pt. 2, arts. 70 and 53; 56–57 and 52.

17 "Some Observations of Francis Mer: Van Helmont . . .," British Library, Sloane MSS 5630, 9th observation.

18 This passage appears in a review Leibniz wrote in 1695 of *An account of W. Penns travails in Holland and Germany, anno MDCLXXVII for the service of the Gospel of Christ* . . . (London: T. Sowle, 1694). *G.W. Leibniz: Textes inédits*, ed. Gaston Grua, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), I: 91. Leibniz's comments, along with the previous ones, were a standard trope of the period concerning the "Book of Nature" as a second "Scripture" revealing the wonders and majesty of God. See *The Book of Nature in Early Modern History*, ed. Klaas van Berkel

cis Bacon (1561–1626) had been similarly intrigued by the marvels and wonders of nature and included a history of them in his program to reform natural philosophy. He had called for natural histories of monsters, prodigious births, and anything new or rare. London's Royal Society took Bacon at his word and published in its journal *The Philosophical Transactions* many cases of strange phenomena or what were colloquially referred to as “wonders.” These included cases of monstrous births – one account describes the birth of a twenty-three pound monster without any bones or head. Other “wonders” included people claiming to fast for lengthy periods or who appeared to survive without eating; “old agers,” whose lives were exceedingly long; and people with unusual anatomies – for example a woman in France with four breasts, a “pretty young hermaphrodite,” as well as a woman pregnant for eighteen years.¹⁹ It is clear from accounts like these that reports of seemingly supernatural or miraculous events sparked the curiosity of natural philosophers and stimulated their urge to investigate.

What became increasingly valued in the early modern period was what was new and original and, because of this, wonderful. The connection was constantly made between the New World and the new discoveries made possible by the New Science. Nicholas Monardes (1493–1588), for example, gave an enthusiastic endorsement of the “newe thyges and secrets” discovered in the Americas in his *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Fonde World* (1577). He was especially taken by “the rare and singular vertues of diuerse and sundrie hearbes, trees, oyles, plantes, and stones, with their applications as well for phisic as chirurgerie”²⁰ One of the reasons why cabinets of curiosities were so popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was to highlight just how far the modern world had come from classical antiquity. Contrasting antique artifacts with modern instruments – telescopes, globes, lenses, microscopes – and specimens of flora and fauna from the new world demonstrated how the once dominant culture of the past was receding before new forms of modernity.²¹ Jonathan Israel draws

and Arjo Vanderjagt. Groningen Series in Cultural Change, 17. 2 vols. (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters Publishers, 2006).

19 Theodore K. Hoppen, “The Nature of the Early Royal Society, pt. 1,” *The British Journal for the History of Science* 9 (1976): 1–24; Peter Dear, “Miracles, Experiments and the Ordinary Course of Nature,” *Isis* 81 (1990): 663–83.

20 Nicolás Monardes, *Ioyfull newes out of the Newe Founte Worlde, wherein is declared the rare and singular vertues of diuerse and sundrie hearbes, trees, oyles, plantes, and stones, with their applications, as well for phisicke as chirurgerie*. . . . Translated from the 1565 Spanish edition by John Frampton (London: In Poules Church-yard by Willyam Norton, 1577).

21 *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinets of Curiosity in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur McGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Stephen Green-

attention to the essential role of journals in spreading an awareness of new ideas and turning people away from old authorities.²²

Many scholars have seen Francis Bacon (1561–1626) as a key player in the process of disenchantment.²³ But if we look at his writing, we are struck by his complete and utter conviction that marvels both incite scientific investigation and create new and equally marvelous things. Bacon was a major figure in promoting the “modern” agenda of advancement and progress.²⁴ His writings were immensely important in this regard with his admonition that, unlike their medieval predecessors, natural philosophers had the duty to produce practical “fruit” from their scientific researches as well as intellectual “light.” Bacon practiced what he preached, becoming a martyr to the cause of science. Checking on the carcass of a chicken he had buried in a bank of snow to see if cold could arrest its decay, he caught the chill that killed him.²⁵

Bacon's *History of Life and Death* did much to legitimize the idea that restoring health and prolonging life were legitimate and worthy human goals. In his *New Atlantis* he lists many wondrous things that human could and should expect from the work of natural philosophers, among which were “the prolongation of life,” “the restitution of youth,” and “the retardation of age.” He describes the scientists employed in “Salomon's House,” the scientific institution he describes in his imaginary “New Atlantis,” who produce a “water of Paradise,”

blatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991); Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); Anthony Alan Shelton, “Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World,” *The Culture of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 177–203.

22 Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 142–51.

23 See, for example, Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1980).

24 Paolo Rossi, *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968); Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

25 Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart argue that the chicken really stood for the opiate that killed Bacon, but most historians accept that the chicken was indeed a chicken. See Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999).

that is “very sovereign for health, and the prolongation of life.”²⁶ There were also special caves on the island with air that helped heal and prolong life and a bath that restored “the very juice and substance” of the human body.”²⁷ Salomon’s House contained laboratories for the dissection of animals and birds “that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man.” The fact that headless birds “leape and flutter” suggested to Bacon that it might be possible to resuscitate the dead, an idea that is still very much with us. He even proposed that organs could be transplanted.

In their own wonderful book *Wonders and the Order of Nature* Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park agree with many other scholars that by the early eighteenth century “the star of the marvelous had indeed waned, if not completely vanished.”²⁸ The wonder and excitement inspiring seventeenth-century natural philosophers like Boyle, Descartes, and Bacon had gone out of fashion, becoming a sign of ignorance, childishness, and vulgarity.²⁹ But I would argue this sim-

²⁶ Francis Bacon, *The Collected Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath, 14 vols. (London: Longmans, 1868–1901), 5: 400.

²⁷ Bacon, *The Collected Works* (see note 26), 5: 401.

²⁸ Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (see note 15), 312.

²⁹ Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (see note 15), 304, see also 329, 333. Daston’s and Park’s work is important in showing that up to the mid-eighteenth century elites took differing approaches to wonders; there was hence no linear move away from wonder and enchantment. Princes and courtiers collected marvelous items to promote their worldly ambitions. For similar reasons, physicians and naturalists collected and catalogued wonders. But natural philosophers, they argue, were more ambivalent inasmuch as wonders interfered with the idea of a comprehensible universe based on discoverable natural laws (703). By the seventeenth century, however, natural philosophers were more enthusiastic about investigating wonderful objects as a result of the move toward empiricism. This helps to explain, for example, why Robert Boyle may have funded an investigation of occult phenomena in Scotland. On this possibility, see *The Occult Laboratory: Magic, Science and Second Sight in Late 17th-Century Scotland: A New Edition of Robert Kirk’s The Secret Commonwealth and other texts, with an introductory essay*, ed. Michael Hunter (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001). It may also explain why Henry More and Joseph Glanvill collaborated on an investigation of witchcraft in *Saducismus triumphatus, Or, full and plain Evidence concerning Withcraft and Apparitions* (London: Printed for A. L., 1681). Unlike most other historians, Daston and Park argue that disenchantment occurred not because of intellectual reasons – the rise of science, the spread of instrumental reason, and the growth of secularism – but for social and political reasons. As a result of the proliferation of sects after the Reformation, the masses were using marvels and wonders for their own purposes. Elites responded to the threat of anarchy by regularizing nature and marginalizing wonders. In Daston’s and Park’s view, a new dichotomy emerged between the rational elites and the irrational *hoi poloi*, the enlightened and the vulgar (704). One could be “curious,” but wonder was unacceptable (704). This is what Randall Styers means when he says to be modern is to reject magic. See his *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, & Science in the Modern World* (Oxford and New York: Oxford

ply is not the case. Wonder did not cease in the eighteenth century. While the Enlightenment rejected traditional Christian sources of enchantment, it created new forms by fostering an optimistic view of human nature and agency that encouraged all kinds of utopian as well as practical schemes to improve life in thoroughly wonderful ways. Enlightenment thinkers revealed, even reveled in, the marvelous possibilities of science and technology and in doing so piqued the delight and imaginations of their readers.

During the long eighteenth century (1650–1800) there was an increasing resistance to the idea of human beings as innately sinful and an emerging consensus that humans are social creatures, whose essential goodness and natural sympathy for their fellow humans can be enhanced or destroyed by the treatment they receive from family and society at large. Hans Erich Bödeker has justly described this radical reevaluation of human nature as an “anthropological revolution,” which was no less important than the Copernican or Newtonian Revolutions, both of which contributed to this positive view of human potential.³⁰ The idea that humans were bound to improve under proper instruction became axiomatic for many Enlightenment thinkers intoxicated by the Promethean vision that, indeed, man does make himself.³¹

As Isaac Kramnick has pointed out, the Enlightenment “began the Western love affair with science and technology.”³² In his *Second discours, sur les progrès successifs de l'esprit humain* (1750), Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781) sketched out the history of human progress. In a similar vein, the Scottish enlightenment philosophers, Adam Smith (1723–1790), Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), John Millar (1735–1801), and Lord Kames (1696–1778) delineated the four stages of human progress from hunting to herding, agriculture, and commerce. The Marquis of Condorcet (1743–1794) remained committed to his belief in progress and the inevitable improvement of the human race even after he had been imprisoned during the French Terror, eventually committing suicide to avoid the guillotine. In his *Essai sur la manière de perfectionner l'espèce humaine* (1756) the French physician Charles Augustin Vandermonde (1727–1762) outlined the simple

University Press, 2004). While there is some truth to all these ideas, I argue in this essay that curiosity and wonder often went hand in hand in the early-modern period and even until today.

30 Hans Erich Bödeker, “Menschheit, Humanität, Humanismus,” *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck. 8 vols. (Stuttgart: E. Klett-Cotta, 1972–1997), 3: 1063–128.

31 This observation is made by Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason: The Modern Foundation of Body and Soul* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), 386–87.

32 *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), xii–xiii.

rules and natural principles that would make health, beauty, and strength hereditary, while simultaneously instructing parents how to train their children's minds. The French originator of positivism and sociology Auguste Comte (1798–1857) saw improvement as inevitable. According to “The Law of the Three Stages,” which he announced, human civilization had advanced from an early “theological” stage to a “metaphysical” stage, and from there it had finally moved into the final “scientific” stage.

The English Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) also believed that man could be “perfectionized.” He belonged to a circle of enthusiasts for vegetarianism, teetotalism, and nudism, which was instituted by his friend John Frank Newton (ca. 1770–1827), the author of *The Return to Nature, or a Defense of the Vegetable Regime* (London, 1811). Newton tried to get his family to return to the prelapsarian state when humans and animals were herbivores and lived in peace and harmony. According to Shelley he had succeeded admirably with his children, who, in Shelley's words, “are the most beautiful and healthy creatures it is possible to conceive; the girls are perfect models for a sculptor; their dispositions are also the most gentle and conciliating.”³³ Shelley, like so many others, secularized the Judeo-Christian millennium, presenting it as a future golden age.³⁴ As he explained to a friend, “my golden age . . . will be the millennium of the Xians.”³⁵ Shelley accepted Locke's conviction that human nature could be changed. Like Locke and his father-in-law William Godwin, Shelley believed that nature was good and evil artificial and unnecessary. Everything that was not good was therefore “unnatural” by definition. As Mary Shelley wrote of her husband: “The prominent feature of Shelley's theory of the destiny of the human species was that evil is not inherent in the system of the creation, but an accident that might be expelled . . . That man could be so perfectionized as to be able to expel evil from his own nature, and from the greater part of the creation, was the cardinal point of his system.”³⁶ According to Tristram Stuart, Shelley accepted the Zoroastrian belief that good and bad were in an epic struggle, with good eventually gaining the upper hand.

33 Tristram Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), 372.

34 Carl L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of Eighteenth Century Philosophers*. Yale Note Bene Series. 2nd rev. ed. (1932; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003). For an evaluation of Becker's work, see *Carl Becker's Heavenly City Revisited*, ed. Raymond O. Rockwood (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958).

35 Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution* (see note 33), 385.

36 Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution* (see note 33), 385–86.

The idea that both the world and the human race could be perfected appears in Germany as well in the work of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) and the many German philosophers influenced by him. As I have argued in several books, if, as most commentators contend, Leibniz actually believed what Voltaire claimed, namely that this was “the best of all possible worlds,” and if his concept of “pre-established harmony” inevitably led him to an inescapable form of determinism, how can we possibly explain his life-long commitment to ecumenism, education, and science? The fact is that by the end of his life Leibniz came to think that this was indeed the best of all possible worlds because, and only because, it has the capacity to become better and better.³⁷ As he wrote in his short treatise *On the Radical Origination of Things* (1697),

Many substances have already attained great perfection. However, because of the infinite divisibility of the continuum, there are always parts asleep in the abyss of things, yet to be roused and yet to be advance to greater and better things, advance, in a word, to greater cultivation. Thus, progress never comes to an end.³⁸

The word “cultivation” in this quotation is a translation of the German word *Bildung*.

The notion of *Bildung* and idea of perfectibility was taken even further in the nineteenth century by the German research scientist and professor at the University of Berlin, Emil du Bois-Reymond (1818–1896). In his lecture, “Über die Übung” (Concerning Practice). Du Bois-Reymond took the word *Bildung* to mean “to perfect oneself through practice.” He claimed that self-perfection is a quality of higher organisms, particularly of human beings, but that it also applied to animals. One achieved *Bildung* only through frequent repetition of a complex bodily activity with the assistance of the mind. Like a gymnast on the bars, Du Bois-Reymond claimed that through practice an experimenter, like himself, could step by step convert himself from an ugly, uneducated mass into an ideal, fully educated Apollo. Du Bois-Reymond included an illustration of this astonishing transformation – with the “uneducated mass” symbolized by a frog – in his treatise. His claim may seem bizarre, but it expressed the incredible optimism that many people felt as a result of scientific developments

³⁷ Allison P. Coudert, *Leibniz and the Kabbalah* (Dordrecht and Boston, MA: Kluwer, 1995). The argument in this book is summed up in ch. 13 of my book, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont, 1614–1698*. Brill's Series in Jewish Studies, 9 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999).

³⁸ G. W. Leibniz, *Discourse on Metaphysics and Other Essays*, ed. Roger Ariew and Daniel Garber, trans. Roger Ariew (Boston, MA: Hackett Publishing Company, 1992), 48.

and discoveries made from the seventeenth century onwards.³⁹ The idea that humans could physically reshape themselves through exercise laid the foundation for the fitness industry that is such a powerful force in today's economy. It must be noted that Du Bois-Raymond was himself a model gymnast.⁴⁰

Francis Bacon's insistence that science must produce "fruit" as well as "light" encouraged the idea that science was the perfect tool to ameliorate every aspect of human existence. By the end of the eighteenth century many individuals, not only in England but across the continent, agreed with Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802) that "All nature exists in a state of perpetual improvement," and this included human beings. This conviction was enshrined in the great many treatises that appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries delineating the kind of progress humans had made in the past and would continue to make.⁴¹ In a letter to Joseph Priestley, Benjamin Franklin summed up the sort of marvelous advances he and his contemporaries expected from science:

I always rejoice to hear of your being still employed in experimental researches into nature, and of the Success you meet with. The rapid Progress *true* Science now makes, occasions my regretting sometimes that I was born so soon. It is impossible to imagine the height to which may be carried, in a thousand years, the power of man over matter. We may perhaps learn to deprive large masses of their gravity, and give them absolute levity, for the sake of easy transport. Agriculture may diminish its labor and double its produce; all diseases may by sure means be prevented or cured, not excepting even that of old age, and our lives lengthened at pleasure even beyond the antediluvian standard.⁴²

Scientific as well as practical discoveries lay behind this tremendous spurt of optimism about the malleability of nature and the possibility of perfecting the human mind and body. John McManners documents the more positive attitude toward illness and old age that began to emerge among those he describes as

³⁹ Gabriel Finkenstein, *Emil Du Bois-Reymond: Neuroscience, Self, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Boston: MIT Press, 2013).

⁴⁰ The classical ideal of male beauty championed by the art historian and archeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) included the characteristics of manly vigor, restraint, and physical fitness. Winckelmann wrote about the Greek gymnasium and helped to foster the rise of gymnastics. See George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), ch. 3; Jacques Ulmann, *De la gymnastique aux sports moderne: histoire des doctrines de l'éducation physique* (Paris: Vrin, 1965).

⁴¹ See Michel Baridon, "Les concepts de nature humaine et de perfectibilité dans l'historiographie des Lumières de Fontenelle à Condorcet," *L'Histoire au dix-huitième siècle*, ed. Henri Coulet. Actes du Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1980).

⁴² Benjamin Franklin to Joseph Priestley, February 8, 1780. Cited in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Kramnick (see note 32), 73–74.

“the affluent minority” in eighteenth-century England: “[T]hey were wanting to live longer, and they were discovering the logic to insist on enjoying life and being useful at a greater age.”⁴³ In her highly informative book about medical practice in eighteenth-century Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Mary Lindemann demonstrates that it was not only the affluent who actively sought medical help. In this community of predominantly small farmers, there was a great desire for health on the part of everyone. People were not fatalistic, and even though high infant mortality rates were the norm, pediatric ailments were not accepted as routine.⁴⁴ As Lindemann says, “the inhabitants of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel approximated us more than their two centuries’ removal in times might suggest.”⁴⁵

The growing faith in medical progress was fostered by nothing so much as the success of small pox inoculation. Inoculation was one of the great medical success stories of the eighteenth century and did much to encourage the belief in medical progress. Abbé Roman chose this as the subject of his celebratory poem, ‘L’Inoculation, Poème en quatre chants.’ A new hairstyle for women was devised to commemorate the discovery, “coiffure à l’inoculation,” which consisted of an ornament depicting an olive tree with a serpent entwined about its trunk – symbols of wisdom and Asclepius, the hero and god of medicine in ancient Greek mythology and religion – with the sun, signifying enlightenment, rising in the background. This ornamental pin was inserted into the hair, which had been artificially piled up into “une grande pouf.”⁴⁶

The conviction that medicine was improving and doctors becoming more competent was illustrated by the enhanced status of the medical profession. Surgery was the most upwardly mobile occupation of the eighteenth century. For the first time it was recognized as a liberal profession, and professorships in surgery

43 John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death Among Christians and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 84.

44 Mary Lindemann, *Health & Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 349: “. . . parents did not face the deaths and illnesses of their children with stoic fortitude. They took great pains to alleviate the miseries of their offspring and consulted healers even for very young children, often those just day old.”

45 Lindemann, *Health & Healing* (see note 44), 373.

46 Marie Antoinette inaugurated these extravagant hairstyles or “poufs,” which could be up to a yard high and illustrated sentimental or political themes. They were formed from a wire padded with wool, cloth, horsehair, and gauze, interwoven with the woman’s own hair. The elaborate construction was stiffened with pomade and dusted with powder, which attracted vermin, requiring fashionable ladies to carry long handled head-scratchers. Marie Antoinette wore a “pouf à l’inoculation” to publicize the fact that she had persuaded the King to be inoculated against smallpox.

opened up at universities. In 1731 the Académie Royale de Chirurgie was founded, and its members dared to claim equality with physicians. The reputation of French surgeons was the highest in Europe. Paris became the surgery capital of Europe, and students flocked to the city for instruction.⁴⁷ Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709–1751), who was both a *philosophe* and a physician, claimed that “Doctors are the only philosophers who are useful to the Republic. . . . The others are idlers and drones.”⁴⁸ Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries French surgeons continued to pioneer new surgical techniques such as removing cataracts, performing cesarean sections, and extracting bladder stones with many patients surviving these last two ordeals. While these operations were obviously life-saving when successful, French surgeons continued to innovate by engaging in another form of radical surgery that did not so much save as transform the lives of people dubbed “monsters,” a category that included those born with hair lips and cleft palates, those who developed hideously disfiguring tumors, and burn victims with scar tissue that left them permanently disfigured. In her thoroughly arresting biography of the American-born Dr. Thomas Dent Mütter (1811–1859), Cristin O’Keefe Aptowicz describes Mütter’s sojourn in Paris in 1831, where he was introduced to the new surgical techniques involved in *les opérations plastiques* or what is now known as plastic surgery. One has to remember that this was before the age of anesthesia, which began slowly and met with considerable resistance in the 1840s. Without anesthesia surgeons had to be not only immensely skilled but also very fast. As Aptowicz points out, it was not uncommon for patients entering the operating theater for plastic surgery to be prepared to die rather than continue their miserable lives as freaks and monsters, who “saw how children howled at the sight of them” and adults flinched and turned away. When successful, these surgeries were “nothing short of miraculous”:

With a careful hand, a steady knife, and a piece of bone, a surgeon could reconstruct a man’s nose with a twisted portion of his own forehead. A burned woman’s eye could close for the first time in ten years, thanks to a surgeon’s knife cutting the binding scar tissue and replacing it with skin from her own cheek. Cleft palates were fused back together – trickier than it might seem, for the sensitivities when working on the roof of the mouth

⁴⁷ Laurence W.B. Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 554; Cristin O’Keefe Aptowicz, *Dr. Mütter’s Marvels: A True Tale of Intrigue and Innovation at the Dawn of Modern Medicine* (New York: Gotham Books, 2014).

⁴⁸ *La politique du médecin de Machiavel ou le chemin de la fortune ouvert aux médecins* (Amsterdam: Freres Bernard, 1746), xx. La Mettrie wrote this under the pseudonym Dr. Fum-Ho-Ham. Cited in John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment* (see note 43), 50.

meant the patient was in constant threat of vomiting, which would tear open delicate sutures and ensure infection.⁴⁹

It is understandable why the physician and early historian of the American Revolution, David Ramsay (1749–1815) referred to the physician's "god-like work of alleviating human misery."⁵⁰

One way physicians asserted their new celebrity and the power that accompanied it was by commissioning portraits. A romantic image of physicians emerged to celebrate those who worked long hours and displayed great bravery and tenaciousness as they sacrificed their own health in the service of others. One can see this not only in this new genre of portraits but in the emergence of medical biographies as well.⁵¹ Describing the psychological effects of these advances in medicine and the growing prestige of medical men, McManners concludes that "Among educated people there was an increased concern with problems of health, a growing reluctance to accept illness fatalistically, and an intensified shrinking in the face of pain."⁵² Medical developments may not have been instrumental "so much in prolonging life, as in making longer life worth while."⁵³ Clear evidence of this interest in living longer can be found in the belief that the boundary between life and death was reversible and the concomitant fear of being buried alive, a fear that inspired new models of coffins that had bells, whistles, and air pipes just in case the corpse revived.⁵⁴

Bacon and Descartes had been key advocates of the idea that in addition to improving human nature and human health, physical nature itself might be manipulated and controlled for the benefits of humans. This became a guiding prin-

49 Aptowicz, *Dr. Mütter's Marvels* (see note 47), 20–21.

50 David Ramsay, *A Review of the Improvements, Progress and State of Medicine in the XVIIIth Century* (Charleston, SC: W. P. Young, 1801), 15.

51 Ludmilla Jordanova, *Nature Displayed: Gender, Science and Medicine, 1760–1820* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 79–81; *Romanticism and the Sciences*, ed. Andrew Cunningham and Nicolas Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); *British Medicine in the Age of Reform*, ed. Roger French and Andrew Wear (London: Routledge, 1991).

52 McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment* (see note 43), 47.

53 McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment* (see note 43), 42.

54 Peter H. Reill, "Death, Dying and Resurrection in Late Enlightenment Science and Culture," *Wissenschaft als kulturelle Praxis, 1750–1900*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Peter Hanns Reill, and Jürgen Schlumbohm. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 255–74; id., *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment* (Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press, 2005), 171–82; Russell C. Maulitz, *Morbid Appearances: The Anatomy of Pathology in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988).

ciple of the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment. Bacon's and Descartes's optimism flew in the face of the skeptical conditioning that was part and parcel of the classical education and Christian upbringing of European male elites, both of which emphasized the precarious nature of life and the helplessness of individuals in the face of suffering and pain unless they possessed philosophical resignation or a religious cast of mind. But this mentality, along with the myth of a lost Golden Age and the idea that the Ancients were vastly superior to the Moderns, came under increasing attack in the early-modern era as trade, travel, developing commerce, and the ingenuity of artisans, craftsmen, and natural philosophers opened up vistas of previously unimagined possibilities and brought new and unprecedented things such as rhinoceri and ant eaters to the attention of Europeans, not to mention potatoes and tobacco.⁵⁵

Microscopes and telescopes may have blown the minds of natural philosophers, allowing them to see things they never knew existed, but air and water pumps, carriages with better springs for faster and more comfortable travel, newly designed houses with smaller, heated rooms, and more sophisticated, healthful, and appetizing food served on pewter plates convinced many ordinary people that, indeed, life was worth living and science a potent force for good. Given these improvements, it is understandable that "utility" and "fitness" became key concepts in the Enlightenment, joining together notions of pleasure, enjoyment, morality, aesthetics, as well as economic efficiency, all of which were aspects of the new kind of enchantment characterizing the early modern period.⁵⁶

The disenchantment thesis was and still is based largely on the idea that the so-called mechanical philosophy triumphed in the seventeenth century, turning the dynamic and vibrant universe – in which everything was holistically connected in a "Great Chain of Being" – into a mass of inert atoms.⁵⁷ As Max Horkheimer put it, "Nature lost every vestige of vital independent existence, all value of its

55 The classic account of the conflict between the so-called "Ancients" and "Moderns" is Richard F. Jones' *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Background of The Battle of the Books* (St. Louis, MO: Washington University Studies, 1936). For more modern evaluations, see Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994) and Richard Nate, *Wissenschaft und Literatur im England der frühen Neuzeit*. Figuren, 9 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2001).

56 Lorraine Daston, "Attention and the Values of Nature in the Enlightenment," *The Moral Authority of Nature*, ed. Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 100–26.

57 Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: The History of an Idea* (1936; New York: Harper & Row, 2005).

own. It became dead matter – a heap of things.”⁵⁸ Peter Reill has challenged this idea in his revisionist history of the Enlightenment. He claims that while there is a general agreement among historians that from the late 1680s to the 1740s the mechanical philosophy became dominant with the widespread acceptance of Newtonian science and an “overriding impulse” to translate knowledge into mathematical terms, this changed by mid-century when nature was revitalized and the Cartesian distinction between mind and matter was largely dissolved.⁵⁹

I would go even farther and argue that the mechanical philosophy did not become dominant at any time during the seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth centuries. Vitalism never disappeared, even in the work of those like Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton, who are considered exponents of the mechanical philosophy. Vitalism was a legacy of medieval and Renaissance alchemy and Hermeticism. The claim that Boyle embraced the mechanical philosophy when he moved to Oxford in 1655 has been effectively refuted by Antonio Clericuzio. Clericuzio argues that it was only in the eighteenth century that Boyle was taken to symbolize the mechanical philosophy. This view of Boyle ignores the fact that he believed there were non-mechanical forces in the natural world such as spirits, seminal principles, and ferments, all of which had the power to fashion matter.⁶⁰ In the General Scholium added to the second edition of the *Principia* of 1713, Newton postulated the existence of a subtle spirit pervading matter: “And now we might add something concerning a certain most subtle spirit which pervades and lies hid in all gross bodies.” A similar idea appears in the Queries appended to Newton’s *Opticks*.⁶¹ Perhaps even more surprisingly, Sarah Ellen Zweig

58 Max Horkheimer, “Reason against itself,” *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions*, ed. James Schmidt (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1996), 361.

59 Peter Hanns Reill, *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment* (see note 54), 6. For other historians who also take 1740 as a turning point, see Robert E. Schonfield, *Mechanism and Materialism: British Natural Philosophy in an Age of Reason* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970); Thomas L. Hankins, *Science and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Stephen Gaukroger, *The Collapse of Mechanism and the Rise of Sensibility: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1680–1760* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

60 Antonio Clericuzio, “A Redefinition of Boyle’s Chemistry and Corpuscular Philosophy,” *Annals of Science* 47 (1990): 561–89; here 563; id., “From van Helmont to Boyle: A Study of the Transmission of Helmontian Chemical and Medical Theories in Seventeenth-Century England,” *British Journal for the History of Science* 26 (1993): 303–43; here 318.

61 On Newton’s theory of matter, see P. M. Heimann, “Nature is a Perpetual Worker”: Newton’s Aether and Eighteenth-Century Natural Philosophy,” *Ambix* 20 (1973): 1–25; P. M. Heimann and J.E. McGuire, “Newtonian Forces and Lockean Powers: Concepts of Matter in Eighteenth Century Thought,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39 (1978): 271–83; Alan Gabbey, “Newton, Active Pow-

demonstrates that Spinoza's monistic materialism, summed up in his notion of *deus sive natura*, drew on the vitalistic theories characteristic of Renaissance Hermeticism. She is one of the increasing number of scholars who reject the idea that the mechanical philosophy triumphed during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁶² The fact that Boyle, Newton, and Locke all practiced alchemy provides more evidence that the mechanical philosophy was not triumphant.⁶³ The same, I believe, can be said of Leibniz, who was also interested in alchemy and the vitalistic philosophy of the Kabbalah.⁶⁴

In his pioneering work on Mesmerism, Robert Darnton demonstrates that vitalistic theories like that of Anton Mesmer (1734–1815) were eagerly embraced in France at the end of the eighteenth century, and the predilection for spiritualist cosmologies on the part of elite and popular culture alike prepared the way for Romanticism. Mesmer's theory of animal magnetism had a great deal in common with the theories about electricity, magnetism, gravity, light, and fire proposed by supposedly "respectable" authors. Mechanical explanations failed to give an adequate or even plausible account of the wondrous effects of these invisible forces, which were reported assiduously in the popular press. Things may not have worked out so well for Dr. Frankenstein's monster in terms of electricity, but electrical belts and electrical corsets were advertised as cures for weak backs, and it was claimed that electrical hair brushes not only increased the luster and abundance of one's hair but actually prolonged life. Electrical charges

ers, and the Mechanical Philosophy," *The Cambridge Companion to Newton*, ed. I. Bernard Cohen and George E. Smith (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 329–57.

62 Sarah Ellen Zweig, "Richard Bentley's *Paradise Lost* and the Ghost of Spinoza," *God in the Enlightenment*, ed., William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 257–77. See Catherine Packham, *Eighteenth-Century Vitalism: Bodies, Culture, Politics* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Ann Thomson, *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in Early Enlightenment* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). For a re-evaluation of the Scientific Revolution, see Margaret J. Osler, *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

63 Lawrence M. Principe, *The Aspiring Adept: Robert Boyle and his Alchemical Quest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, *Alchemy Tried by the Fire: Starkey, Boyle, and the Fate of Helmontian Chymistry* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2002). On Newton's interest in alchemy, see William R. Newman, *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004); "The Unknown Newton," *The New Atlantis. A Journal of Technology and Society* (Winter, 2015): <http://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/the-problem-of-alchemy> (last accessed August 17, 2016).

64 Allison P. Coudert, *Leibniz and the Kabbalah* (see note 37).

were reputed to make plants grow and cure gout. A report was published about a young boy who had regained the full use of his limbs after being thrown daily into a tub with a large electric eel – a cure we might well attribute to “natural” causes now.⁶⁵ The fact that scientific and pseudo-scientific explanations of the same phenomena were often so similar made it all the more difficult for ordinary people to distinguish fact from fiction, and the fuzzy line between the two was itself a source of wonder and speculation. We should remember that Goethe's *Faust* was a product of the eighteenth century, not the Middle Ages, and he appealed to an eighteenth-century audience.

In her wonderfully entertaining account of electricity during the eighteenth century, Patricia Fara describes the awe, astonishment, as well as dread aroused by public demonstrations involving electrical experiments inspired by the work of Thomas Willis (1621–1675).⁶⁶ Luigi Galvani (1737–1798) and his nephew Giovanni Aldini (1762–1834) both entered the field of what became known as “medical electricity,” offering public experiments to show how dead animals and humans seemed to come alive once electrical currents passed through their limbs. Galvani's specialty was electrifying dead frog's legs. Aldini's experiments involved drowning innumerable dogs and cats and then electrifying them. Timing was everything because if submerged too long, no amount of electricity could revive these poor creatures.

Others took Aldini's experiments even further, electrifying the bodies of executed criminals. *The Newgate Calendar* (a record of executions at that famous, or infamous, London prison) describes the application of electricity to the body of the criminal George Foster: “On the first application of the process to the face, the jaws of the deceased criminal began to quiver, and the adjoining muscles were horribly contorted, and one eye was actually opened. In the subsequent part of the process the right hand was raised and clenched, and the legs and thighs were set in motion.”⁶⁷ An even more ghoulish spectacle involved electrical experiments performed on the body of the executed thief and murderer Matthew Clydesdale in 1818 by the Scottish physician and chemist Andrew Ure (1778–

⁶⁵ Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 14.

⁶⁶ Patricia Fara, *An Entertainment for Angels: Electricity in the Enlightenment*. *Revolutions in Science* (London: Icon Books, 2003). Thomas Willis was an English physician and neuroanatomist considered by many to be the founder of neuroscience and an important figure in the history of psychiatry.

⁶⁷ *The Newgate Calendar*, January 18, 1803 <http://www.exclassics.com/newgate/ng464.htm> (last access August 17, 2016)

1857). Ure described the experiment as well as the reactions of the crowd that had come to witness the spectacle:

The success of it was truly wonderful. Full, nay, laborious breathing, instantly commenced. The chest heaved and fell; the belly was protruded and again collapsed with the relaxing and retiring diaphragm On moving the second rod from the hip to the heel, the knee being previously bent, the leg was thrown out with such violence as nearly to overturn one of the assistants, who in vain attempted to prevent the extension. . . .⁶⁸

When electricity was applied to both Clydesdale's supra-orbital nerve and heel

[e]very muscle in his countenance was simultaneously thrown into fearful action; rage, horror, despair, anguish, and ghastly smiles united their hideous expression in the murderer's face, surpassing far the wildest representations of a Fuseli⁶⁹ or a Kean.⁷⁰ At this period several of the spectators were forced to leave the apartment from terror or sickness, and one gentleman fainted.⁷¹

When the electrical current was applied to the ulnar nerve at the elbow, "the fingers now moved nimbly, like those of a violin performer." Then "he seemed to point to the different spectators, some of whom thought he had come to life."⁷² One witness claimed that Clydesdale had opened his eyes and stood up. At this point, "Dr. Jeffrey pulled out his unerring lancet and plunged it into the jugular vein of the culprit, who instantly fell down upon the floor like a slaughtered ox on the blow of a butcher."⁷³ Of course, Clydesdale could not possibly have stood up, but such was the excitement produced by these experiments that hyperbole came naturally.

Electricity became all the rage. One of the most unusual uses of it occurred in the Temple of Health constructed by James Graham (1745–1794) in London's

68 *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Politics, etc.*, no. 104 (Saturday, January 16, 1819), Pt. 1.

https://books.google.com/books?id=MGpEAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (last accessed on August 17, 2016).

69 Henry Fuseli (1741–1825) was a Swiss artist and writer, who spent most of his life in Britain. Many of his painting, such as "The Nightmare," dealt with the demonic aspects of the supernatural.

70 Edmund Kean (1787–1833) was a British actor celebrated for his dramatic roles, especially Shakespearean characters.

71 *The Literary Gazette* (see note 68).

72 *The Literary Gazette* (see note 68)

73 Roseanne Montillo, *The Lady and Her Monsters: A Tale of Dissections, Real-Life Dr. Frankenstein and the Creation of Mary Shelley's Masterpiece* (New York: William Morrow Paperbacks, 2013), 216.

Adelphi. Known as “The Doctor of Love,” Graham opened what may have been the first electrical therapy spa to enhance the pleasures of sex and cure infertility. The pièce de resistance in Graham’s opulent establishment was the famous “Celestial Bed.” Mounted on glass legs to insulate it from the ground, the bed was connected to wires in an adjoining room through which electrical currents were passed. The bed was surrounded by mirrors, and Graham suggestively claimed that the mattress was filled with hair from the tails of English stallions. When opened to the public, over 11,000 visitors flocked to see the Palace in the first three months. Graham believed that decadent lifestyles were diminishing human sexual capacity. He was convinced that a diet of raw, rather than cooked, dead food, combined with plenty of fresh air, hard beds, early hours, and a daily routine of washing the body, particularly the genitalia, in one of his mud baths would reinvigorate his effete contemporaries.⁷⁴ Graham was eventually charged with indecency, fell into debt, and died of a brain hemorrhage at the age of forty-nine after a bout of religious mania.⁷⁵ But the promise he, Mesmer, and many others held out for the wonderful effects of electricity were sufficiently alluring to convince people that science had the ability to cure all kinds of ailments while greatly enhancing the pleasures of life. Graham was convinced that the human race could be regenerated and that a “New Jerusalem” of perfection could be instituted on earth. As Stuart comments, “This revival of millenarianism was typical of extremists at the end of the eighteenth century, who fused their hopes of democratic reform with the expectation of a utopian future.”⁷⁶

The conviction that health could be improved along with actual advances in medical care was an aspect of what Peter Gay has described as the “medicalization” of the Enlightenment by those authors who discussed the shortcomings of society and social institutions – for example, religious fanaticism, political injustice, poverty, disease, the prevalence of ignorance and superstition – as “pathologies” that could be “cured.”⁷⁷ The most effective way to cure these conditions was by improving human reason and perfecting human nature.

74 Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution* (see note 33), 332.

75 The English romantic poet Robert Southey (1774–1843) gives the following description of Graham: “This man lived upon vegetables, and delighted in declaiming against the sin of being carnivorous, and the dreadful effects of making the stomach a grave and charnel-house for slaughtered bodies. Latterly he became wholly an enthusiast, would madden himself with ether, run out into the streets, and strip himself to clothe the first beggar whom he met.” Cited in Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution* (see note 33), 336.

76 Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution* (see note 33), 332.

77 Peter Gay, “The Enlightenment as Medicine and as Cure,” *The Age of Enlightenment: Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman*, ed. William H. Barbour (Edinburgh: St. Andrews University Publications, 1967), 375–86.

Alice Winter does for the nineteenth what Darnton did for the eighteenth century when she demonstrates that Mesmerism was not a fringe or pseudo-science in nineteenth-century Britain but a central one that raised all kinds of interesting, even marvelous and terrifying, speculations about the hidden powers of the human mind. Even after Mesmerism had been marginalized as medicine and became more professionalized, it did not disappear; it was absorbed into other practices, particularly psychical research, physiology, and psychoanalysis.⁷⁸ Winter offers a thoroughly enchanted view of many aspects of Victorian life:

Far from exhibiting the stifling conformity long associated with the period, Victorian England is now recognized as having been populated by phrenologists, plebian spiritualists, mediums, and psychic researchers. They lived in a broth more exotic than the so-called Monster soup of the Thames: a potent concoction of magnetic fluids, vital powers, and swarming spirits.⁷⁹

George Eliot (1819–1880) shaved her head for a phrenological reading. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) wrote articles for a mesmeric journal, and Michael Faraday (1791–1867) built an apparatus for table-turning. Spiritualism made the mathematician and logician Augustus De Morgan (1806–1871) question the nature of scientific proof, and female mediums cast doubt on the ideology of “The Angel in the House,” helping women expand their mental and physical horizons.⁸⁰

In a letter to her father written after viewing the Great Exhibition of 1851, Charlotte Brontë describes the “magic” of the things she had seen:

. . . none but super-human hands could have arranged it thus, with such a blaze and contrast of colours and marvelous power of effect. The multitude filling the great aisles seems ruled and subdued by some invisible influence. Amongst the thirty thousand souls that peopled it the day I was there not one loud noise was to be heard, not one irregular movement seen; the living tide rolls on quietly, with a deep hum like the sea heard from the distance.⁸¹

From Brontë’s description, it seems that wonder was the order of the day and not just at the Great Exhibition. New inventions greatly enlarged the boundaries of what was possible, even plausible, and increasingly obscured the dividing line

⁷⁸ Alison Winter, *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5–8.

⁷⁹ Winter, *Mesmerized* (see note 78), 9.

⁸⁰ Winter, *Mesmerized* (see note 78), 10.

⁸¹ Winter, *Mesmerized* (see note 78), 27.

between the material and the spiritual as mechanical innovations produced signs of life and spirit. Charles Babbage's (1791–1871) salon is a case in point. Among the items on exhibitions were dancing automata that seemed to exhibit “grace” and “imagination” and an engine that did arithmetic.⁸² Babbage claimed that even he did not know all the powers possessed by his machines, whose actions seemed “incomprehensible without the exercise of volition and thought.”⁸³ In his 1832 book *Natural Magic*, David Brewster (1781–1868) describes talking machines, hallucinations, and pictures that simulated animation.⁸⁴ According to Brewster western history passed through three stages: from the religious delusion characteristic of the medieval and early modern periods, to amusement in the Enlightenment, and finally to the wonders of modern industrial production.⁸⁵ Natural magic seized the imagination not only because the phenomena it produced were mysterious, at least initially, but because the human minds that created these marvelous products were themselves marvelous.

The magic and wonder of science was clear to see in the automata produced by eighteenth-century clock and furniture makers. Automata like Pierre Droz' and Henri-Louis Droz's harpsichord player, La Musicienne, and Wolfgang von Kempelen's Chess Man – even though it was eventually discovered to be a fake – encouraged spectators to try to figure out how they worked. In *Man a Machine* (1748) La Mettrie mentions Jacques de Vaucanson's defecating duck and his flutist, describing their maker as a “new Prometheus.”⁸⁶ Because Cartesian mechanistic philosophy left so many questions about the relationship between matter, force, and motion unresolved, the intriguing question arose in the minds of many of those who viewed these marvelous mechanical objects as to whether matter in and of itself could generate motion. The complexity and delicacy required to construct automata that could move in human or animal-like ways as a result of mechanical devices small enough to fit entirely inside the figures made them all the more awesome. Between 1750 and 1820 many writers

⁸² Babbage was a mathematician, inventor, philosopher, and mechanical engineer, who, along with Ada Lovelace (1815–1852), Byron's daughter, is credited with the concept of a programmable computer.

⁸³ Winter, *Mesmerized* (see note 78), 38.

⁸⁴ Brewster was a Scottish scientist interested in physics, mathematics, and astronomy and the inventor of the kaleidoscope.

⁸⁵ David Brewster, *Letters on Natural Magic Addressed to Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (1832; London: William Tegg & Co., 7th ed. 1856).

⁸⁶ Adelheid Voskuhl, *Androids in the Enlightenment: Mechanics, Artisans, and Cultures of the Self* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 25.

used android automata, either actual or imagined, to explore the boundaries between machines and humans.⁸⁷

While several historians claim that automata contributed to disenchantment because they presaged the perils of the industrial age, Adelheid Voskuhl contends that such disenchantment was not characteristic of the eighteenth but only of later centuries.⁸⁸ Julie de Lespinasse (1732–1776), who presided over one of the most prominent salons in Paris in the 1750s and 60s, informed a correspondent that before dinner, she would go and see the automata on display in a nearby hall precisely because they are “astonishing, as they say.”⁸⁹ Shortly after citing this remark, however, Voskuhl claims surprisingly that individuals who saw automata and left descriptions of them did “not display any particular excitement . . . about the androids or their metaphysical implications.”⁹⁰ If this were indeed the case, one wonders why kings and princes spent so lavishly on these devices. This apparent nonchalance is contradicted by another report cited by Voskuhl that described the streets leading up to a display of automata as occupied every day by coaches and wagons. Even rain did not discourage people from attending the showing, which ran from six in the morning to seven or eight at night.⁹¹

As historians have pointed out, although the Enlightenment is generally characterized as an age of increasing liberty, fraternity, and equality, court culture remained very powerful in the last decades of the ancient regime and militated against these very ideals. Court culture demanded rigid etiquette and ostentatious displays of power, which included luxury commodities such as automata and an audience to appreciate them. In the words of Voskuhl,

⁸⁷ Voskuhl, *Androids in the Enlightenment* (see note 86), 170.

⁸⁸ See Gaby Wood, *Living Dolls: A Magical History of the Quest for Mechanical Life* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003), xiv; Frank Wittig, *Maschinenmenschen: Zur Geschichte eines literarischen Motivs im Kontext von Philosophie, Naturwissenschaft und Technik*. Epistemata: Würzburger wissenschaftliche Schriften, 212 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1997), 25. Voskuhl, *Androids* (see note 86), disagrees with those like Jessica Riskin, who argue that eighteenth-century automata were built for scientific purposes: “I understand the women automata. . . to be not epistemically relevant simulations of live bodies, but rather mechanical replications of cultural and political body practices and ambitions” (21). See Jessica Riskin, *The Restless Clock: A History of the Centuries-Long Argument about What Makes Things Tick* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

⁸⁹ Cited in Voskuhl, *Androids in the Enlightenment* (see note 86), 67.

⁹⁰ Voskuhl, *Androids in the Enlightenment* (see note 86), 65.

⁹¹ Voskuhl, *Androids in the Enlightenment* (see note 86), 65.

In this public and international court culture, automata and related artifacts were suitable items of wonder and spectacle; they provided incentive for mechanical innovation, and they were also suitable items for gift exchange among parties of political power. Technical ornamentation of place parks and gardens were part of the same culture that inspired automaton-making.⁹²

There was a political dimension to court culture's fascination with automata and mechanical devises because they appeared to provide evidence of a mechanized universe set in motion by God, a universe that God's regents on earth liked to think of as a model for their own courtly universes.

The aesthetics of eighteenth-century European court culture were decidedly neoclassical and centered on Burke's notion of the beautiful rather than the sublime. Balance, proportion, and self-contained smallness were the essence of the beautiful as one can see from the gardens at Versailles and the Palladian architecture that Neoclassicists favored. Although Burke excoriated French revolutionaries for destroying the court culture he identified with, his own writing on the sublime contributed to revolutionary, and especially early romantic revolutionary, thought. Romantics adopted Burke's reverence for the sublime, which he defined as vast to the point of infinity, obscure, awe-inspiring, powerful, and uncanny. Burke's goal was to explain how terror could cause delight. His answer was that the pleasure an individual receives from the sublime involves the sensation that accompanies the removal of danger. In essence, coming to terms with the sublime necessitated a certain amount of *Schadenfreude*, but one that did not preclude but encouraged empathy.

One of the most important and characteristic aspects of modernity involved breaking down the barriers between God, humans, and nature, barriers that, as Norbert Elias has shown, took centuries of concerted human effort to erect.⁹³ Burke's essay on the sublime played a hand in this destruction. Far from disenchanting the world, this elimination of borders enchanted the world in profoundly new and exciting ways. Those who accepted this blurring of boundaries and saw themselves as part of nature rather than apart from it opened themselves up to a sympathetic appreciation of the world in holistic terms, where each part connected, reflected, and inflected every other. They realized that humans are thoroughly embedded in this cosmos; they are not aliens brought unwillingly

⁹² Voskuhl, *Androids in the Enlightenment* (see note 86), 27.

⁹³ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, vol. 1, *The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (1939; New York: Urizen Books, 1978). In this regard it is interesting to note that in the seventeenth century some Puritan parents were reluctant to let their children crawl like animals suggesting that they rejected any thought of human kinship with the animal world.

from some heavenly gnostic or platonic sphere, to which they long to return. This is the message Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) presents in his poem “The Eolian Harp” (II: 26–29):

O! the one Life within us and abroad,
Which meets all motion and becomes its soul,
A light in sound, a sound-like power in light,
Rhythm in all thought, and joyance every where.

Hen kai pan, or “all in one,” became something of a clarion call for early Romantics and reflected the tremendous influence Spinoza’s philosophy with its identification of God with Nature (*Deus sive natura*) had on Romantics across Europe and especially in Germany. Although no one willingly admitted Spinoza’s influence because he was excoriated as an atheist, Romantics embraced his contention that God was in all things since this made the commonplace and ordinary marvelous, even divine. According to Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819), under his prodding Lessing confessed he had lost faith in orthodox Christianity and was a Spinozist: “The orthodox conceptions of the divine are no longer for me; I cannot stand them. *Hen kai pan!* I know nothing else.” But it was actually Jacobi who put the words in Lessing’s mouth when he queried, “Then you would indeed be more or less in agreement with Spinoza,” to which Lessing replied: “If I am to call myself by anybody’s name, then I know none better.”⁹⁴ Lessing added, “That is also the tendency in Goethe’s writings.” And, indeed, there was.

In his autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1811), Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) admits he read Spinoza:

⁹⁴ *The Spinoza Conversations between Lessing and Jacobi: Texts with Excerpts from the Ensuing Controversy*. Introduced by Gérard Vallée, trans. G. Vallée, J. B. Lawson, and C. G. Chapple (Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 1988), 9–10. The conversations took place a few months before Lessing’s death in 1781. They were published by Jacobi as *Über die Lehre des Spinoza, in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn* (Breslau: G. Lowe, 1785). Lessing’s contemporaries as well as modern scholars have widely divergent views as to Lessing’s alleged Spinozism, which range from a definitive yes to a total denial. See Johannes Schneider, *Lessings Stellung zu Theologie vor der Herausgabe der Wolfenbüttler Fragmente* (‘s-Gravenger: Uiotgeverij Excelsior, 1953), 7–15. Vallée concludes, quite rightly in my opinion, that Lessing was not a confirmed Spinozist but a pantheist who rejected what he saw as the orthodox idea of God as a transcendent anthropomorphic autocrat for a theology of immanence (24).

I hastened back to the works [of Spinoza], to which I owe so much, and the same breath of peace wafted towards me. I became absorbed in reading and thought, as I looked within myself, that I had never seen the world so clearly.⁹⁵

The world Goethe saw with such clarity was a holistic one: “All effects . . . that we observe in the world of experience are interrelated in the most constant manner”⁹⁶ In this holistic universe revelation came from Nature, with a capital “N,” not God or scripture, but from the natural world as it impinged on our senses. Since Nature had to be felt through our senses, it was experienced emotionally and not just through reason:

Let the eyes be closed, let the sense of hearing be excited, and from the simplest sound to the highest harmony, from the most vehement and impassioned cry to the gentlest word of reason, still it is but Nature that speaks and manifests her presence, her power, her pervading life, and the vastness of her relations, so that a blind man, to whom the infinitely visible world is denied, can still comprehend an infinite vitality by means of another organ.⁹⁷

Goethe was very much influenced by his younger contemporary, the intrepid explorer and most famous scientist of his age Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), who also viewed the world in holistic terms. When climbing the volcano Chimborazo (now in Ecuador), Humboldt experienced an epiphany: when the fog lifted, from his precarious perch at 19,413 feet Humboldt saw the top of the volcano barely 1,000 feet above him and mountain range after mountain range stretched out majestically before him. It was then that he realized the earth was one great living organism, where everything was connected.⁹⁸ Nothing, not even the tiniest organism, could exist on its own: “In this great chain of causes and effects no single fact can be considered in isolation.”⁹⁹ Humboldt invented the idea of the web of life. Having seen at first hand the devastation caused by the colonial plantation at Lake Valencia in Venezuela in 1800, he was the first to

95 Goethe is cited in Alexander Rausch, “Neoclassicism and the Romantic Movement: Painting in Europe between Two Revolutions 1789–1848,” *Neoclassicism and Romanticism: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Drawings; 1750 – 1848*, ed. Rolf Toman (Cologne: Tandem, 2006), 318–479; here 327–28.

96 Cited in Roger H. Stephenson, “Binary Synthesis: Goethe’s Aesthetic Intuition in Literature and Science,” *Science in Context* 18.4 (2005): 553–81; here 556.

97 *Goethe’s Theory of Colours*, trans. with notes by Charles Lock Eastlake (London: John Murray, 1840), xviii.

98 Andrea Wulf, *The Invention of Nature: Alexander Humboldt’s New World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015), 2.

99 Wulf, *The Invention of Nature* (see note 98), 5.

explain the importance of forests to retain water and protect against soil erosion.¹⁰⁰

Both Goethe and Alexander von Humboldt rejected the Cartesian view of animals as machines, investigating instead the vital forces that shaped organisms. Wulf claims that Goethe's *Faust* has something of Humboldt in him and vice versa. Like Humboldt, *Faust* was trying to discover "all Nature's hidden powers." *Faust*'s ambition "That I may detect the utmost force / Which binds the world, and guides its course" was Humboldt's as well.¹⁰¹ Like Goethe and so many Romantics, Humboldt was driven by a sense of wonder. Yes, nature had to be measured and analyzed – Humboldt was, after all, a child of the Enlightenment – but it must be viewed through the senses and emotions as well: "Nature must be experienced through feeling," not numbers or abstract mathematics.¹⁰² Goethe and Humboldt both read Erasmus Darwin's poem "Love of Plants," which took Linnaean sexual classification systems of plants to an extreme, making them love-sick, jealous, blushing, etc. While Goethe thought the poetry rambling and pedantic, Humboldt admired it for advocating a sympathetic and imaginative approach to nature.

The Romantics' concern with bringing the human and the natural world into a harmonious whole reflected the incompleteness, fragmentation, and ruin they observed around them. Long before Max Weber, they reacted against what they perceived to be the disenchantment of the world as a result of the alienation and anomie that came with industrialization, urbanization, utilitarianism, and the emphasis on individual rights characteristic of the Enlightenment. It was the Romantics, in fact, from whom Weber took many of his ideas about disenchantment.¹⁰³ They lamented the decline of a sense of community and the breakdown of the family with the rise of the competitive marketplace and

100 Wulf, *The Invention of Nature* (see note 98), 5–6. As Wulf points out, in addition to Goethe, Humboldt influenced Jefferson, Darwin, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Thoreau, and Simon Bolivar, among others. His centenary was celebrated across the world but nowhere more so than in the US. The state of Nevada was almost called Humboldt when its name was debated in 1860. While that didn't happen, in the United States there are 4 counties, 13 towns, parks, mountains, bays, lakes, and a river named after him, as well as the Humboldt Redwoods State Park in California and Humboldt Parks in Chicago and Buffalo. Almost 300 plants and more than 100 animals are named after Humboldt. Wulf claims that "[m]ore places are named after Humboldt than anyone else" (7). Jefferson called him "one of the greatest ornaments of the age" (5).

101 Wulf, *The Invention of Nature* (see note 98), 37.

102 Wulf, *The Invention of Nature* (see note 98), 36.

103 Rüdiger Safranski, *Romanticism: A German Affair*, trans. Robert E. Goodwin (2007; Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014), 126.

the eclipse of guilds. Even more importantly, they deplored the division between man and nature created by the growth of modern technology, which they believed turned nature into a machine, taking away the beauty, mystery, and magic it once possessed.

Anticipating Horkheimer, Novalis (Georg Philipp Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg, 1772–1801) complained that nature had been “demoted to the level of dull machinery.” Modernity had converted “the infinite, creative music of the universe into the uniform clattering of a monstrous mill.”¹⁰⁴ These observations would seem to put Romantics squarely in the disenchantment camp, but the opposite was actually the case. Instead of reacting with despair and turning to religion, the state, or heroic individuals for the solution – as many later Romantics and anti-Enlightenment Traditionalists did – the early Romantics set out to re-enchant the world.

Although a standard interpretation of the early German Romantics is that they were apolitical and their central aim was to create a new romantic literature and criticism opposed to Neoclassicism and the Enlightenment, they were intensely political.¹⁰⁵ In *Athenäumsfragment* 222 Friedrich Schlegel makes this clear: “The starting point of modern culture is the revolutionary wish to realize the Kingdom of God on earth.”¹⁰⁶ While critical of what they saw as the hedonism, materialism, and utilitarianism of some Enlightenment thinkers, early German Romantics accepted key Enlightenment ideas, such as the right and duty to think critically for oneself; the right to self-determination; the right to self-development free of external authority; the importance and value of education; and the need to overcome prejudice, superstition, and ignorance. These concepts became the basis for their project of re-enchantment through a holistic approach to nature and man’s place in it. Frederick Beiser argues that Romantic holism “was one of the most remarkable events in natural science since the onset of the scientific revolution.” He claims that it is not exaggeration to regard it as “a paradigm shift,” involving completely new criteria for explaining natural events. While mechanical physics understood a phenomenon by placing it within a series of efficient causes following one after the other, the organic theory explained

104 Safranski, *Romanticism* (see note 103), 127.

105 “. . . we must abandon, once and for all, one of the most common myths about romanticism: that it was essentially apolitical, an attempt to flee from social and political reality into the world of the literary imagination. Rather than escaping moral and political issues for the sake of literature and criticism, the romantics subordinated their literature and criticism to their ethical and political ideals.” Frederick C. Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative: The Concept of Early German Romanticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 24.

106 Cited in Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative* (see note 105), 180–81.

a phenomenon in holistic terms as a product of multiple mutually interacting forces:

... the romantics' organic concept of nature implies that everything is reciprocally both means and ends. Depending on our standpoint, we can see each part of an organism as an instrument for the development of the whole, and the whole as an instrument for the development of each part. This means that it is possible to say both that man develops for the sake of nature as well as nature develops for the sake of man.¹⁰⁷

Not only concerned with man's estrangement from nature, Romantics like Novalis also sought to overcome the alienation that divided an individual from himself with the split between mind and body and the realization that there are divisive forces and hidden drives in humans that required integration. Their solution once again was holism: the conscious, subconscious, reason, desire, and emotion had to be united in a single personality. In *Über Anmut und Würde* (On Grace and Dignity, 1793) Friedrich Schiller described this personality as "a beautiful soul," which exhibited a harmony of reason and sensibility.¹⁰⁸ Just as each of the drives within every individual had to be integrated, individuals must be integrated into a holistic community and organic state. Finally, nature must be seen as organic since everything from stones to humans are intrinsically connected. The utilitarian, disenchanted world "must be romanticized," according to Novalis, and this could only be done, as he says, "When I give the commonplace a higher meaning, the customary a mysterious appearance, the known the dignity of the unknown, the finite the illusion of the infinite." By doing this, "I romanticize it."¹⁰⁹ According to Coleridge this was precisely the task Wordsworth set for himself in their joint venture, the *Lyrical Ballads*. While Coleridge was to make the unreal real, Wordsworth was "to give the charm of novelty to things of every day, and to excite a feeling analogous to

107 Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative* (see note 105), 83, 146.

108 Friedrich Schiller, "It is in a beautiful soul that sensuousness and reason, duty and inclination are in harmony, and grace is their expression as appearance." *Schiller's "On Grace and Dignity" in Its Cultural Context: Essays and a New Translation*, ed. Jane V. Curran and Christophe Fricker. *Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005), 153. For a copy of the original text, see <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/-3320/1> (last accessed on August 17, 2016).

109 Frederick C. Beiser, *The Early Political Writings of the German Romantics*. *Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 85. Andrea Nightingale describes the same kind of wonder that Thoreau experienced at Walden Pond in her article "Broken Knowledge," *The Re-enchantment of the World: Secular Magic in a Rational Age*, ed. Joshua Landy and Michael Saler (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 15–37.

the supernatural, by awakening the mind's attention from the lethargy of custom and directing it to the loveliness and the wonders of the world before us."¹¹⁰

To the Romantic artist, nothing was beneath contempt; everything called for understanding and sympathy. This comes out clearly in the Neo-Romantic Hugo von Hofmannsthal's "The Letter of Lord Chandos" (1902). As Lord Chandos writes to his unidentified patron and mentor, anything, even the simplest, most rustic, and plebian object can reveal the mystery and wonder of the world:

A pitcher, a harrow abandoned in a field, a dog in the sun, a neglected cemetery, a cripple, a peasant's hut—all these can become the vessel of my revelation. Each of these objects and a thousand others similar, over which the eye usually glides with a natural indifference, can suddenly, at any moment (which I am utterly powerless to evoke), assume for me a character so exalted and moving that words seem too poor to describe it.¹¹¹

On another occasion "it was a nut-tree and a half-filled pitcher which a gardener boy had left there" with "a beetle swimming on the surface from shore to shore" that occasioned an ecstatic response: ". . . this combination of trifles sent through me such a shudder at the presence of the Infinite, a shudder running from the roots of my hair to the marrow of my heels." Lord Chandos feels an intimate connection with the natural world and all the creatures inhabiting it, even the rats he had ordered exterminated, with whom he belatedly experiences the deepest empathy:

Recently, for instance, I had given the order for a copious supply of rat-poison to be scattered in the milk cellars of one of my dairy-farms. Towards evening I had gone off for a ride and, as you can imagine, thought no more about it. As I was trotting along over the freshly-ploughed land, nothing more alarming in sight than a scared covey of quail and, in the distance, the great sun sinking over the undulating fields, there suddenly loomed up before me the vision of that cellar, resounding with the death-struggle of a mob of rats. I felt everything within me: the cool, musty air of the cellar filled with the sweet and pungent reek of poison, and the yelling of the death cries breaking against the mouldering walls; the vain convulsions of those convoluted bodies as they tear about in confusion and despair; their frenzied search for escape, and the grimace of icy rage when a couple collide with one another at a blocked-up crevice.

Lord Chandos's ability to imagine himself in the place of others, even such lowly creatures as rats, appears again in his reaction to Livy's description of the hours

110 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. James Engell and Walter Jackson Bate. *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 7 vols., gen. ed. Kathleen Coburn and Bart Winer. Bollingen Series, 75 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 7: 6–7.

111 Hofmannsthal, "Letter of Lord Chandos" http://depts.washington.edu/vienna/documents/Hofmannsthal/Hofmannsthal_Chandos.htm (last accessed August 17, 2016).

before the destruction of Alba Longa. This vision inspired him with a sublime terror that was both divine and bestial, providing him with a gaze into the abyss of the infinite that only confirmed his own nothingness. How different his reaction was from Pascal's. Pascal's terror of the infinite was absolute; there was nothing sublime about it. But here we see the frisson of excitement and the marvelous melancholy evoked by the romantic sublime:

You remember, my friend, the wonderful description in Livy of the hours preceding the destruction of Alba Longa: when the crowds stray aimlessly through the streets which they are to see no more . . . when they bid farewell to the stones beneath their feet. I assure you, my friend, I carried this vision within me, and the vision of burning Carthage, too; but there was more, something more divine, more bestial; and it was the Present, the fullest, most exalted Present. There was a mother, surrounded by her young in their agony of death; but her gaze was cast neither toward the dying nor upon the merciless walls of stone, but into the void, or through the void into Infinity, accompanying this gaze with a gnashing of teeth! A slave struck with helpless terror standing near the petrifying Niobe must have experienced what I experienced when, within me, the soul of this animal bared its teeth to its monstrous fate.

Lord Chandos claims that it was not pity he felt for these people about to be wiped off the face of the earth but an "immense sympathy" or "a flowing over into these creatures, or a feeling that an aura of life and death, of dream and wakefulness, had flowed for a moment into them." The boundary between one thing and another, between one person and another, is obliterated here in what would later be described as an oceanic feeling of "cosmic consciousness"¹¹²:

In these moments an insignificant creature – a dog, a rat, a beetle, a crippled apple tree, a lane winding over the hill, a moss-covered stone, mean more to me than the most beautiful, abandoned mistress of the happiest night. These mute and, on occasion, inanimate creatures rise toward me with such an abundance, such a presence of love, that my enchanted eye can find nothing in sight void of life. Everything that exists, everything I can remember, everything touched upon by my confused thoughts, has a meaning. Even my own heavi-

112 Richard M. Bucke, *Cosmic Consciousness: A Study of the Evolution of the Human Mind* (1901; New York: Dover Books, 2009). The desire to obliterate the barriers between people and see all humankind as one shows us at our best, "touched . . . by the better angels of our nature," to cite the last sentence of Abraham Lincoln's *First Inaugural Address* (March 4, 1861). But throughout history these better angels have been impeded by the inescapable fact that to know anything, humans must distinguish one thing from another. Unfortunately, this applies to creating one's identity as well, and this has fueled the xenophobia at the root of so much human conflict and suffering. For a wonderfully concise discussion of this issue, see Albrecht Classen, "Other, The, European Views of," *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, 6 vols. (New York and San Francisco: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2005), 4: 1691–98.

ness, the general torpor of my brain, seems to acquire a meaning; I experience in and around me a blissful, never-ending interplay, and among the objects playing against one another there is not one into which I cannot flow. To me, then, it is as though my body consists of nought but ciphers which give me the key to everything; or as if we could enter into a new and hopeful relationship with the whole of existence if only we begin to think with the heart.

These rapturous moments that allow individuals to overcome the limitations of their separate existence and dissolve into the cosmic one – an experience Nietzsche would later describe as “Dionysian wisdom” – are, Lord Chandos admits, unfortunately few and far between, which leaves him deflated, even nauseated, by ordinary life and filled with longing for the simple life and simple joys experienced, he imagines, by the peasants who farm his estate:

my eye . . . seeks among all the poor and clumsy objects of a peasant's life for the one whose insignificant form, whose unnoticed being, whose mute existence, can become the source of that mysterious, wordless, and boundless ecstasy. For my unnamed blissful feeling is sooner brought about by a distant lonely shepherd's fire than by the vision of a starry sky, sooner by the chirping of the last dying cricket when the autumn wind chases wintry clouds across the deserted fields than by the majestic booming of an organ.

Lord Chandos describes these moments of ecstatic insight as being “like a splinter round which everything festers, throbs, and boils.” While exquisitely painful, they are what make the terrible boredom of ordinary life bearable:

It is then that I feel as though I myself were about to ferment, to effervesce, to foam and to sparkle. And the whole thing is a kind of feverish thinking, but thinking in a medium more immediate, more liquid, more glowing than words. It, too, forms whirlpools, but of a sort that do not seem to lead, as the whirlpools of language, into the abyss, but into myself and into the deepest womb of peace.

The experience Lord Chandos had of “a flowing over into these creatures” was predicated on the romantic idea that not only was all life endued with sensitivity but that all life was interconnected.

Unlike Neoclassicists, ugliness fascinated Romantics, opening them up to an appreciation of aspects of the world Neoclassicists ignored as outside, even antagonistic, to the realm of art. Friedrich Schlegel claimed: “Der romantische Imperativ fordert die Mischung aller Dichtarten. All Natur und Wissenschaft soll Kunst werden – Kunst soll Natur werden und Wissenschaft” (“The Romantic imperative stimulates the mixing of all sorts of poetry. All nature and knowledge

should be art – art should be nature and knowledge”).¹¹³ Romantic artists and intellectuals broke down the borders between the various arts (literature, drama, painting, music), venturing into the realm of folklore (the Brothers Grimm), theology (Schleiermacher), and even law (Savigny) in an attempt to create a “universal poetry.” Facets of the natural and human world that Neoclassicists considered beneath contempt intrigued Romantics, invoking their compassion and sympathy. While neoclassical aesthetics marginalized and excluded entire groups of human beings on the basis of their alleged ugliness and low social status, Romantic aesthetics with its penchant for the strange and bizarre effectively expanded the boundaries of human sympathy to include those previously marginalized – the old, sick, poor, deformed, and insane – as well as the animal kingdom and entire realm of nature. In their different ways, all of these provided enchantment.

An important feature of many modern kinds of enchantment from the Romantics until today is that whether they delight or horrify, they do not set out to delude. In *The Arts of Deception* James W. Cook takes P. T. Barnum and modern magicians as examples of the way a rational and skeptical public can be enchanted without succumbing to delusions. Showmen used mass media to stimulate debates about the authenticity of their illusions and exhibitions, promoting endless curiosity that was never completely satisfied. The showman’s illusions helped to wean Victorian culture away from the pursuit of truth and sincerity into a postmodern awareness of contingency and perspectivism.¹¹⁴ Illusions and hoaxes encouraged people to figure things out. So did the detective stories, which arose as a genre during the nineteenth century and delighted readers then as much then as they do today. Consumers, not all of them to be sure, but many, were aware of the ways they were being manipulated and took great pleasure in it.

Simon During carries forward Cook’s argument. When confronted with magical illusions, he claims that audiences honed their cognitive skills to detect the trickery behind them at the same time they experienced a sense of wonder and enchantment inspired by the technical skill of the magician. During emphasizes the way the imagination became a central source of enchantment for early Romantics, with the “willing suspension of disbelief” proposed by Coleridge.

113 From Schlegel’s Notebooks, 1797–1798. Cited in Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative* (see note 107), xiv.

114 Michael Saler, “Modernity and Enchantment (see note 12),” 711; id., *As If: Modern Enchantment and the Literary Pre-History of Virtual Reality* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

While people could distinguish fact from fiction, they took pleasure in the blurred of the boundary between the two.¹¹⁵

As I mentioned at the beginning of this essay, there is a moral dimension to modern enchantment that should not be overlooked, although it is very different from the moral dimensions of traditional forms of religious, especially Christian, enchantment. As Jane Bennett points out in her philosophical meditation on modern enchantment, "To be enchanted is to be struck and shaken by the extraordinary that lives amid the familiar and the everyday. . . ."¹¹⁶ This is what Novalis, Hofmannsthal, and so many other Romantics had striven to discover a century or two earlier. Enchantment assumes joyful attachment to the point of love and reverence. If we do not have these, Bennett asks, if we really live in a disenchanted world, what can we joyfully attach ourselves to? What is there to love about an alienated existence on a dead planet? Without love for something in this world, how can one care about anything, including oneself? With Bennett's questions in mind, let me end this essay with a quotation from Carolyn Bynum's 1997 Presidential Address to the American Historical Association. Here she declares that it is the job of every scholar and every teacher to excite wonder and enchantment in their readers and students:

. . . surely our job as teachers is to puzzle, confuse, and amaze. We must rear a new generation of students who will gaze in wonder at texts and artifacts, quick to puzzle over a translation, slow to project or to appropriate, quick to assume there is a significance, slow to generalize about it. Not only as scholars, then, but also as teachers, we must astonish and be astonished. For the flat, generalizing, presentist view of the past encapsulates it and makes it boring, whereas amazement yearns toward an understanding, a significance, that is always just a little beyond both our theories and our fears.¹¹⁷

This may be a difficult injunction to follow, or is it?

115 Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

116 Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life* (see note 11), 4.

117 Carolyn Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *American Historical Review* 102.1 (February, 1997): 1–26; here 26.

Contributors

AMIRI AYANNA is a doctoral candidate in Early Modern European history at Brown University where she researches German women writers of the long fifteenth century. Her dissertation examines shared gender norms reflected in the vernacular writings of both monastic and secular women of the pre-Reformation era. Her work has been published in the *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory and Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, and *Asymptote* (a journal of literary translation). Her translation of the Sisterbook of the Nuns at St. Katherinental received a PEN America Translation Grant Award and is scheduled to be published as part of *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series*.

CRISTINA AZUELA holds a full-time research position in the Centro de Poética at the Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. She currently teaches Medieval French Literature and Medieval French Translation at the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (since 1992). She has published several works on medieval comparative literature, some of them focused on short medieval stories (on this subject a book in 2006: *Del Decamerón a las Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* and *Las artimañas de la palabra en la nouvelle medieval* (forthcoming). Her current research interests include the tricksters in medieval literature and the early European versions of *Tristan et Yseut* (e-book forthcoming). Some of her recent articles are: “Merlin, prophète et *trickster* dans le *Roman de Silence*” in *Voix des mythes, science des civilisations*, ed. K. Watanabe and F. Vigneron (2012); “Los *fabliaux*: relatos cortos del medioevo francés” in *Narrativa ejemplar y breve medieval*, ed. María Teresa Miaja (2015); “Lo maravilloso entre el paganismo y el cristianismo: la materia de Bretaña y la herencia celta” in *Historia y literatura: maravillas, magia y milagros en el Occidente medieval*, ed. I. Álvarez and D. Gutiérrez (2015); and “Paroles adultères: marchands et argent dans les *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*” in *Autour des Cent Nouvelles nouvelles. Sources et rayonnements, contextes et interprétations*, ed. J. Devaux and A. Velissariou (2016). Since 2004 she participates in a joint project with T. Sule to translate medieval French texts into Spanish, such as: *La dama, el marido y los intrusos: Antología de relato corto medieval de las Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* (México, UNAM, 2013) as well as the complete stories of the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*: *Las cien nuevas nouvelles/Les Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* (2016); *Eustaquio el monje, novela del siglo XIII francés* (forthcoming).

CHIARA BENATI is Associate Professor of Germanic Philology at the University of Genoa, Italy, where she teaches both Old High German language and literature and Scandinavian Language History. She has published, among others, essays on the Middle Low German influence of the phraseology of the oldest Swedish written sources (*L'influsso bassotedesco sulla fraseologia dello svedese tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, 2006), on the Middle High German *Dietrich* epic and its reception in Scandinavia (*Laurin e Walberan: Introduzione, traduzione dall'altotedesco medio e commento*, 2007). Her current research interests include Middle High German literature, Middle Low German–Scandinavian language contact, Faroese language and literature, and specialized terminology in the earliest (Low) German surgical treatises. This interest in German vernacular surgical sources has resulted, up to now, in the publication of a monograph (*Das Boek der Wundenartzstedye und der niederdeutsche chirurgische Fachwortschatz*, 2012) and a series of articles on Brunswig's *Cirurgia* and its

Low German adaptation, as well as on the Low German manuscript version of Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* in Copenhagen, GKS 1663 4to ("The Manuscript Version of Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* in Copenhagen GKS 1663 4° and its Relation to the Printed Tradition," 2013; "Surgeon or Lexicographer? The Latin-German Glossaries in Addendum to Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney*," 2013; "Zur Überlieferung von Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney*: Die Handschrift Kopenhagen GKS 1663 4^{to} und ihr Verhältnis zu den Druckfassungen," 2014).

ANNE BERTHELOT is a Professor of French and Medieval Studies at the University of Connecticut. She specializes in Arthurian Literature with a comparatist approach, and has published numerous books and articles on this topic, especially on Merlin. Her most recent book is *Histoire d'Arthur et de Merlin*, a French translation of the Middle-English Arthurian romance *Of Arthour and of Merlin* published by the Press of the University of Grenoble, ELLUG. She is currently engaged in a multi-volume project on Late Arthurian Texts in Europe (LATE) with Prof. Christine Ferlampin-Acher (U. Rennes 2) and is working on a study on the *Roman des fils du roi Constant*. She is also interested in modern Fantasy, especially rewritings of the Arthurian legend. She is presently putting the final touches on a study on "Magic in Fantasy" with Dr. Alain Lescart (PLNU).

CHRISTOPHER R. CLASON is Professor of German at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan. His research areas include German Romanticism and the Middle Ages. He has authored articles on E. T. A. Hoffmann's novels, Romantic narrative and the Gothic novel, Gottfried's *Tristan*, the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, Hartmann von Aue's epic poems, and Walther von der Vogelweide's poetry. He is co-editor of *Literary and Poetic Representations of Work and Labor in Europe and Asia during the Romantic Era* (2010) and collaborator on *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*. (2012). He is currently editing two collections of essays on Romanticism and on E. T. A. Hoffmann. He has served as the President of the International Conference on Romanticism and the International Tristan Society.

ALBRECHT CLASSEN is University Distinguished Professor of German Studies at The University of Arizona. He has published more than ninety books, most recently *The Medieval Chastity Belt: A Myth-Making Process* (2007), *The Power of a Woman's Voice* (2007); the English translation of the poems by Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376/77-1445) (2008); a book on Sixteenth-Century German Jest Narratives (*Deutsche Schwankliteratur*, 2009); *Lied und Liederbuch in der Frühen Neuzeit*, together with Lukas Richter, 2009, and *Tiere als Freunde im Mittelalter*, together with Gabriela Kompatscher and Peter Dinzelsbacher (2010). In 2011 he published *Sex im Mittelalter*. Among the volumes that he has edited recently are *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (2008), *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (2008), *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (2009), *War and Peace* (2011), and *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (2012). A three-volume *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (with Walter de Gruyter) appeared in 2010 (award of the "Outstanding Academic Title" by *Choice*). His latest books dealt with the history of German-speaking Jesuit missionaries in eighteenth-century Sonora, *The Letters of the Swiss Jesuit Missionary Philipp Segesser (1689–1762)*, and *Early History of the Southwest Through the Eyes of German-Speaking Jesuit Missionaries* (both 2012). He published his *Handbook of Medieval Culture* (3 vols.) in 2015, and his monograph on *The Forest in Medieval German Literature* also appeared in 2015, followed by the study *Reading Medieval European*

Women Writers (2016). A book on *Water in Medieval Literature* appeared in 2017 and a book on the myth of Charlemagne in medieval German and Dutch literature is forthcoming. In 2004 the German government awarded him with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz am Band* (Order of Merit), its highest civilian award. In 2008 the University of Arizona bestowed upon him its highest award for research, the “Henry & Phyllis Koffler Award.” He has also received numerous teaching and service awards over the last two decades, most recently the “Five Star Faculty Award” (2009) and the “Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2012 Arizona Professor of the Year Award.” He is serving as editor of the journals *Mediaevistik* and *Humanities–Open Access, Online*. For many years he has been the president of the Arizona chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German, and recently completed his role as President/Past President of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association for the third time, only to resume this again in 2015 (until 2016). The RMLA awarded him with its Sterling Membership Award in 2013. In 2015 he received the Excellence in Academic Advising Faculty Advisor Award, followed by a Certificate of Merit from NACADA: The Global Community for Academic Advising. In 2016, friends and colleagues dedicated a *Festschrift* (*Mediaevistik* 28) to him on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

ALLISON P. COUDERT received her PhD from the Warburg Institute, University of London. Her focus of interest is on the interaction between religion and science in the West, with a special emphasis on Jewish contributions to science and on women and gender issues. Her most recent book *Religion, Magic, and Science in Early Modern Europe and America* was published by Praeger in October, 2011. Her published work also includes *Leibniz and the Kabbalah* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1995) and *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the 17th Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont, 1614-1698* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999). She has regularly contributed to the volumes in the series “Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture.”

CLAIRE FANGER teaches in the department of Religion at Rice University in Houston, Texas, where she works on Latin Christianity in the later Middle Ages and the embedded history of magic, especially angel magic. Her most recent book is an edition and commentary, done in collaboration with Nicholas Watson, of John of Morigny’s *Flowers of Heavenly Teaching* (Toronto: PIMS, 2015). She has produced other interpretive work on John of Morigny including a book, *Rewriting Magic* (Penn State Press, 2015), and a number of articles. She has also written on medieval Latin philosophical epics by Alan of Lille and Bernard Silvestris, on the poet John Gower, and on figures in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century occult revival. She edited two collections of essays, *Invoking Angels Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (2012) and *Conjuring Spirits* (1998). Among her current projects is an English translation of John’s *Flowers of Heavenly Teaching* (also with Nicholas Watson).

CHRISTOPH GALLE received his Ph. D. at the Philipps University of Marburg (Germany) with a study on *Hodie nullus – cras maximus: Berühmtwerden und Berühmtsein im frühen 16. Jahrhundert am Beispiel des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (published in 2013). In Marburg he works as an Akademischer Rat at the Department of Ecclesiastical History. Together with Tobias Sarx, he edited the volume *Erasmus-Rezeption im 16. Jahrhundert* (2012). He is currently working on a Habilitationsschrift that deals with preaching in the early Middle Ages and focuses especially on the Carolingian sermon collections. He is also interested in humanism in the sixteenth-century as well as in the reformation of church and late medieval anticlericalism. In

this field he is currently preparing, together with Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele (Marburg), a critical edition of the *Opus arduum valde* and a study on medieval theologians who+ served as witnesses of truth for the church reformers.

NURIT GOLAN is currently affiliated with the Cohn Institute for the Study of Philosophy, History and Sociology of Science at Tel Aviv University, Israel. After graduating from Comparative Literature at Tel Aviv University, Nurit taught literature at the Open University, was a research fellow at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem and at the School of Education at Tel Aviv University where she published several papers and teachers' guidebooks. Nurit was also a co-editor of the *Film Magazine* of the Israeli Film Institute. She translated several novels for young readers, from German, English, and Norwegian into Hebrew. Ten years ago Nurit began studying art history as well as philosophy and history of the sciences at Tel Aviv University. She wrote her Master thesis on the Norman mosaics of Sicily and did her Ph.D. research on the Creation Sculptures in the Upper-Rhine Churches in the fourteenth century. She received her Ph.D. in August of 2015. Nurit published a paper about the Creation sculptures at Freiburg in the volume *Death and the Culture of Death* edited by Professor Classen (2016). Another paper of hers regarding Schwäbisch Gmünd was accepted by the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*. She is currently working on turning her dissertation into a book.

KATHLEEN JARCHOW is a Ph.D. student at the University of Connecticut. After working for four years at an independent college-prep school in Kentucky, Kathleen decided the time was right to pursue her doctoral studies. In 2010 she began her Ph.D. program under the tutelage of Professor Anne Berthelot in the Literatures, Cultures and Languages (LCL) Department at the University of Connecticut. Currently, she is working toward the completion of her dissertation entitled "Maugis the Magi: Courtly Conjurer of a Medieval Chanson." The dissertation will include a diplomatic hyper-text edition of one of the three manuscripts extant of the French chanson de geste *Maugis d'Aigremont*. In Kathleen's time at the University of Connecticut she has served as the Resident Assistant to the Study Abroad Director in Paris, France as well as the faculty coordinator for the French Club.

JIRÍ KOTEN graduated from History of Czech Literature and Literary Theory at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague (Ph.D. in 2009). He is currently the head of the Department of Czech and Slavonic Studies at the Faculty of Education at the University of Jan Evangelista Purkyně in Ústí nad Labem. He also works in the Department of Theory at the Institute of Czech Literature of the Czech Academy of Science. A particular subject of his interest is literary theory, especially fiction theory and diachronic narratology. Primarily he is focusing on historical poetics of narration, developmental changes of narrative forms and profiles of fictional worlds typical for literature of various historical periods. He has published numerous studies and essays in professional journals and collective monographs. In 2013 he published his own monograph, *Jak se fikce dělá slovy* (*How To Do Fictions With Words*). Currently he is participating in the preparation of *Slovník literárněvědného strukturalismu* (*A Dictionary of Literary Structuralism*), to which he has contributed with keywords from the field of narratology as well as keywords about the Bakhtin Circle and the Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School. He is currently preparing a monograph about developmental tendencies in Czech narration from the early modern period to the end of the nineteenth century.

VERONICA MENALDI is a Ph.D. candidate (with a Medieval Studies minor) in the department of Spanish and Portuguese Studies at the University of Minnesota focusing on medieval Iberia with a previous M.A. from the same University and speciality as well as a Honors Romance Languages B.A. (with an L.S.A. Music minor) from the University of Michigan. Her dissertation project, entitled “Undenied Magic: The Function of Magical Practices and Their Practitioners in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia” challenges the dominant modern epistemology of science and the supernatural by examining how magic is an ever-unattainable power in a vast number of medieval and early modern texts. Many of these texts were translated from Arabic or Hebrew into the vernacular (and Latin) during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. In part, this project urges contemporary scholars not to deny magic and its non-ruptured presence within the narratives of Iberian literature or society which stem from these earlier translations. For centuries those with (and even those without) power have tried to contain/control magic by appropriating and eventually dispelling it, considering its ability to transcend time and governing powers.

ROSMARIE T. MOREWEDGE is Associate Professor of German Studies and was Chair of the Department of German, Russian and East Asian Languages from 1988 to 2008 at the German Department, SUNY-Binghamton, New York. After having completed her doctoral dissertation on Wolfram von Eschenbach in 1974, she edited a volume on *The Role of Woman in the Middle Ages* in 1975 (Albany, NY: State University of New York at Binghamton / Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies). She was co-editor of various German language text books, and she contributed to a variety of scholarly volumes on medieval (German) literature ever since, including articles on “lapidaries” and “proverbs” in the *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, ed. A. Classen (2010).

AIDEEN O’LEARY, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, is Lecturer and Programm Co-ordinator in Celtic & Anglo-Saxon Studies. She has held prior appointments at University College Cork and the University of Notre Dame; her Ph.D. is from Cambridge. Her main research interests lie in the interactions between the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon worlds and Latin literature. Recent publications include *Trials and Translations: the Latin Origins of the Irish Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (Aberdeen, 2013), and “The Heretic and the Hibernophobe: Foreign Perceptions of Ireland from Antiquity to c. AD 1200” in the *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*. She has received several external grants for individual and collaborative research, and has recently organized a series of events at Aberdeen entitled “Subversions of Classical Learning.”

MARTHA MOFFITT PEACOCK is Professor of Art History at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Her publications deal with themes of female empowerment through art in the Dutch Republic such as “Women at the Hunt: Developing a Gendered Logic of Rural Space in the Netherlandish Visual Tradition,” “Proverbial Reframing – Rebuking and Revering Women in Trousters,” “Domesticity in the Public Sphere,” and “The Imaging and Economics of Women Consumers and Merchants in the Netherlandish Marketplace.” She has also published on women artists such as Geertruydt Roghman, Anna Maria van Schurman, and Joanna Koerten. Additionally, she contributed to and edited two exhibition catalogs on the prints of Rembrandt and his circle. Recently, she acted as consultant for the BBC documentary, “The Story of Women and Art.” She has recently completed a book manuscript entitled “Heroines, Harpies, and Housewives: Imaging Women of Consequence in the Dutch Golden Age” (currently considered for publication).

DANIEL F. PIGG is a Professor of English at The University of Tennessee at Martin where he teaches Chaucer, medieval British literature, and history of the English language. He has published widely in English Medieval Studies, ranging from *Beowulf* to Malory's *Works*. He has published articles dealing with various aspects of masculinity in historical contexts in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and in the presentation of *Beowulf* in various anthologies available to high school students. His most recent publications include an article dedicated to Langland's *Piers Plowman* and Old Age that appeared in the collection of essays arising from the 2006 International Symposium on the Representation of Old Ages in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2007). He also published an essay on mercantile masculinity represented in Chaucer's *Cook's Tale* in a collection of essays arising from the 2008 International Symposium on Urban Space (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2009); then on issues of masculinity and sexual performance of Sir Gareth in Malory's *Tale of Sir Gareth for Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2008). He has also contributed to the *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2010) on scholarly studies of masculinity studies and social constructionism. Moreover, he is also working on a book on the cultural poetics of *Piers Plowman* and on articles on *The Dream of the Rood* and identity formation.

DALICIA RAYMOND is currently a Ph.D. candidate student in Medieval Studies within the Department of English at the University of New Mexico. She previously received her M.A. in English Literature and Culture (2013), B.A. in English (2011), and B.A. in Secondary Education (2011) from Oregon State University. Dalicia's research interests include Middle English Literature, medieval magic, otherness, and representations of women, as well as medievalism, particularly in popular youth and children's literature and popular culture. Her master's thesis was comprised of two articles, addressing a wide range of these interests, titled "Journeying Through (An)Other World: Examining the Role of Magic and Transformational Otherness in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*" and "Magic, Muggles, and Mudbloods: Examining Magical Otherness in Harry Potter." She has also presented papers at several conferences, including "Medieval Magic as the Foundation of Rowling's Wizarding World" at *A Brand of Fictional Magic: Reading Harry Potter as Literature* conference (2012), "IL for All: Using Pinterest and Other Social Media to Expand Learners' Understanding of Information Literacy for Active Engagement in Creative Assignments" at *Informational Literacy Advisory Group of Oregon's 2014 Oregon IL Summit* (2014), and "Englas, Ylfe, and Feondas: Ambiguity of Identity in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Art" at the *Pacific Ancient and Modern Languages Association (PAMLA)* conference (2015).

DAVID TOMÍČEK completed his studies of history and Czech language at the John Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem with a Master of Arts (Mgr.) in 2004, and in 2008 his postgraduate studies of the history of medicine (Ph.D.) at the Institute for the History of Medicine and Foreign Languages at the First Medical Faculty of Charles University at Prague. Presently, he works as an Assistant Professor at the John Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem and at the Charles University at Prague. His main topic of scientific interest is the history of science, especially medicine in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He has published the following monographs: together with Jana Englová, *Jan Evangelista Purkyně* (Ústí nad Labem 2009; English); *Víra, rozum a zkušenost v lidovém lékařství pozdně středověkých Čech* (Belief, Reason, and Experience in Folk Medicine of Late Medieval Bohemia, Ústí nad Labem 2010; in Czech); together with Milada Říhová a Dana Stehlíková, *Lékaři na dvoře Karla*

IV. a Jana Lucemburského (Physicians at the Court of Charles IVth and John of Luxembourg, Prague 2010; commented edition of medieval *regimina sanitatis* with Czech translation).

WARREN TORMEY has taught in the English Department at Middle Tennessee State University since 1995. A scholar of Medieval and Early English Renaissance Literature by training, he maintains interests in these fields as well as in Milton Studies, the epic tradition, economic history, scientific and technical history, ecocriticism, and popular culture. He serves his department primarily by teaching upper division writing courses and special topics courses on Modern American Nature Writing and Modern American Environmental Literature. He also taught in the “Great Books in Tennessee Prisons” Program from 2007 through 2014. He has recent publications in *ELR* on John Evelyn and in *Medieval Perspectives* on Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*. He also contributed an article to the new volume *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (2017).

LISA M. C. WESTON, California State University, Fresno, is Professor of English and currently Chair of the Department. She has written and presented variously on Anglo-Saxon charms and on the literary culture of monastic women, as well as the involvement of gender and sexuality with practices of early medieval literacy. Her publications include the essay collection *Sex and Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England* (2004; co-edited with Carol Pasternak); chapters on “Virginity and Other Sexualities” in *A Companion to Hrotsvit of Gandersheim* (2013) and “Saintly Lives: Friendship, Kinship, Gender and Sexuality” in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature* (2013); and, most recently, “Guthlac Betwixt and Between: Literacy, Cross-temporal Affiliation, and an Anglo-Saxon Anchorite” in the January 2016 issue of the *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*. She also contributed an article on Chaucer’s *Prioresse’s Tale*, “Suffer the Little Children, or, A Ruminant on the Faith of Zombies,” to *Dark Chaucer: An Assortment* (2012), and the more speculative “’Tis Magick, Magick That Will Have Ravished Me” to *Burn After Reading: Miniature Manifestos for a Postmedieval Studies* (2014).

THOMAS WILLARD is Professor of English and Religious Studies at the University of Arizona, in Tucson. He has published essays on the relation of literature and ideas, primarily in the late medieval and early modern periods, along with an edition of the alchemical writings of Jean d’Espagne (New York and London 1999). His occasional essays on aspects of Rosicrucianism have appeared in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (1984), *Theorien vom Ursprung der Sprache* (1989), *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* (1995), and *Mystical Metal of Gold: Essays on Alchemy and Renaissance Culture* (2007). He has also published essays on twentieth-century literature and on the literary theory of his former teacher Northrop Frye, and has contributed a number of times to two book series edited by Albrecht Classen: “Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture” and “Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien.”

ELIZABETH CHESNEY ZEGURA is Associate Professor Emerita of French and Italian at the University of Arizona, where she regularly taught courses on Renaissance literature, existentialism and the Theater of the Absurd, and the French and Italian novel. Her publications include *The Countervoyage of Rabelais and Ariosto: A Comparative Reading of Two Renaissance Mock Epics* (1982); *Rabelais Revisited* (1993), with Marcel Tetel; *The Rabelais Encyclopedia*, ed. (2004); and articles and chapters on Ariosto, Rabelais, Garnier, and Marguerite de Navarre. Most recently, she completed a monograph on Marguerite de Navarre (*Marguerite de Nav-*

arre's Shifting Gaze: Perspectives on Gender, Class, and Politics in the "Heptaméron" (forthcoming), an article for *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* ("What the Monk's Habit Hides: Excavating the Silent Truths in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* 31" [Spring 2015]), and a chapter ("Matriarchal Death and Patriarchal Succession in Renaissance France") in *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death*, ed. Albrecht Classen (2016). Her current scholarly project, provisionally titled "Bradamante's Legacy: The Extraordinary Afterlife of an Early Modern Feminist Icon," focuses on interdisciplinary representations of Bradamante, Ariosto's heroic female warrior in the *Orlando Furioso*, in high and popular culture ranging from sixteenth-century literature and Baroque opera to modern film, young adult novels, and fashion design.

Index

- Abelard, Peter 81, 303, 416, 553
 Abu al-Qasim 429
Acts of Peter 460
 Adamnán 224, 242
 Adelard of Bath 273 f.
 Adolph I 666, 669
 Adraldus 246
 Áed, Bishop 239
 Aelfric 129 f.
 Aeromancy 498
 Æthelwold, Bishop 130
 AGLA legend 601
 Agricola, Rudolf 658, 667
 Agrippa, Henricus Cornelius 1, 17 f., 97 f.,
 418, 504, 609 f., 612, 614, 637, 643–
 646, 648–653, 659, 669–671
 Ahmad bin Ali Al-Buni 434
 al-Kindi 502, 640
 Albertus Magnus 13, 20, 25, 40, 48, 82,
 271 f., 275, 278, 410, 583, 586, 588, 643
 Albrecht III of Bavaria, Duke 47
 alchemist 13, 109, 112, 504, 508, 521, 609,
 635
 alchemy 7, 49, 65, 88–90, 97, 102, 275,
 317, 414, 424, 489, 497, 500, 504, 509,
 511, 520 f., 526, 609 f., 630, 637, 644,
 648, 669, 721 f.
 Alcuin (of York) 234, 244, 246, 252
 Aldini, Giovanni 723
Alexander 47, 59 f., 70, 82, 88, 115, 123,
 238, 401, 413 f., 499, 501, 647, 649, 731
 Alexander of Neckam 82
 Alexander the Great 413, 574, 692
 Alfonso X the Wise, King 12, 274, 423, 425,
 427–430, 433–435, 515, 640
 Alfred, King 4, 100, 119, 233, 400, 731
 Alhazen 490
 Ali Ibn al-Rijāl 22
Almadel 406
 Alpetragius 13
Alphart's Tod 120
 Ambrose, St. 264, 660 f.
 amulet/s 9, 11, 19, 42, 64, 73, 95 f., 175,
 192, 245, 248 f., 414, 421, 429, 446 f.,
 468, 477, 591 f., 594 f., 601 f., 604,
 607 f., 611–613, 664
 – apotropaic 594
 Andreas Capellanus 47, 293
 angels 15, 86 f., 273, 389, 418, 430, 478,
 503, 628, 639, 644, 668, 736
 Anglicus, Gilbertus 393, 490
 Apocalypse 93, 572, 574, 588
 Apuleius 270, 380
Arbatel 645
 Ariosto 440
 Aristotle 13, 21, 81, 88, 272, 412–414, 429,
 499
 arithmetic 5
 Arnald of Villanova 82
 Arnulf von Kärnten 256
Ars Notoria 15, 17, 86–88, 264, 273, 443,
 459, 469, 476, 478–480, 503
 astrology 5, 7, 16–18, 20–23, 40–42, 51 f.,
 56, 59, 61, 65, 69, 87, 95, 218, 226,
 269 f., 272, 274, 276, 319, 354, 357, 384,
 415, 424, 429, 491–494, 499, 552, 610,
 612, 637, 640 f., 644, 648, 669
 astronomy 5, 13, 23, 66, 87, 269, 274, 276,
 354, 400, 490–492, 494, 499, 504, 515,
 640, 727
 Augustine, Irish. 220
 Augustine, St., of Canterbury 39
 Augustine, St., of Hippo 10, 12, 19 f., 25, 95,
 267, 300, 356, 421, 475, 526 f., 591 f.,
 607, 660
automata 90, 102, 106, 270, 317, 495, 514,
 727–729
 Averroes 490
 Avicenna 13, 55, 429, 490, 532 f.
 Babbage, Charles 727
 Bacon, Francis 82, 102, 711 f., 716, 719 f.
 Bacon, Roger 13, 38, 82, 267, 489 f., 511,
 647, 710, 712
 Bald 161 f.
 Basil, St. 552, 660
 Bede/Beda Venerabilis 127–130, 245, 265
 Beheim, Michel 544 f.

- Ben-Sira 94, 575, 577–579, 584
 Beowulf 135
Beowulf 109, 114, 119–121, 132–137, 143
 Béroul 78, 315, 317, 319, 332
 berserker 467–470
 Berthold of Regensburg 421
 bestiaries 76, 260, 264
 bibliomancy 82, 356, 420, 422
Biterolf und Dietlieb 120, 123
 black magic 6, 66f., 75, 86, 96f., 194, 217, 432, 476, 483f., 520, 527, 537, 614f., 617, 621, 625, 633, 662, 692f.
 black mass 624f.
 blacksmith 10, 71f., 109–113, 115f., 118–122, 124–133, 137, 139–141, 143–145, 147
 Bleigießen 53
 blessings 153, 155f., 425, 454, 604, 624
 Boccaccio, Giovanni 31f., 96, 100, 614, 623
 Bodel, Jean 344, 462
 Boethius 114f., 119, 267, 513, 695
 Bois-Reymond, Emil du 715f.
 Bonatti, Guido 22f.
 Bonaventure 20
 Boniface, St. 233f., 247–250, 253f.
Book of Ecclesiasticus 93
Book of Tobit 578
 Bosch, Hieronymus 98, 131, 657, 663, 675
 Boyle, Robert 491, 708f., 712, 721f.
 Božec 593
 Brahe, Tycho 82
Brendan, St. 48, 72, 126
 Brewster, David 727
 Brodka 597
 Brontë, Charlotte 726
 Brumley, William 508
 Bruno, Giordano 67f., 97, 638, 646, 652
 Burke, Edmund 706, 708, 729
 Burton, Robert 33, 41, 235, 393, 594, 645
 Butzbach, Johann 606

 cabinets of curiosities 710
 Caesarius of Heisterbach 14, 39, 48, 83f.
 Caesius, Georg 65
 Campanella, Tommaso 52, 68, 76
 Canterbury 15, 82, 502, 512, 517, 521
Cantigas de Santa Maria 83, 423, 425, 432

 Cardan, Jerome 82
Carmina Burana 696
 Casaubon, Isaac 610
 Castellio, Sebastian 615
 Cathars 18, 20
 Catherine de' Medici 688
 Celtis, Conrad 658, 667
Chanson de Roland 71, 138, 143, 442
 Charlemagne 25, 90f., 234f., 246, 254f., 351, 445, 462, 523, 528, 533, 535–541, 543–545
 Charles the Fat, King 256
 Charles V, King 491
 charms 8f., 11–14, 19, 43, 50–52, 59, 64, 70–74, 82, 85, 87, 94f., 103, 139, 149–156, 158f., 162–164, 166, 169–172, 174–178, 181f., 185f., 195f., 198f., 215, 217, 354, 364, 416, 445, 454, 469f., 483, 526, 528, 530, 534, 541, 569, 605f., 609, 611f.
 Chaucer, Geoffrey 33–38, 87–90, 100, 356, 489–500, 502–505, 507–511, 514–517, 519–521, 530
 chiromancy 5
 Chlothar I, King 244
 Chrétien de Troyes 29, 101, 105, 113, 292, 311, 379, 462, 511
 Christian II, King 666f.
 Circe 98, 461, 500, 658
Clavicula Salomonis see also *The Key of Solomon*
Clavicula Salomonis 99, 183, 201, 207, 214, 406, 657, 662f., 665f., 680f. see also *The Key of Solomon*
 Clement VI, Pope 263
 Clericuzio, Antonio 721
 Clydesdale, Matthew 723f.
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor 58, 730, 732, 734f., 738
 Columban the Elder 232, 241
 Comte, Auguste 714
Corpus Hermeticum 609
 coscinomancy 214, 218
 curiositas, curiosity 49, 58–61, 87, 97, 102, 113, 433, 505, 520, 607, 647, 649, 710, 738

- Cuthbert 245, 248
Czech Chronicle 597
- Daniel of Winchester, Bishop 250
 Dante Alighieri 13, 22, 40, 73, 622
 Darwin, Erasmus 716, 732
De imaginibus diei et noctis 502
De mirabilibus mundi 275
 De Morgan, Augustus 726
De quattuor imaginibus magnis 502
De viginti quattor horis 502
 deception 51, 58, 60, 87, 89, 124, 148, 303,
 346, 350, 406, 496, 508, 517, 520, 557 f.,
 562, 568, 660
 Dee, John 504
 Della Porta, Giambattista 504
 Delrio, Martin 97 f., 647–649, 651
 demon/s 2, 9, 14, 16, 19 f., 27, 39, 71 f.,
 83 f., 86, 91, 94 f., 97, 106, 127, 131, 147,
 235, 256, 271, 273, 300, 316, 355, 357 f.,
 361, 364 f., 372, 380, 386, 397, 404–
 406, 409 f., 412, 415, 423, 426, 430 f.,
 433–436, 446, 458, 470, 473, 478–
 481, 526 f., 530, 545, 565, 567–569,
 593–595, 597, 602, 612, 639–642, 644,
 649, 657, 664, 669
 Descartes, René 709, 712, 719 f.
 devil 2, 17, 20, 25, 27, 39, 46–53, 55 f.,
 58–63, 66, 69 f., 79 f., 83, 85–87, 91,
 93–95, 97, 100, 102, 107, 128, 130 f.,
 146, 166, 184 f., 194, 339–341, 343,
 352 f., 357–359, 361 f., 365–367, 369,
 371–373, 375 f., 380 f., 383, 389 f., 394,
 401, 404–408, 411, 416, 423, 426, 428,
 436, 446, 466–470, 511, 518, 520, 526,
 530 f., 533–535, 537–541, 585, 592,
 594–596, 606–608, 615, 621, 660 f.,
 688
Dialogue between Death and a Human 593
 Diana 263, 492, 658
Doon de Mayence 351, 441
 Drecksapotheke 603
 Droz, Henri-Louis 727
 Droz, Pierre 379, 393 f., 439, 442, 452,
 461 f., 613, 621, 660, 727
 druids 1 f., 73, 220, 316
 Dürer, Albrecht 657 f., 669, 673
- Durkheim, Emil 7, 86, 475 f., 486, 708
 Duveke Sigbritsdatter 666
- Ecclesiasticus* 93 f., 565–567, 570, 573–
 580, 582–587, 660
eclampsia infantum 592
Edda 110, 118 f., 143, 191
edele herzen 305, 330
Egil's Saga 27, 71, 124 f., 530
 Eilhart 78, 316 f., 319 f., 323, 331 f.
 Ekkehard IV of St. Gall 417
El Poema de Mío Cid 143
 Eligius, St. 132, 145
 Eliot, George 726
 Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken 537
 Elymos 500
 Enlightenment 9, 102 f., 218, 647, 649, 652,
 685, 690, 706, 711, 713, 716–723, 725,
 727–729, 732 f.
 Erasmus of Rotterdam 1
Estoria de Espanna 428
Estoria universal 428
 Eustace Busket 79
 Eustache of Antioch 660
 Evil One 343, 353, 358 f., 364, 366
 Eye of Abraham 198–202, 205–207, 210 f.,
 217 f.
 Eymeric, Nicholas 570
- falling sickness 601
 Faraday, Michael 726
Faustus see also *Historia von D. Johann
 Fausten*
Faustus 56–63, 100, 102, 411, 534, 645,
 646, 655, 686–695, 697, 699–701,
 703, 723, 732
 fay 595 f.
 Ferguson, Adam 614, 713
 Ficino, Marsilio 2, 13, 17 f., 52, 68, 97, 104,
 504, 609 f., 614, 622, 640 f., 646, 648,
 652 f.
 Final Judgment 572
 Fir Maige Féne 73, 221, 226
 Flamel, Nicholas 504, 651
Flamenca 357
 Fleck, Konrad 117
 folk remedies 139

- Forbhais Droma Damhgaire* 74, 221, 226
Fortunatus 60, 100, 538, 686, 693–701, 703
 Francesco da Paola 612
 Francis of Assisi, St. 356, 421
 François I, King 611, 618f., 623, 625f., 629, 631f., 635
 Franklin, Benjamin 716
 Frazer, George 10, 22, 177, 416, 596, 639, 652
 Frederick II, Emperor 13, 22
 Frigg's grass 195f.
 Frommann, Christian 117, 185

 Gaddesden, John 490
 Galdrarbók 190–193, 195–197, 216
 Gallery, Jehan 265, 615, 617–619, 621–630, 632–634
 Galvani, Luigi 723
 Geoffrey of Monmouth 79, 92, 377, 550–552, 558
 geomancy 5, 52, 56, 273, 414, 424, 498, 504
 geometry 5
 Gerald of Aurillac 245
Gesta Romanorum 25
Ghayât al-Hakim 434f., 502
 Giraut de Bornelh 293
Gisli's Saga 125
 Godwin, William 714
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang 57f., 63, 102, 534, 620, 723, 730–732
 Gohory, Jacques 645
 Golsner, Georg, Bishop 571
 Gordon, Bernard 41, 82, 106, 490
Gotham 485f.
 Gottfried von Straßburg/Strassburg 66, 77f., 89, 93, 116, 291f., 294f., 315, 317, 320, 324, 326–328, 528, 542
 Gower, John 89, 483, 490, 498, 501, 504, 509
 Graham, James 65, 434, 724f.
 grandfather paradox 398
 Gregory the Great I, Pope 14, 39, 232, 249, 421
 Gregory II, Pope 254
 Gregory of Nyssa, St. 660

 Gregory VII, Pope 228, 429
 Grien, Hans Baldung 657f., 669, 674
 Grimm, Brothers 185, 738
Grimnismol 118
Großes Neidhartspiel 410
 Grudé, François 626
 Guérin, Thomas 619, 631
 Guillaume de Flavacourt, Archbishop 262

Harry Potter 8, 42, 106 see also Rowling, J. K.
 Hartlieb, Johannes 16, 47–56, 59f., 64, 88, 405, 415, 417, 534, 544
 Hartmann von Aue 26, 29, 293
 Heinrich von dem Türlin 38, 225
 Heinrich von Veldeke 116
Heliand 250f.
 Héloïse d'Argenteuil 303
 Henry VIII, King 617, 619, 632, 635
 Herbot von Fritzlar 117
 herbs 50, 68, 84, 95, 150, 195, 270, 297, 393, 414, 429, 445, 499, 591f.
 Herlitz, David 65f.
 Hermes 348
 Hermes Bellenus 500
 Hermes Trismegistus 7, 42, 82, 520, 609, 638, 646
 Herodot 403
 Hieronymus, St. 131, 255, 421, 602, 675
 Hincmar of Reims 256
 Hippocratic medicine 596
Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni 115
Historia von D. Johann Fausten 57, 60, 81, 91, 94, 97, 102, 687 see also Faustus
 Hofmannsthal, Hugo von 735, 739
 hokuspokus 608
 Honorius of Thebes 16, 410
 Hrabanus Maurus 235, 255f.
 Humboldt, Alexander von 102, 731f.
Huon de Bordeaux 351, 461, 464
 Hussites 18, 570
 hybrids 76, 259, 261, 263f., 269–271, 275–278
 hydromancy 5, 53, 56, 273, 355, 448, 498

- Innocent VIII, Pope 577, 642
 Isidore of Seville 19, 25, 82, 237, 268, 273, 315, 397, 404, 432f., 527, 639, 647
- Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich 730
 Jensen, Adolf Ellegard 10
 Jerome, St. 82, 573, 660
 Johann of Bakov 603f.
 Johann of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, Mar-grave 49
 Johann the Alchemist of Brandenburg-Kulmbach 47
 Johannes von Tepl 4f., 49
 John of Morigny 17, 82, 86, 88, 476–478, 482, 484, 487
 John of Salisbury 13
 John of Seville 429
 John the Baptist, St. 74, 156, 219, 224f., 228f., 661, 668
 John XXII, Pope 509
 Josephus, Flavius 660
 Juan Gil de Zamora 427
- Kabbalah 418, 642–644, 669, 715, 722
Kaiserchronik 117
Kalevala 72, 132, 137–141
 Kames, Lord 713
 Kaufringer, Heinrich 26, 107
 Kelley, Edward 688
 Kempelen, Wolfgang von 727
 Khunrath, Heinrich 97, 646f., 654
Kitab Sirr al-Asrar 88, 429
 klín 599
 Konrad of Megenberg 47f.
 Konrad von Würzburg 72, 117, 132, 400, 403, 529
 Kramer, Heinrich 93f., 565–589, 614
 Kramerius, Václav Rodomil 686f., 689f., 692–694
 Kraus from Krausenthal, Martin 687
Kronika o Bruncvíkovi 101, 690f., 700f.
Kyng Alisaunder 115
- La Chanson de Jérusalem* 462
 La Croix du Maine 626
La Sala di Malagigi 439
 Lailoken 377, 379
- Lancelot* 79, 389, 393–395, 419f., 550, 553–557, 691
Laurin 120, 123
Legenda Aurea 401, 410
 Leibniz, Gottfried 10, 647, 709, 715, 722
 Leonardi, Camillo 104
 Lerchheimer, Augustin 406f.
Le roman de Wistasse le moine 79, 337–76
Les Quatre fils d'Aymon 439, 445, 466
 Lespinasse, Julie de 728
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim 730
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude 69
Lia Fáil 222
Liber de imaginum lunae 501
Liber de septem figuris 501
Liber imaginum lunae 502
Liber Razielis Archangeli 417, 502
Liber vaccae 275
Lied vom Hürnen Seyfrit 115
 Lochru 239
 Locke, John 714, 722
 Loki 118, 191, 348–350, 373
 Lothair II 253
 Louis VIII of Bayern-Ingolstadt, Duke 47
 Louise de Savoie 611
 love potions 51
 Lucian of Samosata 3
 Luther, Martin 24, 56, 253, 615, 642, 688
- Machiavelli 620
Madelgijs 439, 471, 523, 539
magia daemoniaca 8
magia naturalis 8, 19, 42, 46, 317, 406, 422, 526, 640
Malagis 81, 84f., 90f., 106, 352, 439, 449, 453, 471, 523–525, 527f., 530–545
Malleus maleficarum 93, 571
 Malory, Thomas 92, 547–549, 551–553, 556f., 559–562
 Marcellinus, Ammianus 405
 Marguerite de Navarre 66, 96, 609, 611–613, 619, 626f., 631
 Marie de France 93, 542
 Marlowe, Christopher 57, 646, 655
 Marquit of Condorcet 713
 Maslama Ibn Ahmad al-Majriti 430

- mathematics 23, 59, 490, 499, 641, 727, 732
 Mattioli 592
Maugis d'Aigremont 84f., 90, 351–353, 439–447, 449–473, 524
 Mauss, Marcel 10, 43f., 273, 476
 Maximilian I, Emperor 41, 52, 405, 667, 670, 682
 Medea 500
 medicine 40, 42, 46, 48, 64, 94, 104, 218, 274, 277, 297, 429, 490, 511, 542, 591, 596, 601, 603, 641f., 645, 649, 717, 719, 726
 Melanchthon, Philip 658
 Mellitus, Abbot 14, 249
 Merlin 37f., 74, 79f., 106, 311, 348–350, 373, 377–395, 449, 453, 525, 548, 552, 557, 559f., 562
 Mersenne, Marin 647
 Mesmer, Anton 102, 722, 725
 metamorphosis 269–271, 273, 278, 383, 407, 440, 638
 Milarepa 86f., 476, 481–484, 487
 Millar, John 713
 millefolium 191, 193
 Misocacus, Wilhelm 65
 Mithrodates, Flavius 642
 Mog Ruith 73f., 219–222, 224–229
 Monardes, Nicholas 710
 Morgan le Fay 37, 92f., 106, 394, 461, 525, 547–554, 557–563
 Morin de Villefranche, Jean-Baptiste 22
 Mowinckel, Sigmund 10
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus 101f.
 mrcha 603
 mugwort 592
 Muirchú Moccu Macthéni 238
 music 1, 5, 497, 611
 Mütter, Thomas Dent 718
 Newton, Isaac 7, 721f.
 Newton, John Frank 714, 721f.
Nibelungenlied 71, 116, 121f., 403
 Nicholas of Cusa 47
 Nicholas of Lynn 490f.
 Nicole d'Oresme 13
 nightmare 596, 724
Njál's Saga 123
 Novalis 103, 733f., 739
numen 3, 11, 22, 69, 72f., 78, 97, 103
 numerology 641
numinosum 15, 41, 69, 103
 Occo, Pompeius 98f., 658, 660, 666–670, 683
 Odo of Cluny 245f.
Off with Their Heads or Bruncvík and his Lion 101
 Offray de La Mettrie, Julien 718
 ointments 139, 211
 optics 87, 106, 490, 497, 504f.
Oracula Chaldaica 638
Ordo Templi Orientis 65
 Origen 660
 ornithomancy 5
 Otto, Rudolf 41
 Otto I, Emperor 232
 Ovid 270, 447, 452
Ovide moralisé 270, 289
 paedomancy 5
 Pagan Lay Against Elfshot 126
 Paracelsus 40, 76, 82, 97, 603, 637, 644–646, 648f., 652f., 663, 670
Passional 410
 Patrick, St. 19, 172, 178, 223, 227, 231, 238–241
 Paul, St. 10, 16, 53, 58, 80, 115, 188, 213f., 219, 221–223, 246, 346, 348, 356, 377, 398f., 460, 464, 482, 496, 554, 611, 645, 669
 Pèlerin de Prusse 491
 Pépin, Olivier 16
 Pétis de la Croix, François 3
 Pfitzer, Johann Nikolaus 57, 63
Picatrix 12, 51, 83, 405f., 418, 429f., 434f., 502, 640
 Pico della Mirandola 1f., 17, 609, 641f., 650
 Pierre de Savoie, Archbishop 263
 Pietro d'Abano 644, 648
Pitonissa 664f.
 planets 5, 23, 34, 61, 69, 268, 270, 272f., 275, 499, 501f., 640

- Plato 272, 275 f., 401, 520, 622, 638, 642
 Pletho, Gemistus 638
 Pliny 12, 413
Polistorie of Canterbury 339
Portail de Libraires 259
 prayers 5, 8 f., 15 f., 19, 39, 52, 73, 82, 86,
 94 f., 194, 273, 358, 411, 419, 454, 478,
 481, 513, 526, 544, 598, 621, 670
 Priestley, Joseph 716
 Prometheus 71, 138, 727
 Psellus, Michael 638
 Ptolemy 21, 272, 274
 Pulci, Luigi 440
 pyromancy 53, 273, 498
- Queste del Saint Graal* 691
- Rabelais, François 609–611, 635
 Raleigh, Walter 688
 Ramsay, David 719
 Raymundo of Toledo, Archbishop 428
Reinfried von Braunschweig 81 f., 397, 399,
 411 f.
 Reiser, Friedrich, Bishop 416, 570
 Renart 80, 339, 345–348, 350, 360, 373
Renaut de Montauban 84, 351–353, 439,
 441 f., 444–446, 457, 466, 471
 Reuchlin, Johann 1, 40, 98, 642 f., 650, 652,
 658 f., 667, 669 f.
 Rhasis 593, 596
 rituals 3, 11 f., 15, 17, 19, 22, 39, 43, 47,
 50–54, 56, 64, 73, 75, 94 f., 109, 127,
 137, 147, 149 f., 175, 177, 182, 195, 200,
 214–218, 264, 273, 276, 312, 418, 420,
 477, 486 f., 500 f., 503, 505, 594, 598,
 600 f., 608 f., 613, 621, 624 f., 627, 634,
 653, 662, 708
 Robin Hood 80, 153, 338, 346 f., 350, 362
Rolandslied 123
 Roman, Abbé 9, 67, 73, 79, 113, 115–117,
 119, 179, 204, 220, 222 f., 234, 266, 307,
 337–341, 344, 346, 348, 352 f., 375,
 377–380, 393 f., 397, 400, 410, 416,
 454, 460, 550, 625, 646, 717
Roman de Merlin 79, 379, 394
Romance of Alexander 114
Romance of the Rose 498
- Ronal 239
 Rosicrucians 98, 652
Roth Fáil 222
 Rowling, J. K. 42, 106; see also *Harry Potter*
 Rudolf II, Emperor 646, 688
 Rudolf von Ems 115 f., 403
- Sabbath 54, 657, 662, 674
Sagas 27, 29, 110, 114, 125
 Satan 80, 94, 130 f., 193, 212, 343, 353 f.,
 358, 365–367, 371 f., 375, 404, 480,
 531, 569, 572, 578, 584, 615, 634, 689
 Savigny, Friedrich Carl von 738
Schemhamphoras 406, 417
 Schikaneder, Emanuel 101
 Schiller, Friedrich 734
 Schlegel, Friedrich 103, 733, 737 f.
 Schleiermacher, Friedrich 738
 Scientific Revolution 711, 720, 722
 Scot, Michael 13, 82
Secreta Secretorum 81, 88, 414, 418, 429
sectio caesarea 599
 Šedivý, Prokop 686, 694
Sefer Raziel Ha-Malakh 502
 Seifrit 115
Sepher Raziel 406
 Shakespeare, William 66 f., 89, 101, 514,
 517
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe 714, 724
 Shuchirch, William 508
 Sibyl 401
Siete Partidas 428, 430 f.
 Sigbrit 666
 Simon Magus 73, 85, 219, 221–223, 459–
 462, 500
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight 36, 38,
 61, 92, 225, 550 f., 560, 562
 sirens 263
 sleeping spells 84, 445
 Smith, Adam 103, 109, 119, 146, 181, 223,
 228, 293, 477, 645, 713, 722
 Söderblom, Nathan 10
 Solomon, King 187, 199, 203, 401, 407,
 409–411, 443, 573, 663, 666
 Somer, John 490–492
Song of Roland 120, 337

- sorcerer 27, 69, 93, 229, 318, 393, 405,
 443, 464, 525, 528, 535, 538 f., 543 f.,
 614 f., 617, 619–627, 629 f., 632–634,
 663
 Sortilegium 421
 Spencer, Herbert 726
 Spengler, Oswald 706
 Spinoza, Baruch 98, 102, 722, 730 f.
 spirits 5 f., 10, 15, 25, 43, 45, 61, 94, 201,
 207, 261, 273, 357, 364, 380, 410 f.,
 414 f., 418 f., 430 f., 434, 592, 640,
 644 f., 647 f., 659, 662 f., 665, 669–671,
 721, 726
 Sprenger, Jakob 571 f.
St. Benedict's Rule 127
Statuta Rhispacensia 234
 Štelcar Želetavský, Jan 602
 Štítný of Štítné, Tomáš 600
 Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arznei-
 buch 156, 175, 182, 207, 209 f.
 Stricker, Der 90, 407, 529, 541
 Stubbe, Henry 707
 Sturluson, Snorri 118, 191
 Suibhne 11, 377, 379
Suite-Vulgate 394 f.

 Tabit Ibn Qurra 429
 talismans 9, 11, 38, 42, 51, 64, 73, 82, 95 f.,
 274, 434, 437, 591, 607, 640
Testamentum Salomonis 409 f.
 Thābit ibn Quarra 640
 The Canon's Yeoman's Tale 516
The Canon's Yeoman's Tale 88–90, 504,
 507–511, 519, 521
The Canterbury Tales 33, 88, 490 f., 495,
 497, 504, 510, 512, 514, 530
The Franklin's Tale 33, 38, 89, 489, 492–
 498, 504, 507–510, 512–515, 520 f., 530
The Key of Solomon 16, 99, 183, 207, 662–
 666, 669, 671 see also *Clavicula*
The Romance of Eustace the Monk see *Le*
roman de Wistasse
 theft 53, 72, 149 f., 160, 162, 169–172,
 174–176, 178–182, 184–187, 189–191,
 196, 199, 201, 206, 210 f., 213–218, 345,
 360–362, 366–369, 371 f., 376, 416,
 557–559

 Theophilus Presbyter 127
Thiðrik's Saga 122
 Thierry of Chartres 267
 Thomas Aquinas 20, 25, 40, 356, 415, 417,
 430, 527, 553, 588, 606, 641
 Thomas of Britain 295, 315, 319, 334 f.
 Thomas of Cantimpré 48
 Thomas of (von) Celano 421
 Thüring von Ringoltingen 76
 Till Eulenspiegel 61, 539, 693
 Toledan Tables 492, 494, 515
 Tolkien, J. R. R. 106
 Tomie da Paola 620
Trés Riches Heures 131
 trickster 80 f., 118, 123, 125, 227, 341, 346–
 350, 358–361, 369, 371, 373–375, 389,
 539, 615, 620
 Tristan/*Tristan* 66, 77 f., 80, 89, 93, 116,
 291 f., 294 f., 299–305, 313, 315–335,
 339, 345, 347 f., 350, 528, 542, 686
 Trithemius, Johannes 1 f., 13, 406, 643, 670
 Trubert 338 f., 344 f., 347 f., 358
 Trude 596
 Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques 713

 Ulrich of/von Straßburg 272, 274
 Ulrich von Etzenbach 114, 401
 Ulysses 348, 498
 Ure, Andrew 723 f.
 uudenvuoden tina 54

 Valens, Emperor 405
 Van Helmont, Francis Mercurius 709, 715,
 721
 Van Oostanen, Jacob Cornelisz 98, 657,
 659, 672, 676, 680 f.
 Van Swanenburg, Isaac Claesz 668
 Vandermonde, Charles Augustin 713
 Vaughan, Thomas 98, 646, 649–652
 Vedast, Bishop 244
 Venerable Bede 39, 82, 245
 Vesalius, Andreas 104
 Vincent de Beauvais 82
 Vintler, Johann 403
 Virgil 25 f., 30, 113, 116, 307, 356, 408–
 413, 420–422, 528
Visio Tnugdali 113, 131

- Vita Merlini* 79, 320, 377 f., 550–552, 558
 Vitulon 490
Volsunga Saga 114, 121, 123
 Voltaire 715
Volundarkviða 119, 132, 141, 143
Voluspa 118
 Vulcan 109, 113, 116 f., 119, 141

Wagnerbuch 60, 63
Walberan 120, 123
 Waldensians 18, 570
Waldere 119 f.
 Walter of Aquitaine 120
 Walter of Châtillon 114
Wartburgkrieg 81, 399, 412, 419
 Wayland 109, 119–121, 138, 141 f.
 weather magic 273
 Weber, Max 44 f., 65, 101, 291, 705 f., 732
 Wenceslas Hájek of Libočany 597
 Weyer, Johann 63
 white magic 2, 6, 27, 33, 35, 40, 67 f., 76 f.,
 86, 91, 94, 96, 104, 432, 688
 Widmann, Georg Rudolf 57, 63
 William of Auvergne 40, 271, 276, 410, 640,
 643

 Willibald 247
 Willibrord 246 f.
 Willis, Thomas 723
 Winckelmann, Johann Joachim 716
 wisdom 26, 566, 573, 575 f., 582 f., 647,
 650, 660
 witch craze 18, 20, 24, 56, 63, 94, 98, 567
 witchcraft 20, 25, 47, 64, 67, 93, 96, 151,
 235, 318, 360 f., 393, 565, 567, 569, 571,
 574, 584 f., 587, 613 f., 621, 623 f., 637,
 644 f., 647 f., 657, 666, 685, 688 f., 692,
 712
 Witelo 490
 Wolfram von Eschenbach 30 f., 77, 105 f.,
 113, 291 f., 294 f., 305–307, 310–313,
 318, 399, 401, 412, 417, 528, 532, 541

 Yates, Frances 638, 646, 652
 Yehuda ben Moshe ha-Kohen 429

 žába 600
 Žalanský, Havel 607, 689
Zdeněk from Zášluk 101, 694, 697–701
 Zíma, Antonín J. 686
 Zoroaster 638 f., 641 f.

